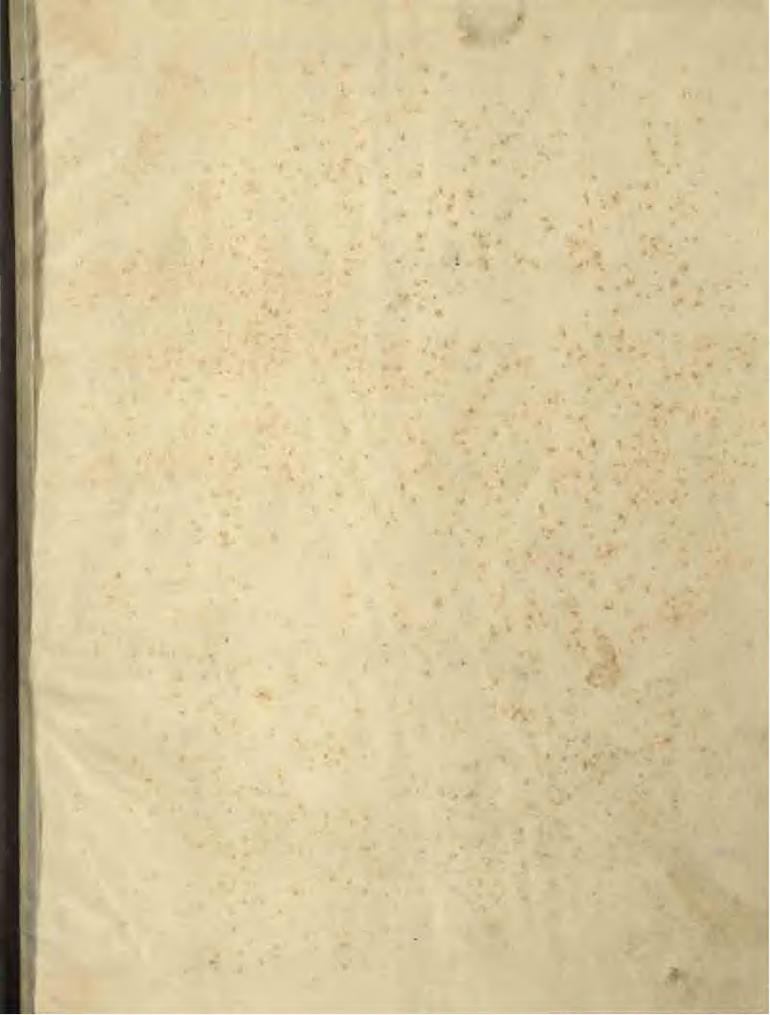
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## THE JOURNAL

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VOLUME VI

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STATUE OF THE STEWARD ROY In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

1

#### STATUE OF THE STEWARD ROY SINGING THE PSALM TO RE

By H. E. WINLOCK.

There is, in the Metropolism Museum of Art. New York, a very attractive little limestone statue from Thebes, representing an Eighteenth Dynasty individual named Roy, who was a Clerk and Steward of the Queen (Plate I). Unless some other collection or some future excavation brings to light more information concerning him we may take it from the style of his statue that he lived in Thebes sometime between the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Akhenaton, with a strong probability that he was a contemporary of Amenophis II or Tuthmosis IV. Furthermore, there is every likelihood that the statue was made for his tomb and that there, or near there, the natives of Kurneh found it in some clandestine digging of about ten years ago.

The statue is of a type frequently made for the tombs in the Eighteenth Dynasty\*, but is of a workmanship and preservation above the ordinary. The figure was painted with red for the flesh tones and the details of the white skirt and waisthand; with the eye halfs white and pupils black; and even the mails of the fingers and toes picked out in white. The stella in front had a white ground, a blue border and red lines in the inscription, and the incised signs were filled in with blue.

On the stela are the words of a widely known from to the San-god, the title of which was the "Adoration of Rel at his rising and until his setting in life." It was a hymn, not like ours of set phraseology, but one in which the Egyptian felt free to give his fancy rein in improvisation, and while copy after copy gives us the same underlying theme and even many recurring phrases, each scribe was at liberty to arrange it after his own taste. This is true even of the fuller versions which served as introductions to the Book of the Dead in the Empire", where the space on the long papyrus roll presented no discouragement to completeness, but it is especially true when it was inscribed on grave stelae and statues where lack of space forced brevity upon the scribe. The texts on these smaller monuments therefore are more abbreviations, and as their different reductors chose their phrases from the fuller versions at random, no two of them are literally identical.

On the statue of Roy the pealm reads as follows:

"Adoration of Ret at his vising and until his setting in life. I have shown myself to the great back, and have repelled the passion of the serpent Grim-face, so that the sailing of the Mesektet-back might take place in the course of each day. (Made) by the Clerk and Steward of the Great Queen, Roy. He said: Hail to thee, Harakhte-Amūn, staff of the gods; mayest thou traverse the sky in peace in the course of each day." [Trunsl. Etc.]

1 It was bought in Luxor in March 1909 by the late J. Pierpout Morgan, Esq., and was presented to the Museum as a part of his father's collections by his sun, J. P. Morgan, in 1917.

\* As examples from the Thelian Neuropolis may be cited the statue of Mas found in the Dex' Abu'l Naga (Northameton, Spirite, Bend and Newhender, Thelian Neuropolis, p. 10, Pla VII and XVII) and the statue of Nakin found in his tough, where a niche was provided for it in the segond chamber (Davies, Tank of Nakin, p. 38, Pl. XXVIII).

Burnas's Edition, Text (1910), Vol. 1, pp. 1 fell., Transliteration (1900), Vol. 1, pp. 1 fell. Journ. of Egypt. Arch. vi.

Merely by way of illustration it may be of interest to cite another little statue, also in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of about the same date and similar form, but of far cruder workmanship (Plate II, fig. 1). In this case the much abbreviated hymn is in praise of Amun, Harakhte and Osiris, the few short phrases reading:

"Giving praise to Amin, smelling the earth to Harakhte and Osiris. Ruler of the Two Lands: May they give the pleasant breeze.....that is in them, until Ret arises over my breast......." [Transl. Ep.]

There is a point in regard to this type of statue with a stela in front which is not without interest for the interpretation of the motives of the Egyptian artist. They have been described frequently, and often, it would seem, with the explanation that they represent a votary presenting or creeting a stela. This interpretation on its face would seem logical enough. We have numerous statues bearing shrines or vessels of offerings in their hands, and the statues with stelae before them would naturally appear to belong to the same entegory.

But satisfactory as this explanation would seem at first glance, there are objections to it. Were it customary for countless people of all degrees to set up stelae with hymns to Ref and the other gods of the pantheon, such stelae themselves, since presumably they would have been temple votives, should be more common on temple sites, or statues with the votive stelae should have been found in numbers in Karnak, for instance. As a matter of fact on the temple sites both stelae and statues with stelae are rare, the majority of the latter being purely mortuary and coming from the cometeries.

Furthermore there is an objection to be raised on the ground of the pose. The naophorous statue, the statue of a votive presenting a figure of a god or king in a temple, or the statue of the bearer of offerings bringing a vessel, always has the hands shown securely grasping the offered object on either side. This was the artist's convention to render the act of presentation and it is interesting to note that in one statue from Karnak the donor of a stella is portrayed grasping it in just such a manner. The statue depicts a certain Neferperet with a stella on which he is shown adoring Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsat, grasping it on either side as he raises it to a vertical position. But the mortnary statues of the class to which this one of Boy belongs, are portrayed with an entirely different action. They do not grasp the stellae as offerings are grasped but at the most merely touch the top with their fingers, as does this statue of Roy. Completely divorced from the action of offering is the statue of Amenemhab from the Osiris Chapel in Karnak, where both hands pass in front of the stella and are shown apraised with palms to the front beyond it, or the statue of another Amenemhab who is shown holding both hands, with palms to the front, above the stella and thus before his face.

If the explanation that these statues represent votaries offering stellar is not wholly satisfactory, there is an alternative that is,

Egyptian monuments yield a multitude of representations of celebrants in the different ritualistic attitudes of the religious ceremonials. The priest is seen with outstretched right hand reciting the offering formula, for instance. The rubrics leave no doubt as to his words

At least one exception which must be noted in Legrain's description of the statue 42,120 in Statues at Statuettes, Vol. 1, p. 68, where the author gives the interpretation arrayed at here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Liegitani, up. ed., to. 42,121, Pl. LXXI.
<sup>3</sup> Op. ed., no. 42,120, Pl. LXX.

<sup>\*</sup> Bundle, Mean Collection, Pl. XV. Two statues in the British Museum (Nos. 480 and 544 show this same poss with the hands above the stata and before the face.





## ANTIQUITIES IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

Fig. 1. Status of a person whose came admir,

Fig. 2. Fragmentary Stels of Pai, Superintendent of the Royal Harim.



or his act. Countless other monuments show a celebrant, standing or kneeling; singing a hymn of praise. One chosen at random, merely because it is unpublished and is of a date but little later than the statue of Roy, is a fragment of a stella in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Plats II, fig. 2). Here the rubric informs us that the action represented is "The making of praises to Res, on his Horison, by the Superintendent of the Harlim of the King, Par justified," and we see Par himself standing in the ritualistic position with hands upraised before his face in front of "Hurakhte, the Great God." This is invariably the position of one who sings a hymn. Possibly it denotes the act of shielding the eyes from the brilliancy of the divinity, for in many scenes of battle where the king charges the defeated enemy, or in scenes of triumph where the barbarian legates come into the royal presence, the awestruck foreigners are shown with hands appraised as though to protect themselves from the light of the divine countenance, while they break into songs of praise or supplications for mercy,

Whatever the intention, the pose with apraised hands before the face was the proper attitude while singing a psalm of praise, and that is just the attitude of these stella-statues if the stell be omitted. May not this, then, have been the intention of their makera? Roy, for example, is represented praising the Sun-god. Had a stella been ordered by him rather than a statue, the artist would have shown him with the words of the hymn written in columns before his portrait. But as he desired a statue, a ground had to be provided for the hymn. The artisan who made the statue of a certain Scribe and Treasurer Seti in the Abbott Collection of the New York Historical Society, showed his patron with upraised hands and found room enough for his extracts from the "Praise of Ret" on the skirt of the statue. Other artists made a stell-like slab part of the statue merely to bear the words, showing the deceased kneeling behind it with upraised hands stretched in front of it, or above it, or merely touching the top of it, as in Roy's case. In any event the makers of these statues have only introduced the stelay to give them the ground for their inscriptions, and their makeshift in a way reminds one of those caricatures of a few years ago with balloon-like affairs floating from the mouths of the figures with their words written within.

This being the conception of the statue, it should be termed the statue of one singing a psalm of the San-god rather than of a votary offering stella.

An example of such a stella chosen at rundom from among many is in Nonthampton, etc., Thebes. Necropolis, Pt. IV.

From Thebes. It is No. 93 in the old Catalogoe, which is to be replaced by a thoroughly scientific work by Mrs Grant Williams (Caroline L. Bansom),

#### THE SUMERIAN TREASURE OF ASTRABAD

#### BY PROFESSOR M. ROSTOVTZEFF

In the spring of 1841 the Begierbeg of Astrabad, one of the large cities of Persia, situated a few miles from the south-eastern angle of the Caspian Sea, sent to the Shah of Persia a number of objects discovered in Astrabad. These objects were examined in Teheran by C. A. de Bode's who made some sketches of them, and became so deeply interested in them, that in the summer of the same year he visited Astrabad to collect information concerning their discovery. Once on the site, he ascertained that the treasure was found in a so-called "tell," a hig bank of earth or enormous tumulus of the same type, evidently, as the tumuli which were excavated by Pumpelly at Anau, near Askhabad. Without doubt these tumuli, known in Syria and Mesopotamia under the name of "tell," are not of funerary origin, but are simply the remnants of ancient cities that in former times stood on these sites. In the case of the Astrabad tumulus there can be no doubt whatever, for the simple reason that its dimensions are so great, that the summer residence of the governor of Astrabad was built upon it.

The tumulus is situated some twelve miles to the north-east of Astrabad, and is known among the local population by the name of Tureng-tope meaning "the mountain of pheasants." The information gathered by Bode concerning the circumstances of the discovery is mainly, as is usual in the Orient, of a half legendary character. It seems that the place where the treasure was found was pointed out to Bode in the lower part of the northern slope of the hill, where a chamber had been discovered. He was told that in this chamber, near to the walls and chained to them, several bronze vases were found standing. The bronze vases may possibly have been there but the chains, of course, are imaginary. Imagination seems to have played a great part also in the story about the fate of the treasure discovered, of which a part only was supposed to have been sent to the Shah. The remainder, including coins, was said to have been kept by the Beglerbeg, who dealt summarily with the discoverers, entring out the tongue of one, and nurdering the other. The important point is that Bode did not meet the discoverers and did not speak with them, but obtained his information at second hand. The information, therefore, must be treated very cautiously. In no case could any coins have formed part of the treasure.

The article by the distinguished Rassian archaeologist and historian here published has as its main theme some antiquities from a region very remote from Egypt. The remarkable comparisons made with Egyptian objects, however, amply justify the inclusion of the article in a journal devoted to Egyptology, and the conclusions drawn will be found to be of the deepest importance.—En.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Clement de Bode, sm of Charles de Bode, an emigrant from Alsace, who settled down in Russia after the French Revolution, was a Russian subject and lived in Moscow. In what capacity Clement de Bode came to Persis I do not know and camet ascertain, naving no Russian books of reference to consider appears, however, that he went there as a diplamat. In England, as I have been told by Sir Paul Vinogradoff, he was concerned in a big lawsuit reveas the Crown, which started in the forties (De Rode's Case, 18-15, 8 Q-B, 208). On account of this affair Rode had often to come to headen, where he stayed for long permits of time.

It may be supposed that, as in the case of many finds made in Mesopotamia and Elam during the excavations conducted by de Morgan and de Sarzee, this particular treasure was hidden by its owners at the time of one of the frequent military catastrophes suffered by the city on the site of which a tumnius has gradually grown. The fact that the treasure



Fig. 1. Map to show the position of Astrahad.

was discovered in the lower part of the hill proves that the objects found belong to the most ancient layers. Unfortunately this hill was not explored afterwards, and we have no data to indicate its composition and the character of its cultural layers. An idea of the objects may be obtained from the sketches made by Bode and his very summary description of them. Both the sketches and the description were handed over by Bode to Roach Smith who published them in 1844 in Archaeologia. It is unfortunate that the sketches are superficial and seem to have been made rather harriedly; they give the barest outline only of the ornaments, and make it impossible to judge of the style and technique. But generally speaking they seem to be exact, as can be proved by comparing them with analogous and contemporary objects. It is much to be regretted that while Bode indicates

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Baron Clement Accounts in Bode, On a recently special tomulus in the neighbourhood of Assembad, forming part of ancient Hyromoid, and the country of the Parthona. Communicated by Charles Roach Shith. Esq., F.S.A., Archaeologio, vol. xxx (1844), pp. 248—255, with 19, XVI.

the weight of the golden objects he does not give their dimensions, and that he contents himself with naming only the general features of the technique of the ornaments. All this makes it very difficult to analyse this particular treasure and to indicate the epoch and cultural region to which it belongs. However, as will be seen below, it is possible to discover both the former and the latter, and their discovery leads to results, the importance of which will no doubt be estimated by specialists at their proper value.

The Astrabad treasure (Pl III) consists of a number of golden objects, some worked stones and several weapons made of copper (not bronze).

Highly characteristic are two golden vessels :-

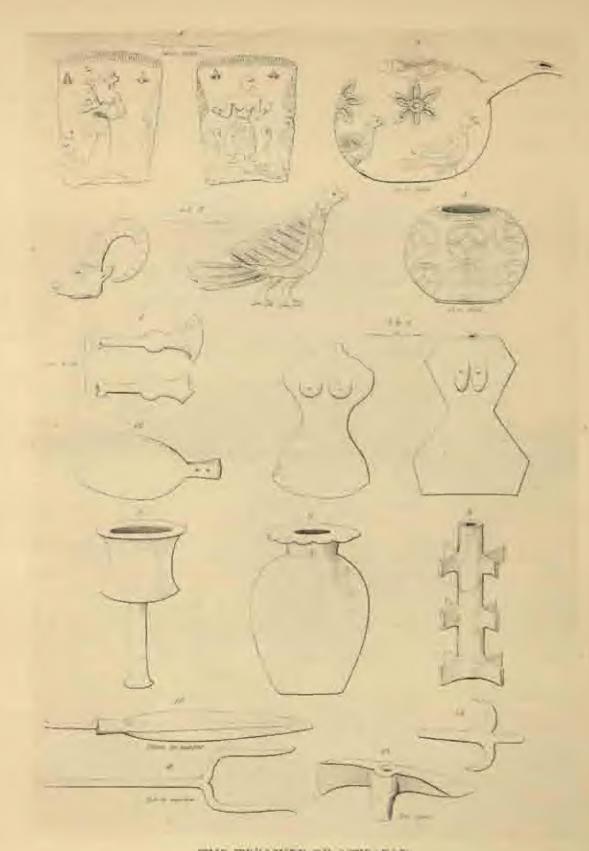
1. One of them is made of thin gold in the form of a goblet, the sides being very much bent. Around the upper part runs a band ornamented with a zigzag line, probably ent into the metal. The whole body of the vessel is urnamented with figures in relief. Two human figures are well preserved and will be described in detail further on. Between them we find four-leaved rosettes, which Bode supposes to represent bees. Apart from these. Bade found some fragmentary representations of lions and cypresses on the lower part of the vessel between the human figures, although, as he shows by his sketches and states in his description, these representations are very much damaged. The dimensions of the goblet are not indicated, but the weight is given as 36 02 ounces.

2. The other vessel, weighing 70 ounces, seems to have been found in a better state of preservation. It has the form of an aryballos with a long spout. The body of the vessel is ornamented with figures of vultures or eagles represented in profile. Under the spout is found the head of an ibex, probably a remnant of the whole figure, which is not preserved. On the upper part of the vessel, between the figures of animals are found six-leafed rosettes with line-ornamentations; of these we will speak in detail further on. It is not clear whether this vessel had a cover, but, according to the drawing, that seems probable. In any case the cover or top of the vessel had its own distinct ornaments, viz. a central circle filled up with ornamental lines and encircled by a band with schematic representations of leaves disposed in pairs at obtuse angles to one another. It is to be regretted that in the case of this vessel also Bode did not show whether the ornaments are of repulse work or engraved; possibly both methods may have been combined.

3. It is especially regrettable that there are no indications whatever concerning the third golden object, weighing 114 ounces (here also the dimensions are not given). Botle calls this object a "round vessel." I suspect that the round opening at the top and the rim at the bottom indicate that the object is not a vessel at all, but the head of a mace or, more correctly, the golden cover of a mace-head. The light weight of the object speaks in favour of this supposition. The whole body of the object, which has the shape of a ball, is ornamented with a double row of circles, the rims of which consist of short strokes; inside each circle a rhombus is drawn, the outer sides of the rhombus being concave, and the bands forming the rhombus being likewise filled up with short strokes or lines. The upper opening has a rim in the form of a band running round it ornamented with crossed lines. Roach Smith defines the ornamental work of the mace as "carved ornaments"; by this he probably means to imply that the ornaments are engraved.

4. The description of two golden objects which together weigh of ounces is extremely sketchy. Bode calls them musical instruments—trumpets; I hardly can believe this to be exact. Unfortunately in the absence of any indication of the dimensions of these objects

no conjecture can be drawn as to their purpose.



THE TREASURE OF ASTRABAD

so thown in Archaeologia, Vol. XXX (1844), Pl. XVI.



The objects made of stone form a special series :-

5 and 6. The most interesting are the two female torsos, both headless, legless and armless. Both torsos mem to be cut out of plates. The first figure has a rounded form, whereas the form of the second is angular. The first figure has the stump of a neck, and it may be supposed that the head has been broken off. As to the second figure it may be conjectured that the neck and head were separate parts, which have fallen off and been lost. The sex is indicated by the breasts, which are rounded in the first figure and narrow and oblong in the second, in the shape of a lentil. The centres in both cases are indicated by points. The sexual organs are not indicated. The first figure is made of a reddish stone, the second of yellow-tinted white stone resembling maragin marble from the province of Azerbeidjan.

7 and 8. Two vessels are made of the same yellow-tinted white stone. One is shaped like a goblet on a long stem, the lower part of which is broken off. The second has a very alogant shape, the top part forming a rosette with many leaves.

The copper objects are weapons of wurfare with interesting and original shapes :-

9. A very original mace-head is ornamented with three rows of projections, four in each row.

- 10. Three spearheads leaf-shaped, with ends to be set in the shafts.
- 11. Six prongs or forks also with ends to be set in the shafts.

12. A leaf-shaped dagger with a handle pieceed with two holes for the purpose of attaching it to a wooden shaft in which the handle was set.

13. Two double-edged battleaxes, one of the edges horizontal and the other vertical, with a central hole for the handle.

14. A combination of two curved knives and a spear with an end for hafting.

Despite the great interest attaching to the treasure here described, it remains still unclassified and has never been properly understood. Bode himself and Roach Smith after him believed the objects to belong to the Scythian period, and supposed them to have been discovered in a finerary tunulus of the type described by Herodotus. This, of course, is quite impossible because the Scythian culture, which is well known to us from the South Russian discoveries, belongs to a much later stage when weapons of iron had completely supplanted weapons of bronze. In this case we have to deal only with weapons made of copper and very primitively shaped; there is no bronze and, of course, no iron. We are, therefore, in this case concerned with a cultural period belonging to the Copper-age, not to the Bronze-age.

Since the description of the treasure was published, the only scholars, so far as I know, who have paid attention to it are the students of prehistoric times and S. Reinach. The interest of the first was excited simply and solely by the copper weapons; they paid no attention whatever to the other objects, and went no further than to make a superficial comparison with other treasures of Western Europe'. S. Reinach paid more attention to our treasure. He was the first to emphasize the great antiquity of the objects discovered as indicated by the absence of iron and even bronze, but his comparison of the figures on the golden gobiet with the Mycenaean or Aegean figures lacks foundation. The Mycenaean

<sup>4</sup> See Montreaus, Archie für Authropologie, vol. xxi, p. 14; In., Die Chronologie der Broozenit, p. 138; cf. S. Runnen, Anthropologie, 1802, p. 454.

See S. Bringen, La representation de galop, in Revas Archéologique, vol. xxxvii (1900), p. 252, with figs. 12—82.

and Aegean figures have absolutely no resemblance to our figures; the type of the features, the costume and the ornaments differ markedly from those of the Aegean and Mycenaean areas and lead us to other regions and other times. After S. Reinach our treasure was almost entirely forgotten again. In the latest literature I have found references to it only in the last book by W. Leonhardt entitled Paphlagenia (Berlin, 1915, p. 322), with a reference to S. Reinach.

It was in the course of my researches upon the most ancient cultural development of Southern Russia, and especially in studying the untiquities discovered in the Kuhan province, which are clearly related, as Pharmakovsky has recently shown, to prehistoric Egypt, and even more closely related to the most ancient civilisation of Sumer and Elam, that I became acquainted with the treasure of Astrabad; its relation to the same period was at once obvious to me, as well as its close connection with the Sumerian antiquities, as we now know them after the discoveries of de Sarzec and Cros and the masterly classifications due to Henzey.

One has merely to giance at our treasure, after having attentively gone through the tables of the splendid French publication sutitled Découvertes en Chaldée, to become convinced of the fact that the only true parallels for it are to be found in the objects belonging to the time of Ur-Nina, one of the most ancient kings of Lagash, in the contemporary untiquities discovered by de Morgan in Sasa, in the asphalt vessels, covered with drawings, contemporary with the second period of the painted pottery of Elam, and in the most ancient Elamitic seals.

Let us now study more closely the objects contained in our treasure. A golden tambler or goblet held by gods or kings appears frequently on the Sumerian manuments. In the first place, by way of corroboration, I must mention the tablets or pedestals from Nippur and Tella, destined most probably for sacred maces. Everywhere upon these, gods and kings are seen holding goblets while their servants stand near with vessels for libations, tall jugs without handles but with spouts, through which the liquid contained in the vessel was poured out. The first discovery of a number of such goblets, with ornaments in relief and engraving, some of them made of shells of mother-of-pearl, was made in Tella; the second discovery of the kind, consisting of asphalt supports in the form of goblets, was made in Elam<sup>3</sup>. But of course the shape alone does not give any definite indication because vessels of the goblet type were in rather common use in the ancient world. A definite indication

B. PRAREZKOV-KI, The Archeic Proceed in Russia in Materials for Archaeology of Russia, vol. xxxiv, pp. 50 fell.

See Hillerteiner, Explorations in Bible Lands, p. 417, with illustrations; Bubylonian Explorations, Old Bubylonian Inser., vol. 1, p. 2, with Pl XVI; E. Meyen, Superior and Souther; King, History of Summ and Athad, p. 30, figs. 14, 15; de Sanzeo and Heuzey, Découvertes se Chaldée, Pl. 11 his; ef. Pl. 1, and Heuzey, Caral, des Antiq. Chald, du Louvre, no. 11.

See Dec., Pl. XLVI, fig. 3 (see in the present article Pl. V. 6g. 2); Catal., p. 189; Dec., chid., figs. 4, 5, 8; Catal., no. 232 foll.; Kino, Henory of Somer and Akkad, pp. 75 foll, figs. 30 foll. The best preserved is the goldet of Undea with the figure of a caducous formed by two surpents and two winged surpents shaped demans; see Dec., Pl. XLIV, fig. 2, A. R. C., p. 234; and cf. Pl. XLIV bis. fig. 4, p. 381; Resus Assyriologique, vol. v, pp. 129 foll.) vol. vi, pp. 95 foll. The asphalt supports of Elam will be described later on.

<sup>\*</sup> I may mention, however, that in none of the series of pottery known to me have I found such a prependerance of the goldet type as in the commics of Elam of the first period, with its characteristic pointings; one has only to go through the plates published by Pottier to be convinced of this. See to Monaux, Deligation on Perse, Memoires XIII. The only other shape compating to a certain extent with

can be given only by the character and style. Setting aside for the moment the other representations, which are in a bad state of preservation, let us concentrate our attention on the two principal figures.

One of them (Pl. III, no. 1, right) represents a human being with the head and feet turned to the right while the body is standing straight, facing one. The underlined tips of the breasts alone are evidently not sufficient to serve as a criterion of sex. The head and the face of the figure are clean-shaven. The peculiar characteristic features of this human figure are its unusually long hooked nose and its large cars. The eye is large and has a characteristic shape, which is repeated in the second figure. The clothing also is very typical: the upper part of the body and the feet are bare; from the waist down to the feet the figure is clad in a wide petticoat belted at the waist. The arms and hands are represented en face; the arms are bent at the clow and stretched out—one to the right, the other to the left; if the drawing and the description by Bode are to be trusted, the figure is represented with bracelets on the arms and ankles. The nature of the material of which the petticoat is made is very typically represented by three or four rows of streaked triangles.

The second figure (Pl. III, no. 1, left) has the same characteristic features. Here also the head and feet are turned to the right, while the body and arms are drawn en face: The face is of the same type, with a large hooked nose and a fleshy car; the head and face are also clean-shaven. The costume differs slightly, consisting of a short petticoat instead of a long one, which covers the lower part of the body only and stops short at the knees; the garment looks more like a wide belt than a petricout and is held at the waist by another wide belt, possibly of metal, ornamented with two bands of triangles. The artist has attempted to represent the material of the pettieoat by means of four streaked bands. The arms are represented in the same way as in the first figure, but the left arm is bent at the elbow with the hand poised on the hip; the right arm is also bent at the elbow, but the hand holds a sort of instrument or a part of some weapon which Bode has reproduced in his sketch as resembling an oar with a hole in the blade, though in his description he compares it with one of the curved knives used by the natives to clear a path through the woods. (See the drawing on page 249). A parallel to both these figures can be found only on Sumerian monuments. Firstly the technique and the style of the figures, and then the long hooked noses, the fleshy ears, the clean-shaven hands and faces such precisely are the features that characterize the ancient kings and other inhabitants of Lagash, the typical features of the Sumerian type, reproduced by the Sumerian artists with a rude, primitive realism. One glance at such ancient menuments as the abovementioned pedestals of sacred maces of the king Ur-Nina (see Pl. V, fig. 4) or of the sovereigns of Nippur, or at the famous round pedestal from Tello (see Pl. V. fig. I), or at the famous Vulture stell, will suffice to remove every doubt in this matter. No less typical and characteristically Sumerian are the postures and costumes of the figures!

The figure with the arms outstretched is clad in the typical Sumerian petricons, found on nearly all the figures representing ancient Sumerians. These petricoats, as

the goblet is the half-spherani sup. This is not accidental, of course, especially as such a predominance is noticeable only in the first period. Other shapes predominate in the second period, when the goblet appears only speradically.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The latest comparative study of Samerian types was published by Ta. J. Pixenes, The Samerian of Lagat in Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. XXIV (1913), pp. 17 foll, with Pl. L.

Henzey supposes (Les origines orientales de l'Art, pp. 120 foll.), were made of shaggy woollen stuff, in texture resembling for, or else of palm-leaves stitched together. To eite examples would be superfluous. The ciothing of the second figure, the belt and apron covering the loins, is not so typical. But still it is found rather often in Sumerian statuary. For instance the figure of Ningirsa, supreme god of Lagash, as represented on the Vulture stella, is clad in precisely such an apron, covering the loins. A similar costume characterizes the two figures (the god and the worshipper) on the tablet from Nippur (Hilperent, Explorations in Bible Lands, p. 417; Bub Exp., Con. texts, vol. 1, Pt. 2, Pl. XVI, figs. 37 and 38); the demon on the tablet of the Berlin Museum, published by Henzey (Déc., Pl. XLVI, fig. 1). Henzey's is undecided whether it was the fur of an animal or some kind of woollen material that the artist wished to represent.

We get a further development of this primitive costume, changing gradually into a Babylonian plaid, on a later monument (about two centuries after Naramsin), the relief of Anubanini, king of the Luthbeians (see by Morgan, Mission Scientifique en Parse, vol. ty (1896), pp. 161 foll.; E. Meyer, Sum. n. Sem., p. 25). The king is figured here in the act of conquering his foes, with a "boomerang" (to be mentioned further on) in his right hand, just as in the figure on the Astrabad goblet. He is clad in a sort of waistcoat covering the upper part of the body, and in a plaid covering the loins and fastened by a wide metallic helt around the waist. It is characteristic that bracelets are represented on the arms of this figure, just as on the arms of the first figure on the Astrabad goblet. It is very probable that the typical clothing of the Hittities with their wide metallic waistbelt is connected with this costume. Possibly in this case the waistcoat covering the upper part of the body and the agran have been united to form one cost."

The object that the figure on the goblet is holding in the right hand is very typical. I have stated already that Bode's drawing and description do not coincide. The description, of course, is the more trustworthy, the drawing serving only as an illustration, and it shows that the instrument or weapon concerned may be identified with the so-called Sumerian "boomering," a stick or bundle of twigs with a curve or bend at the upper end, wherein was fixed a blade made of stone or metal. Later the whole apparatus, the blade included, was made of copper. These weapons played an important part in the ancient days of Lagach. Examitum on the Vulture stella, one of the chiefs on the round monument, and many other figures that could be cited are all armed with "boomerings." Most probably the shape of the curved shafts of the sceptres held by the gods of Sumer and Babylon may be traced back to this most ancient Sumerian weapon!

See HEUREY, Déconvertes en Chabile, Pl. XLVIII; E. MEYRE, Numérier und Semiten, p. 65.

Son PRIMARUNERY, The Archain Period in Russia in Materials for the Archaeology of Russia, vol. XXIV.

<sup>\*</sup> Restitution nutrically de la ville des l'instances (1900), p. 29; a general characterization is given bere of the ethnographic type of the Sumerium and of their clothing; very justifiable doubts are expressed concerning the accuracy of the deductions of E. Meyer, who builds his theory of the relationship between Sumerium and Semites in ancient Mesopotamia on the basis of the type of features and costume.

<sup>\*</sup> See Harrar, Dic., Pt. 1 ter, fig. 1a, of. Pt. XLVII, fig. 1 (see in the present article Pt. V. fig. 1) and Pt. III bis, of. Pt. XLVIII bis. See also the extinder with the figure of Ningirsu, Dec., p. 301, fig. 1, of thirty, Pt. XXII, fig. 5 (p. 271); Pt. XXX bis. fig. 19. For the "becomering" see Huuzer, Nonrolles families die Tello, p. 120, fig. 4 and Pt. VIII, fig. 5 ; of. chief., p. 137 and note 1. For a very destiled analysis of the "becomering" and for suggestions about the origin of this type of weapon see Huuzer, Rest and de a stelle des Vautours, pp. 14 foll. Origin when the Tellot, pp. 104 foll. Most probably it is the original of the later curved awords of the Hitties and of Asia Minor, the so-called kingdes.

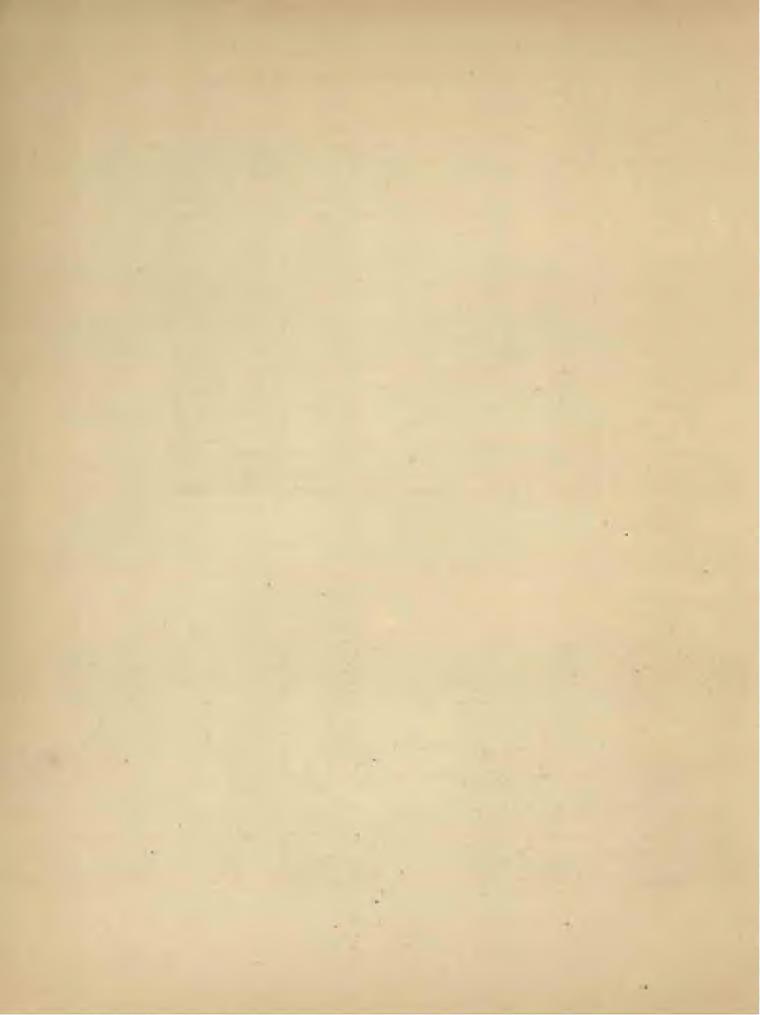








ANTIQUITIES FROM ELAM



If the figure on the goblet really holds a "boomerang" in its hand, this is an indication that finally acttles the question of the truly Sumerian character of the figures represented.

The general composition of the scene depicted on the goblet is not really clear. Bode mentions lious and cypresses, but the reproduction of trees in such a connection is hardly probable. The introduction of elements of landscape on Sumerian reliefs belongs to a later time, not earlier than the period of Sargon and Naramain, when the type of costumes and features had changed to a great extent and there was very little left in common with the type of clothing and features of Lagash in the period of Ur-Nina and Eannatum.

It is permissible, therefore, to doubt the accuracy of Bode's description, and to conjecture that he could not decipher the bent and defaced designs between the figures and was unable to understand their meaning. It is possible that our goblet in the general composition of its sennes, closely resembled one of the asphalt supports of Elam discovered by de Morgan. In any case the position of the human figure on this support fully coincides with the posture of the first figure of the Astrabad goblet. I am alluding to the two fragments of a support reproduced in Del en Perse, Mem. xiii, Pl. XXXV, figs. 2 and 5, where their editor has not mentioned the fact that they are parts of one and the same support's (see Pl. IV, fig. 2). The figure on the fragments is shown standing straight with head and feet turned leftwards. The right hand of the figure is represented in the act of grasping the wing of the ordinary Samerian heraldic eagle, the left poised on a lion. The human figure is typically Sumerian; there is the same technique in the reproduction of the body, the same characteristic petticoat (cf. Porries, ibid., Pl. XXXIII, fig. 5; Pl. XXXV. fig. 4). The same typical Sumerians are represented on a number of other monuments, for instance on the highly interesting relief (see Pl. IV, fig. 1) where two Sumerians are seen standing facing each other, one lifting and stretching out the right arm, and the other the left arm , between them two heraldic serpents are interlaced, reminding one of the serpent cadneeus of Gudea and of the same serpents on the handle shields of knives and daggers of predynastic Egypts (see fig. 3 on p. 15).

Is not the composition of the scene on the Astrabad goblet also typically Sumerian? It is repeated with certain omissions also on the Elam support just alluded to: the two figures, and between them the heraldic eagles holding in their claws two heraldic lions. We must remember that the eagle of Lagash, holding two unimals in its claws, was a favourite theme with the artists of that city and of the city of Elam (e.g. Pl. IV, fig. 3), only slightly altered in the latter case. We find it on the famous wase of Entemena (see fig. 2), on the standard carried by Ningirsu, on the Vulture stella, and on a series of ancient reliefs from Lagash.

See Porring, Inc. cit., p. 68. Pattier had correctly indicated the close connection and contemporary character of the sculptured pattery of Elam of the second period of painted ceramics with the manuments of the most ancient period of Lagash.

<sup>\*</sup> For this Elamitic relief so Dol. on Perse, Mem. XIII, PL XXXVII (black asphalt). (If the same type and style are the periostals for secred maces from Elam, blid., PL XI., figs. 3 and 0. The goldet of Gudes is reproduced in all the publications concerning the history of Sumer. See Herzer, Do. Pl XLIV, fig. 2, A. B. C., and p. 234. For Egyptian knives see on Mongan, Recherches, vol. 1, pp. 112 foll, fig. 136, vol. II, Pl. V; Caranx, Primities Art in Egypt, p. 71, fig. 36, p. 72, fig. 37, p. 73, fig. 38. See further Haurer, Original primities of CArt, p. 345, with Pl. XVII.

For the vase of Entement see Mon. et Mon. Piot, vol. 11 (Harvay), pp. 5-foll, with Pl 1; Dec., Pls. XLIH and XLIH bis, and μp. 20) foll. The Vulture stale see Dec., Pl. 1V bis; reliefs, see thick, Pl. 1, fig. 2, and μs. 87 foll., Pl. V bis, fig. 2, and μs. 200; Pl. XXXI bis, fig. 1. Usually, however, the engle loss of the content of the property of the content of the pion.

If my supposition prove exact, the Astrabad goblet, together with some monuments from Susa and Tello, may be considered as one of the most ancient specimens of a continuous composition, symmetrically or heraldically uniting human beings and animals in one concise picture encircling the ornamented object. A similar group of lion-eagles and animals intermixed is found on the Entenena vase, a group of animals alone on the mace-head (see Pl. V. fig. 5), where lions are reproduced in one continuous band devouring other lions (Déc., Pl. I ter., fig. 2, with pp. 223 foll.), and lastly, the tendency to bind together in the same network figures representing vultures and parts of human bodies is clearly indicated in the upper part of the Vulture stell.

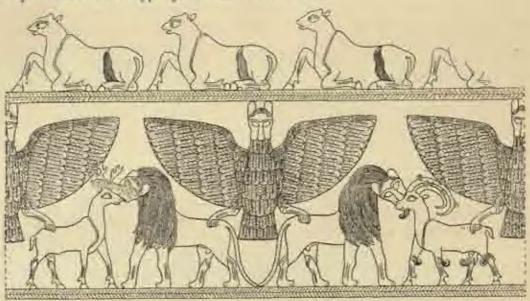


Fig. 2. Design from the vase of Entemena.

We should also note the four-leaved resetts on the Astrabad goblet, filling up the parts of the goblet unoccupied by other figures. The same method of filling up empty spaces is typical of the goblets of Tello covered by engravings of shells (Pl. V. fig. 2) and of the engraved stones of ancient Elam. The primitive character of the argumental band on the upper rim of the goblet also deserves attention.

The Sumerian character seems at first sight less pronounced in the large vessel with a sport. It may be explained by the evident tendency of Bode's drawings to modernize somewhat the figures of eagles ornamenting the vessel. But a closer examination shows the

lion's head, which is typical for Logash, but is not repeated in Elam. Bode may have mistaken for cypresses the ends of the eagle's wings; there is no reason to question the presence of Ilona on the lower part. The composition on the monument in Noneslles familles de Tello, Pl. VIII, fig. 3 is particularly vivid.

The mace-head was consecrated to the god Ningired by Mescilius, king of Kish. Over a continuous series of lious is reproduced the flying eagle of Shirpurla-Lagrah. The same composition is found in Egypt, also on a ministure mace-head. This mace-head was discovered at Hierakonpolis and is kept at the present time in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford (Quineau and Granes, Hierakonpolis, vol. 1, P. XXIII; vol. 1, Pl. XIX, 6 and vol. 1, Pl. LXVI). Comp. L. Currius, Studies are Geschichte der alteriantalischen Kunn in Site der Baye. Alcol. (1912), 7, pp. 21 foll.

\* See the gobiet with the reproduction of a fion devouring a built (Dic. PL XLVI, 3; Cat., p. 189);

here a seven-leaved resette is reproduced between the fion and the bull.

See Jacquien, Del. on Perse, Mem. viii, figs. 13, 17, 20, 22, 31, 32, 40, 42, 44, 47, 51, 52, 53.



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vessel to be typically Sumerian and as primitive as the goblet. First of all attention must be drawn to the combination in the Astrabad treasure of the goblet or tumbler with the vessel with a spout. This combination is characteristic of Sumerian reliefs. The same combination is found on several monuments of predynastic and protodynastic Egypt, but the shape of the vessel used for libations is somewhat different in Babylon, Elam and Egypt). Evidently the vessel with the spont and the goblet belonged to the customary set of sacramental plate used in the temples. To both of these must be added a bomb-shaped round vessel with a short neck, appearing there where life-giving water is figured, running out of this vessel in two streams. This vessel remains typically sacramental in Southern Russia from the most ancient times up to the period of the decline of the great Scythian Empire. It is true that the vessel with a spont from Astrabad is shaped differently from the vessels with sports from Mesopotamia and Egypt. But I attach no great importance to this, because vessels with spouts are very common in the primitive ceramics of the whole Orient and the Aegean Islands, and take the most varied shapes, sometimes approaching very nearly to the shape of the Astrabad vessel. We find these vessels in Elam, beginning with the Neolithic Period, the first period of the cultural development of Elam which is characterized by painted pottery; and a great many vessels of this type are found in predynastic and protodynastic Egypt. We get them also in the tells of Turkestan, in Anau, although, it is true, in later layers!

In later times vessels with sponts are typical for the whole of Asia Minor; we find them in the earlier Hittite necropoleis, in the more ancient necropoleis of Phrygia, and in Trans-Caucasia. They are quite common also in the region influenced by the Aegean

The vessel used for libetions on the polette of Narmer (Pl. VI, fig. 2) has the shape of a small kettle which the servant holds by a handle rivered to the upper part. This shape is very similar to that of the Astrahad vessel. I may say here that many of the Egyptian earthenware vessels with spouta approximate very closely in shape to the Astrahad vessel. See Hxu., in this Journal, vol. : (1914), pp. 114 foll., with Pl. XVII.

\* See Pharmanovsky, The Archaic Period in Russia, in Materials for the Archaeology of Russia, vol. xxxiv, pp. 50 full.; Rostovyzeev, Jul., pp. 79 foll.; cf. Heurey, Orig. orient, de l'Art, pp. 149 foll.

with Pl. V.

\* POTTIER, Del. on Porce, Main. XIII, Pl. XXII, fig. 6, Pl. XXV, fig. 7, Pl. XXIX, fig. 2. I indicate

those vessels only that more or less approximate in shape to the Astrabad ressel.

See LEONARD WOOLKY, Hittite Burial Castone, in Liverpool Awards of Archaeology, vol. VI (1994), pp. 87 foll, with Pis. XXII, figs. 3 and 4 (the transitional period between the early bronze and the middle Hittite). Compare the cossel from Kuel-Teps in E. Marka, Reich and Kultur der Chetiter, Pl. V.

\* Kours in Ath. Mittl., vol. xxiv (1889), p. 33, with Pls. III, XVI, XXV. Korte ascribes these vessels, as well as the above exentioned flittle remails, to about 2000 a.c., placing them close to the Trojan vessels of the Vth vity. These vessels developed into the later pointed vessels of the same type. See Kours, Bordion, p. 80, Pls. III, IV.

Röstenn, Verkandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft, in Zeitschr. für Ethnol. (1901), pp. 87 foll., and ex. 1902, p. 188 (excavations near Heissendorf). Vessels of the same type are found in other necropoleis of

Trans-Caucasia.

culture. I may mention also that a vessel with a spout of the typical shape of the Sumerian reliefs was found in one of the tells near Astrabad during do Morgan's excavations, of which I shall have to speak further on. Unfortunately the published drawings of the objects discovered ito not allow us to form an opinion concerning the time to which this vessel may belong; the handle differs from those of the vessels on the Sumerian stellar, and this difference may indicate a later period?

A decisive indication of the epoch of the Astrabad vessel is found not in its shape, but in its ernamentation. The ornamentation of vessels, carved stones, cylinders, palettes, etc., with series of similar or different animals is a sign typical of a very ancient stage in the development of art. We find it in the polychroms ceramics of Elam and Egypt', on seals and cylinders of a most ancient epoch in the same countries, and on monuments of predynastic and protodynastic Egypt\*. The animal reproductions strike one usually by their primitive naturalism and show a tendency of the artist towards a certain schematization and geometrization, although the same tendencies appear as a product of a later development. Splendid specimens of this method of ornamentation are found among the silver vessels from a Maykop burial (Kuban province, Northern Caucasus) belonging to the same period. I hope to treat separately the subject of this burial and its important bearing on the history of human cultures.

Bode's drawing, unfortunately, reproduces only the general scheme of the figures of eagles ornamenting the Astrabad vessel, and gives no clue which would enable us to judge of the style. But one detail, evidently not invented, is very characteristic. This is the reproduction of the plumage, the claborate rendering of each feather, the unusually detailed and at the same time schematic work. The manner in which the plumage is

<sup>!</sup> For vessels from Mochins see Perster and Karo, Ant. Collides, vol. 11, p. 5; Pseira, ibid., Pl. XIX, and often. It is known that out of this type of vessels has developed the so-called Schnabellanuss. Such ressels are very common on the island of Cyprus, see Konta, Gordion, p. 59 feetnote. Uf. P. D. Chenota, Cutal, of Cypr. Ant., vol. 11, p. 85, see, 757, 758; p. 96, no. 823; p. 92, no. 788. I take my examples from

I J. DE MORGAN, Mission Scientifique en Perse, vol. IV, p. 144; hg. 7.

з Разуния, Del. en Perse, Mem. хип (1912).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Isquien, op. ait., Mem. viii (1906); of Mecqueren, daid., Mem. vii, and Perano, daid., Mem. xii.

<sup>2</sup> See the recent article by J. BESHDITE on this kind of monument, The Coronwest Ivory in this Journal, vol. v (1918), pp. 1 foll. Of also T. E. Pers, The Act of the Peedynastic Period in this Journal, vol. it (1915), pp. 58 folf. I am astomished that no attention is here pull to the close commution between Egyptian palettes and knife-handles and the ancient scale and cylinders from Elan. This connection appears not so much in the similar types of various summals (licon, for instance), as in a general system of their grouping, parily around a certain centre, partly in continuous rows one over the other, the coupty spaces sometimes being filled up with animals, sometimes with promotric or vestative ornaments. See 1. Cournes, Studios zur Geschichte der Allerientalischen Kunst, in Sitzungst, der Ragrischen Akad. (1912), pp. 11 foll.; January, Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Lest., vol. XIX [1904]; pp. 27 foll.

<sup>9</sup> See Phakuakovsky, Archaic Period in Russia, in Mater, for Arch, of Bassia, vol. 12219, pp. 50 fell. The Maykop resouls are to be meluched in the same series, as characterized above, of monuments giving the oldest specimens of the animal style, clearly showing a definite tendency to ornament with figures of animals objects destined for religious or domestic purps.

I I do not know if Bode faithfully renders the style of the engle's head, but what strikes me is the class. resemblance in style, even in Rule's rendering, with the splendel sagle's head (Pl. V, ng 3) on the fragment of the relief from Tello (Dec., Pl. I, fig. 3). The heads of the small vultures on the Vulture stell are less characteristic, but they too have a striking expression of energy and life, differing in this from the mere elaborate and elegant heads of the small hawks of protodynamic Egypt. It is to be remembered that the figures of voltures and other birds of prey, so full of life, play the same part on the well-known toutount

represented is very close to the manner characterized by Henzey as typical of Sumerian monuments of the period of Eannatum and Ur-Nina, only it is simpler and more primitive. The plumage of the wings is not divided into several parts as on the Sumerian monuments, where the lower part of the wing consists of smaller feathers and two or three rows of big feathers form the wing proper, but is reproduced as a row of separate big feathers each of

them covered entirely with short strokes. The same manner is adopted in the most ancient monuments of Egypt (see for instance Hierakonpolis, vol. 1, Pl. VI, fig. 6, and of. Pl. XVI, fig. 4, Pl. XII, figs. 1, 8, Pl. XVII; also vol. 0, Pl. XXXII, reproduced here, Pl. VI, fig. 3), and on the asphalt support of Elam (see POTITIER, op. cit., Mém. XII), Pl. XXXIV, figs. 2, 3, and Pl. XXXV, figs. 2, 5, = here Pl. IV, fig. 3). On later Egyptian manuments the treatment of bird's plumage alters and follows a line differing from the Sumerian.

The reacties forming the upper bands of the ornamentation of the Astrabad vessel are still more typical. I have found the same type of resette only on monuments of predynastic and protodynastic Egypt. Such a resette composed of six or usually seven haves is seen on the



Fig. 3. Gold sheath of a prodynastic Egyptian stone knife.

palette of Narmer, both on the obverse and the reverse, between the figure of the Pharaoh and the figure of his cup-bearer (Pl. VI, fig. 2)<sup>3</sup>; the same resette is reproduced before the figure of the Pharaoh on the big mace-head N III from Hierakonpolis and a second time on fragment 5 of the same, also on the mace-head N II (Pl. VI, fig. 1)<sup>4</sup>. But still more characteristic is the fact that precisely the same resette, consisting of four leaves, is found on the gold sheath of a stone knife of predynastic Egypt, playing the same part as on the Astrahad vessel, i.e. filling up the space between the rows of animals (fig. 3). A similar resette with an equal or greater number of leaves, likewise used for ornamental purposes

at the British Museum as do the vultures on the Eannatun stels. The close stylistic connection between this paiette and the Eannatun stels has been pointed out several times already. The powerful expression of the vultures' heads on the palette differs vividly from the elegant treatment of the hird figures on Egyptian manuments, and reminds one very much of Mesopotamia, but the plannage is reproduced according to the Egyptian scheme. See the recent article by Simionan concerning this palette in the Liverpool Ann. of Arch., vol. vii (1914—1916), p. 43.

Trable characterization of the Entennesia years, Déc. en Chaldée, Pl. XLIII and XLIII bis; Mon. et Méss., Piot, vol. 11, Pl. I, and p. 5; Catal., up. 372 foll

\* See for instance the charming hawk on the Narmer paints, Quinent, Hierocompolis, vol. 1, Pl. XXIX, or the vultures on the Vulture palette, Semoxan, op. cit., Pl. XIV.

See Quintil, Hieratoopolis, Pl. XXIX, and compute for the resettes aspecially G. Foucant, Leaders reis assessment de Rieratoopolis, in Compter Rendux de Valond, des Inser, (1901), p. 231, aspecially p. 233, where an enlarged, but not quite a correct reproduction of a resette is given. The palette of Narmer has been reproduced several times in different publications.

1 Quinnitia, op. cit., Pl. XXVI n and XXVI c; and cr. Pl. XXV, ng. ).

and filling up an empty space, is found on the other side of the gold sheath in conjunction with the figures of two symmetrically interlaced serpents. Exactly the same thing is repeated on some similar and similarly ornamented knives belonging to the Berlin Museum and to the Edwards Collection at University College, London. Let us remember also the four-leaved rosettes filling up the empty spaces on the golden goblet from Astrahad, to which we referred above.

The resette is, of course, a common element of ornamentation. But the characteristic fact is the absolute coincidence in shape, the careful rendering of the centre by two concentric circles, the empty space between them being filled up by lines, the careful working of the leaves, the longitudinal and transverse veins being reproduced schematically. All this, however strange it may seem, is found only in Egypt and Astrabad. On Sumerian monuments I have never remarked such resettes? It is quite possible, as G. Foncart suggests, that out of this more ancient resette developed later the Egyptian lotus-resette, which has spread over the whole world, as was well demonstrated by Goodyear? But the later resette differs to a great extent from the more ancient, which I have found only in Egypt and Astrabad. A certain resemblance may be found between the resette of this type and the golden resette of Mochlos, but the resemblance is rather remote and the technique is quite different.

The striking coincidence above indicated is important for us both as confirming the extreme antiquity of the Astrabad vessel with a spont and because it above again the close connection—both chronological and substantial—between the cultures of protodynastic Egypt and the more ancient periods of Sumer, a connection which has of late been often indicated though very variously explained.

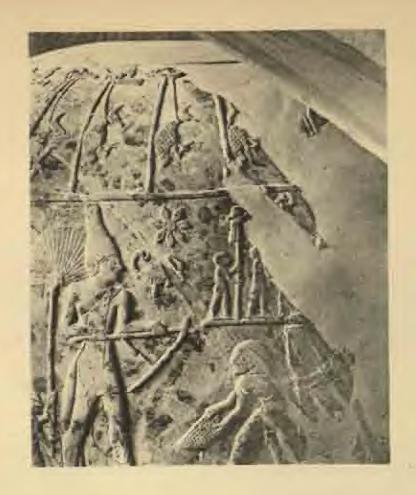
'See J. De Mondas, Recherches, vol. 1, pp. 12 fall, fig. 130, and vol. II, Pl. V., Carart, Primitive Art in Egypt, p. 71, fig. 36; cf. Petrue in Man (1902), No. 113, p. 161, Pl. I, figs. 3, 111 and 4, IV; Carart, op. cit., p. 72, fig. 37 (now at University College, London); T. E. Peer, in this Journal, vol. II, Pl. XIII, fig. 4; Caraet, op. cit., p. 73, fig. 38 (the knife in the Berlin Museum). As a filling of cupty spaces and at the same time as the central point of a composition, a big six-loaved resette of a more schematic shape is found on one side of the every handle of a stone knife reproduced by Bénédite in this Journal, vol. v. 1918), Pl. I. I think that this resette may serve as a reliable chromological indication of a very close sourcetion between the Caraetron ivery and the above mentioned monuments.

The Sumerian resettes have a somewhat different shape, but their use for armamental purposes has the same object—to fill up empty spaces, or to serve as the central point in a composition. See the outravel cup, or the outer covering of a cup made of a shell from Tello, Déc., Pl. XLVI, fig. 3, our Pl. V, fig. 2. We find the same resette on the bottom of an analogous cup from the same place, Déc., p. 267, Pl. XLVI, fig. 7. It is characteristic that also on the alabaster plate from Susa we find a resette shaped in the same way—with sharp pointed, not rounded, leaves; over it is seen the customary engle; see Dec at Pers., Mem. XII, p. 138, fig. 105 bis. With the Sumerian and Klam menuments ought to be connected probably a later cylinder belonging to the de (Bercq collection (Coll. de Clarcq, Pl. III, fig. 27), supposed by Manant to be Phoemician, which is hardly correct. Here, in connection with agures of iberes in the lower part and with idea heads in the upper part, we find the empty spaces filled up both by typical Elamute and Somerian crummental network and by resettes of two typis—the nine-barved with leaves eming in triangles and the four-leaved, runningling one of the above-mentioned Egyptian measurements. Some signs, possibly hiereglyphs, adjoin the resettes.

\* G. FOUCART, loc. cit.; GRODYEAR, The Grammer of the Lotin, 1891, see especially pp. 106 full, with Pt. XI.

See PERNIER and KARD, Antiquates Cretoines, vol. viii: Seatter, Explorations in the Island of Mochlar, p. 22, fig. 6, and fig. 43, nos. xix, 16a, and xix, 16b.

\* HELZET, Orig. arient. de l'Art, pp. 345 foil.; BENÉDITE, Le Conteau de Gébel-el-Aruq, in Mon et Mêm. Piat, vol. EXII, pp. 32 foil.; H. Schleren, Zeitschrift für Agyptische Sprache, vol. ist (1915); A. L.







ANTIQUITIES FROM HIERAKONPOLIS (EGYFT)



The still closer connection between protodynastic Egypt and the Maykop vessels, which were mentioned above, may be even more striking, but this is not the place to treat of that subject.

The ibex head (Pl. III, ad 2) has been sketched by Bode more carefully than even the engles or valtures; this head, he says, served to ornament the space under the vessel's spout. As I have stated already, the sketch seems to show that the neck was broken off. It is possible, therefore, that the ornament on the vessel consisted of the whole figure of an ibex, and not only of the head. But this is of no importance, the chief point being the style of the head. The way in which the eye is depicted is characteristic, as well as the schematic ornamentation of the horns, the reproduction of only one car and only one horn. All this recurs frequently in figures of horned animals on the monuments of Elam and, to some extent, of Sumer's.

As I have said already, it is impossible to be certain about the purpose of the spherical "golden vessel," ornamented with two rows of geometrical figures on its body, and with circles enclosing rhombuses with concave sides. The space between the circles is filled up with short strokes. Thave mentioned that, in my opinion, the spherical object described is not a vessel, but possibly the head of a mace. It is superfluous to remind the reader of the enormous part played by votive maces—the most ancient weapon of man-in the cult of Sumer, Elam and protodynastic Egypt. Whether I am correct in my supposition concerning the golden sphere from Astrahad could be decided only by inspection of the object itself, not by a sketch without any description and without any indication of the dimensions. The most important point for us here is the fact that this third striking component of the treasure is not ornamented with figures of animals and human beings but with geometrical figures that are not very primitive in character. I do not know of any objects that could be compared with our golden sphere, but I think the oldest analogy to its ornamention is to be found in some of the painted vessels, cups and plates of ancient Elam, belonging to the period of the first style. Such ornaments there form the centre, the other geometrical patterns being grouped around them". I am unable to consider such a coincidence as purely accidental.

I fail to discern clearly the purpose of those two golden objects of the Astrabad treasure which Bode supposes to be trumpets or musical instruments. In the absence of any hint as to their dimensions, and the width and shape of the openings in them, it is difficult to form any opinion of their purpose, but a priori Bode's supposition strikes one as hardly probable. I would rather suppose that they may have served as supports for

PROTHINGHAM, Amer Journ. of Arch. [1916], pp. 175 foll.; Fireders Petrice, Egyps and Mesopotamia, in Ancient Egyps, 1917, pp. 26 foll.; A. Evans, New Archaeological Lights on the Origins of Civilization in Europe, British Assoc. Newcastle-on-Type (1916); L. W. King, Legends of Embylan and Egyps in relation to Hebrer tradition (London, 1918, Schweich Lectures for 1916), pp. 7 foll.; Rendome, in this Journal, vol. v (1918), pp. 1 foll.

The measured parallel to the iber head on the Astrahad vessel is to be found on the asphalt supports from Elam, mentioned already many times. See especially Dil. on Perse, Mein XIII, Fig. 6, and Pl. XXXV, fig. 7, where the style of the horn, the ear and the eye approaches extraordinarily closely to the Astrahad vessel (Pl. IV, fig. 4). A somewhat different type of the animal is reproduced on another support, ibid., Pl. XXXIV, fig. 3, the upper row. Here the horns are reproduced in the same style as on the Entenior case. Compare Jaquien, Dil. on Perse, Mein, viu, pp. 15 foll. (theres on the cylinders and scale), and especially the Sumerian cylinders, Dil. Altoure, Catalogue des cylinders orientanz de la Bibliothèque Astronofe, Pl. XXX, no. 301, and ibid., no. 297.

\* See Portier, Dol. on Perse, Mem. xiii, Pl. XIV, fig. 3, and Pl. XV, fig. 1.

Journ, of Egypt. Arch. VI.

spherical or egg-shaped objects, recalling the support for the egg-shaped engraved vessel of Enteriora. I cannot point to anything analogous to these trumpet-shaped objects.

The whole series of golden objects is undenbtedly of the same style and date. We are not dealing here with an accidentally formed collection of objects belonging to different periods, but with a treasure consisting of objects made simultaneously and at the same place. All the analogies indicate that the treasure belongs to the period when state organizations were beginning to grow and strengthen in Mesopotamia, Elam and Egypt, and when, with the introduction into these countries of metal for domestic use, material culture and art were maturing quickly and laxuriously. The date ascribed to this period is widely contested. I will say nothing on this score. Even the most cautious crities do not get farther than thirty centuries it.c., although they, on principle, prefer to fix their dates later, supposing this for some reason of their own to be more prudent. There is no contradiction between these analogies and the supposed date of the treasure on the one hand, and the character of the objects on the other, viz. the two stone female torses the two stone vessels and the rich collection of copper weapons.

Let us begin with the stone vessels. We must remember, first of all, that throughout the whole breadth of the ancient world, awakening at the dawn of culture, the period of the introduction of metals for domestic use—copper coming first—was the period also of the decadence of ceramics and of the great development of stonework, especially of stoneware. We have to be reminded also of the fact that this is aspecially characteristic both of protodynastic Egypt and the Aegean Islands. Not so many discoveries of the same kind have been made in Mesopotamia and Elam, but that must be considered accidentally.

The rarity of discoveries of this kind in Asia itself supplies the reason why it is impossible for us to point out any close analogies to the shape of the two vessels now commanding our attention. One of them has been preserved practically intact. Its general shape, that of a rather tall jug without a handle, is a common one both for stoneware and earthenware. A special olegance is added to the vessel by the opening, shaped like a reserte, which terminates the neck of the vessel; I know no analogies to this reserte.

The second vessel—if vessel it is—has not been preserved intact. The lower part of its stem is broken off. Possibly it was shaped like a goblet on a tall foot. That shape is not uncommon in the ceramics of the earlier Bronze Age. It is typical, for instance, of the earliest burnals in the later Hittite settlements.

Of great interest are the two armless and legless female statues made of stone. The absence of the heads may be accidental, as above indicated, especially in the case of the

<sup>1</sup> They might also suggest the notion of covers for the ends of the short stads on which the mace-beads were fixed. See Cases and Hanzert, Nouvilles jouilles de Tello, p. 77 (fig.), "un tabe en cuivre cylindro-conique qui samble avoir garni le manche d'une massue d'armes."

On alabaster vessels from Sasa, as Jaquien, Dél, en Perez, Mêm, vir, p. 18, figs. 2—14; on discoveries of the same character in the Teps Massian, so op. cit., Mêm, vir, p. 143, figs. 288 fold, and of. Pottien, op. cit., Mêm, vir, Pls. XXXII, XXXVII, and XXXVIII. For the discoveries at Tello see on Sarzeo and Reczer, Déc., Pl. XLIII. Egypt's wealth in stone vessels is generally known, and dispenses me from the duty of quoting gramples.

See Woodler, Lie Ann. of Arch., vol. it (1914), pp. 87 foll. In the necropolis of Carchemish and other necropolis related to it, vessels of this type follow immediately the Neolithic Period with its common painted pettery, which unfortunately still remain ampublished; the relation of these vessels to those from Turkestan and Elam is very interesting. Goblets with a foot are characteristic of the necropoles of the Copper and early Bronze Ages. In general, therefore, burnals with gobiets may be recognised as contemporary with the Astrabal treasure.

second statue, the sketch seeming to indicate that the head formed a work apart. These statues belong to the series of primitive figures of the goddess personifying the fecundity of nature, which are found in a great number of places in Asia and Europe. The Astrabad statues have very little in common with the Neolithic steatopygous figures found mostly in the region of the spiral and meander ceramics and sporadically out of it in Egypt, Asia and Europe! They belong to another type of flat, board-like, female idol made of stone or clay, which is known as the "island type," a great quantity of statues of this kind having been found on the islands of the Aegean Sea! These statues are especially frequent among the most ancient objects found at Troy, where they belong, as also in other places where they are found, to the Aeneolithic Copper and Early Bronze Ages! Nevertheless, their island origin seems to me very dubious. I do not know whether it is possible to affirm, as Dussaud does, that they were brought to Troy from the Aegean islands. Such a suggestion, anyhow, is quite impossible as regards the Astrabad treasure and its nearest analogy the statues made of alabaster and clay discovered in 1909 in a very early burial of the Copper Age in the Kuban province in Northern Caucasus\*. Some of the objects discovered in this burial, as for instance the bronze or copper pins with booked ends and the model of a carriage serving as a nomad's dwelling, show such striking analogies to objects found in Asia Minor, in Hittite and pre-Hittite burials, that there can be no doubt as to the close cultural connection between this and the analogous burials of Asia Minor. The same connection with Asia Minor and especially Troy is evident in another type of Kuban burials, of which I hope to speak in detail elsewhere.

A question very difficult to solve is the degree of relationship existing between these schematic, geometrical reproductions of a female figure and the more perfect figures of the goddess of the productive force of nature, found in Asia Minor as well as on the islands and in Troy. We have there a complete female figure with an emphasized reproduction of the breasts, the navel and the female triangle, with hands holding the breasts, with a rich head-dress and sometimes with ornaments on the neck and body?

1 See Hournes, Urgeschichte der hildendes Kunst, pp. 198 foll. : Diemetrere, Manuel d'Archéologie Presistorique, vol. 1, pp. 381 full, and pp. 602 full. The history of this type and its multiple varieties is still unwritten. The newest discoveries in Southern Russia, Rummis, Bulgaria, and especially in Serbia have rendered extraordinarily rich materials, which have never been investigated. See my "Researches in relation with the history of Scythia and the Bosphorus," rol. t.

For the latest information concerning them see Paraot and Chirica, Histoire de l'Art, vol. vi. PR 725 foll. Dessare, Les Civilisations préhelleniques, 2nd edit. (191 C. pp. 359 foll., in which the literature on the question is to be found ; see too Dixurary, Manuel, vol. II. pp. 1, 45.

See T. E. PERT, Law. Apr. of Arch., vol. ii (1909), pp. 140-foll, with Pl. XXVI. Cf. Woodward and OTHEROD, A Journey in South Western Ania Menor, Ann. of the Bril. School of Athens, vol. XVI, pp. 89 foll.

Bulletin of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, vol. Exxv. pp. 1 foll. (N. Verniovaky); of. Reports of the Imperial Archaeological Communion, 1909; Phirmanover, in Archael, Assiger, 1910, p. 193, ng. 1. Other discoveries of similar statues in the steppes of Southern Russia and in the Canenaus are indicated by Veselovsky in his above mentioned article.

See Woodax, in Lie. Annals of Arch., vol. vi (1914), Pl. XXIe and Pl. XXIV. Statuettes of the type interesting as were discovered also in these barials, although, it is true, they belonged nor to the earlier but to the Middle Bronne Age (op. cit., Pl. XXIV, top). It is to be recretted that the carriage-dwelling from Asia Minor (I have seen specimens in the Ashemblean Museum) remains still unpublished.

See Bussann, Los Civilisations prekelbaiques (End edit.), pp. 2014 fell.

Compare the figure of such a goldess on the Aegean seal, Pannor and Chiries, Hist. de Udre, val. vi. p. 751, fig. 346. Concerning their religious signification see W. Miller, Nachtheit and Enthlisiang in der altoricatelischen und alteren grischischen Kunst Lengung 1906), pp. 57 fall.

The facts that this figure is reproduced very often on Sumerian and Babylanian cylinders in precisely the same posture as described above, and that it is to be found also in some day statuettes in Elam and Babylon; do not entitle us to affirm that statues of a simpler schematic type have developed out of the more realistic and perfect reproductions and have moved from the East to the West. It has to be remembered that the majority of cylinders belong to a period not earlier than Hammurabi and that nearly all the statues found in Mesopotamia were discovered in the upper layers of the exeavated tells. Statues of the same but of a less perfect type found in Anau in Turkestan's belong to a more ancient time (the HIrd period) of the Copper Age; a statue of a similar type, found in the deep layers at Susa\*, probably belongs to the same period. The excavations in Anau show that in that place schematic figures were also made at the same time as the more developed figures.

The set of copper weapons is highly interesting. The fact that they were made a part of the treasure is in itself an indication of the importance and high value that was attached to this metal. It is to be regretted, however, that the materials at our disposal for the dating and the valuation of this part of the treasure are scanty and one-sided. Research work concerning the history of weapons in the most ancient periods of the development of mankind has been conducted mostly by the students of prehistoric times. They have given us excellent accounts of the development of separate weapons, of swords, battleaxes, daggers, and partly of spears, javelins and arrowheads; but they have worked mostly, and work still, on materials furnished by discoveries in European accropaleis, and for the most part those of Western and Northern Europe, with the addition of Italy and Spain. To these materials have lately been added the discoveries in the Aegean and Mycenaean necropoleis of the Greek Islands, and some few objects found in the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula. Further materials have been furnished also of recent years by systematic excavations in Middle and Southern Russia, together with Western Siberia, and some of these last have been studied adequately. But as regards the whole of the enurmous area of Oriental culture very little indeed has yet been done.

The excavations there, with the exception of Egypt, have been conducted mostly among the rains of cities and not in necropoleis. Interest has been concentrated chiefly on monuments of literature and art, wespons have been discovered only in very small quantities, and the materials with which we have there to operate are chiefly the pictures on sculptured reliefs, whence it is very difficult to establish the exact evolution of weapons in the East. For this reason, all I can say concerning the weapons included in the Astrabad treasure will be necessarily incomplete and insufficient. Though it might have been possible with

<sup>1</sup> See W. H. WARD, The Seal-cylinders of Westow Axis, ch. xxvi, sep. pp. 161 fell; ch. l. esp. pp. 296 foll; and ch. lavin, § 35, p. 380.

See, for instance, the expansions in Tope Museum, Doll en Pers', Mem. vill, p. 80, figs. 120 fold.; DE SARRE and HRUZET, Dec., PL XXXIX, ng. 10.

See R. Pumerra, Explorations in Turkestan, Expedition of 1904, vol 1 (Washington 1908), Pl. NLVI.

See Juquien Dil ex Perss, Mein. vii, Pl. XI, fig. 1. To the same type and the same epoch as the statues from Annu belongs also the statue found in Result on the shore of the Caspian Ses, not fire from Astrabad ; see Fronner, Collection Tymberics, Catalogue de sente, Pl. VII, p. 219; S. Reineen, Recons Archeologique, vol. xxxvtt (1800), p. 252

In this respect the pages devoted to the East by Dechalatto are characteristic. See his Manuel. d'Archiologie préhistorique Celtique et Gallo-remains, vol 11, Part 1, pp. 31 foll; L'Age du brance en téréce if an Orient; these show what scanty use has been made of discoveries in the East by West-European students of prelibitoric times.

a greater abundance of material and further preliminary researches to have adduced parallels from the East, I shall have to content myself with western analogies—analogies that are to some degree convincing, but still not decisive in questions of absolute chronology.

The first characteristic point in this collection of weapons is its general composition; there are no swords nor, it would seem, any arrows either. These facts seem to speak in favour of a period when the chief weapons of warfare employed were clubs, spears and axes. The Astrabad set adds to them its very remarkable spiked weapon, and also a primitive dagger of archaic shape, evidently connected with the aencolithic stone dagger-blades, as found in protodynastic Egypt.

In general, therefore, this set of armament, if the "boomerang" depicted on the golden goblet be added to it, reminds one of the weapons employed by the kings and armies of Lagash and Elam of the pre-Semitic period, i.e. the period before bows and arrows came into common use. But the set of weapons from Astrabad is far from coinciding in detail with the sets of weapons of the Sumerians and Elamites: the battleaxes differ in shape, the forked weapon was unknown in Sumer and Elam, and the shape of the copper macehead is very original. Evidently we have to deal with the same period, but with different military customs.

It is of some interest to note that the closest analogy of all to the weapons of the Astrabad treasure is to be found in the above-mentioned burial of Maykop and a very interesting burial in the Tzarskaya Stanitza (Kuban province, Northern Caucasus). This last grave is of great interest in itself; it belongs to the stage of burials marking the transition from burials in dolmens to burials under tunnii. In this case the body was buried in a real dolmen (not in a stone box, as in the Crimea, where, as also in Trans-Caucasia, there are no real dolmens whatever), and a tunnius was raised over it. The burial of the Tzarskaya Stanitza belongs to the same time and to the same group as the above-mentioned burials in Northern Caucasus, i.e. to the Acceolithic and Copper Ages. In all these burials, as we shall see further on, are to be found forked weapons, as well as double-edged battleaxes, in other words, exactly the most typical objects in the Astrabad treasure.

From these general remarks I will pass on to a short analysis of the separate weapons. A characteristic feature of the battleaxe (PL III, fig. 13) is its two edges, the one borizontal, the other vertical; in this point it differs from the typical Sumerian, Elamite and Egyptian axes of the same period, which have one edge only. Axes of this kind are depicted, for instance, on the Emmatun stell, and a number have been found in Sumerian cities and Elam\*.

We have as yet no analogies in Mesopotamia and Egypt for the Astrabad double-edged battleaxe. I suppose, however, that this is purely accidental, since that type of battleaxe has developed everywhere from a type which closely resembles the Eastern battleaxe, i.e. the axe with a butt-end. The double-edged axe of the Astrabad type is found together with the latter type of axe on the Kuban river in the above-mentioned Maykop burial, which, as I have remarked several times already, is closely connected with protodynastic Egypt. The same holds good also of Hungary, where more double-edged

<sup>1</sup> See Report of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, 1898, pp. 33 foll, with Table L.

Sumerian and Egyptian axes of this type are widely known; for Elam see especially the discoveries in Tape Ali-Abad, or Mossax, Dd. es Perse, Mem. vin (Jagerine), p. 143, figs 255 and 306.

See Report of the Imperiol Archaeological Communion, 1897, p. 9, 6gs. 34 and 35.

battleaxes of the Copper Age have been found than anywhere else; also of Crete and Serbia, where axes of this type belong to the Bronze Age!

Nor is it difficult to find analogies for the spear. Its shape is similar to that of spears found in Sumer, an excellent specimen being a colossal spear of one of the Kings of Kish bearing an inscription and an engraved figures.

The form of the short dagger (Pl. III, fig. 12) is archaic. This is shaped like a long leaf, and has a handle to fix it into a wooden hilt, with two holes in the hundle for nails. This pattern is typical of daggers belonging to the Age of Copper, and is found also in Turkestane, as well as in Elam and Mesopotamia. It is found also on the river Kuban in the above-mentioned burials. Nor is it foreign to the Aegean region, as is well-known.

More original are the six prongs or forks, the chief weapons, evidently, of the owner of the treasure (Pt. III, fig. II). The only known contemporary parallel is found in two copper prongs from the tomb in Tzarskaya Stanitza. To a later period belong the sacred prongs from tombs in Trans-Caucasia of the Bronze Age and the early part of the Iron Age! Possibly, also, in Mesopotamia the shape of the prong has influenced the creation of the three-horned sceptre of the gods, -a combination of prong and mace. The copper mace of the Astrabad treasure finds an analogy in the above-mentioned burials in Trans-Caucasias.

The combination of a spearhead with two curved knives (Pl. III, fig. 14) is most original; unfortunately we know nothing about its dimensions; possibly it may be an arrowhead in which case it must be compared with somewhat similar arrowheads from Elum and Lagash's

For Hungary see F. vox Perszky, Die Kupferreit in Ungern (1884), p. 23 with fig. and pp. 65, 67, 69, and of pp. 63 foll. See further Hampel, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1856, pp. 69 foll with fige 25 and 28 ; MONTELIUM, Die Chronologie der Assteren Bionzereit (1900), p. 100, figs. 262, 263; Deouglante, Manuel d'Archéologie, vol. 11, p. 57, fig. 29; FLINDERS PETRIE, Tools and Wanpons, Pl. XI, fig. 135. In Crets ministure bronze axes of the same type found in 1895 by Sir Arthur Evans in Naxos and Milotes belong to later times (L.M.); I do not know whether they have been published; they are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. To the time of Salmanassar II belong vetive axes of the same type found in Assur in the foundations of the walls of the temple consecrated to Adad, see W. Annuar, Dor Ann Adad Tempel in Assect (1900), p. 53, figs. 46, 47.

3 Sen Die., Pt. V ter, fig. 1; Kina, History of Samer and Akkud, p. 229, fig. 58. Very similar in shape are the bronze spearheads from the earliest tombs of the Bronze Ago in the neighbourhood of Carehemiah; see Wootnex, Livery, Ann. of Arch., vol. vt (1914), Pl. XIX, c. 2: those are preserved in the

\* See Penerativ, Explorations in Turkestan, Expedition of 1964, vol. 1, Pl. XXXVI, fig. 10; ef. fig. 240, and Pl XXXVIII, fig. 3; of. also fig. 280.

4 For Elam see DE MORBER, Del en Perse, Mem. viii, p. 146, figs. 302, 303, 307; and of, op. eth., Moin. vil.

Report of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, 1897, p. 9.

\* Op. cit., 1898, Table II.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Monaski, Mission Scientifique en Cancese, pp. 134 full., and p. 137, fig. 138; Rosten, Zeitschrift for Ethnologie, 1896, p. 80, fig. 26, and p. 102, fig. 72; BRICK, Dittohr. for Ethnol., 1893, p. 62. To much later times belong similar bronze and from implements from Assyria, the Kingdom of Van and from Juden, see Layane, Theorems in Ninerch and Bubylon, p. 194; LEHMANN-HAUFT, Abb. of Gan, Gez. vol. 18. (1907), p. 101, fig. 72; HANDOCCE, The Archaeology of the Holy Land (1916), p. 187, fig. 50, 7.

\* See un Monaxs, D.2 on Perse, Mem. vitt, p. 146, fig. 204; Tope Ali-Abad; cf. Mem. vit, p. 82, 6ga. 200, 302-205; DE SARERO and HEUREY, Dec., Pl. XLIV tor, 6g. 6; Namelles fouilles de Telle, p. 115. The detailed analysis we have made of the Astrabad treasure shows, first of all, that the entire treasure belongs to a single period and cannot be imagined to consist of objects brought together by accident and belonging to different periods. The treasure consists of two kinds of objects, viz. (1) consecrated plate such as was used in temples, to which category belong the golden goblet and libation-vessel, the golden mace-head, the two stone vessels and the two statuettes of a goddess, and (2) the rich set of copper

weapons. All these objects, probably, taken together, composed a treasure belonging to some local ruler or "Patesi" of the city on whose site the tell now stands. This "Patesi" evidently ruled simultaneously with the most ancient " Patesis " of Lagash and the earliest Pharaohs of Egypt. In style and ornamentation these objects are so closely akin to objects found in Egypt, Tello and Elam, and especially the two last-named places, that it might possibly be supposed that they had been made in those centres of culture, and were subsequently brought to the Caspian shores. In my opinion, however, such a supposition is quite unacceptable. Despite their resemblance to articles from Tello and Susa, the objects from Astrabad have distinctive features of their own, especially in the case of the stone vessels, the statuettes and the weapons. The analysis of these objects has shown that the analogies lead us not only to Elam, but also to Asia Minor and to Trans-Cancasia. We have to deal, doubtless, not with imported articles, but with an independent local culture, one of the branches of the far-spreading culture that later on developed independently alike in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, and on the shores of the river Kuban. The relation between the Astrabad treasure and the Samerian culture, which is the best known of all to us, is the same as the relation between Sumer and Elam. No one would think of affirming that the ancient, typically Sumerian objects from Elam were brought to that place from Sumer. The close connection between the objects from Astrabad and those from Egypt raises anew the old question as to the close connection of Egypt at this period with the cultural world of Nearer Asia.

Unfortunately the treasure of Astrabad stands practically alone. It is to be regretted that Russian and Persian Turkestan are almost unexplored, archaeologically speaking. During the conquest of Turkestan by the Russians, General Komaroff, in his time, excavated several tells, but the results of these explorations were never properly studied and published. I do not even know, and owing to my absence from Russia cannot find out, the places where the objects discovered during Komaroff's exploration are preserved, and whether they were published at all. Of later exploration work by Russian archaeologists in Turkestan, that in connection with the ruins near Samarkand is the principal. The excavations in Aphrosiab yielded very interesting results, but the objects discovered there belong to a much later time than the period at present interesting us? Persian Turkestan has been even less explored than the Russian part. At the end of the last century de Morgan' published a very interesting archaeological survey of it, but his work there went no farther than this. An attempt made by him to excavate one of the tells near

Kondahore, Toustot and Reinach, Antiquities de la Riese Méridianale, pp. 35 foll.; Sturmovski, Airai and Iran (1918), pp. 262 foll.

<sup>2</sup> De Minicax, Mission Scientifique de Perse, vol. 18 (1896), pp. 127 foll ; compare the appendial geographical maps. Curtes (Paris 1893), Carte des rives méridionales de la Mer Carpienne entre l'Atrob et la frontiere Russ de Lesboren.

Astrahad was unfortunately unproductive of results. It is to be regretted that the Persian authorities did not allow de Morgan to complete his successfully started exploration of the turnulus Khargush-Tepe!

The only serious excavation that has been made in Russian Turkestan, near Askhabad, is that undertaken by the expedition of the American geologist, R. Pumpelly, who worked together with Hubert Schmidt, the well-known German student of prehistoric times. Two turnuli near Anau were explored with great care and in much detail. The results of these highly scientific explorations were splendidly published in 1908. The general picture, as painted by Komaroff Pumpelly and de Morgan, is striking. A glance at the maps in the rarlier works of de Morgan and Pumpelly\* is sufficient to win unreserved acceptance for Pumpelly's characterization of the locality. "These (formerly occupied) sites," he says on p. xxvii of his general introduction, "abound to such an extent that we might call Southern Turkestan with the valleys of the Tedjent, Murgab, Oxus, Zeravshan and Fergana; a cometery whose graves are the wasted and half-huried mounds of vanished cities."

The discoveries made by Pumpelly and the above described treasure from Astrahad show that a considerable part of the Turkestan tells belong to very ancient times, indeed to the same period to which belong also the most ancient objects discovered in Elam and Mesopotamia, i.e. to the time when metals were introduced, to the Acneolithic Age and the Age of Coppers. At the same time these discoveries also show that here too, as in Mesopotamia and Elam, there is found at the end of the Neolithic Period a completely developed culture of a high type to the origin and root of which, however, the local discoveries provide no clue. Possibly this culture had been introduced into Turkestan, as well as into Elam and Mesopotamia, from abroad, and there found a fertile soil in which to grow and blossom.

It is a highly interesting fact that Pumpelly's discoveries completely confirm the standpoints suggested by the Astrabad treasure. The painted pottery from the earliest layers of the northern and southern tumnli of Anan shows the closest relation to the painted pottery of the first and second styles at Susa. This was flatly denied at the time by Hubert Schmidt, who dealt with a part only of the materials discovered in Susa by de Morgan, but so careful and conscientions an explorer as E. Pottier could no longer deny it when once he had to deal with the whole of the materials discovered in Elam. It is true that in Anau we no longer find that kind of naturalism turning into geometrization, which is so characteristic a feature in the ornamentation of the most ancient painted pottery of Elam; the shape of the vessels from Anan is much coarser and more primitive than the shape of the Elam vessels; this may be explained, possibly, by the fact that the inhabitants of Anau did not use the potter's wheel. But most significant is the existence of a close relationship between

<sup>&</sup>quot; See DE MORHAR, her mi

F.R. Penerally, Esplorations in Turkentan, Espedition of 1904. Prehinoric Civilization of Asse. Washington 1908.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Compare Pewegger, Explorations in Turkeson, Espedition of 1903. Westington 1905, p. 163, and p. 217.

The absolute chronology is questionable. The dates given by H. Schmidt, based on analogies with Western decoveries, are undoubtedly too low. One must start from the dates determined by Elam. The painted pattery of Elam is considerably older than the first Patesia of Lagach, the contemporaries of the second period of the painted pottery of Susa. But if this be so, the Elamitic pottery belongs to a period not later than 4000 s.c. The painted pottery of Anag also is probably simultaneous with the second period of the painted pottery of Susa, i.e. it belongs to the period 4000—3000 kc. Of, W. Kixo, History of Susar and Alkad, pp. 250 foll.

the geometrical ornaments of Suss and Tepe-Mussian on the one hand, and of Anau on the other. Some of the most striking features must be indicated. In both cases a strange preference is shown for triangles, partly with concave sides; in both cases there are rows of sigzag lines, the chess-board pattern is found, and the net-work pattern is in common use; in both cases rows of triangles are used and combinations of rhombuses and triangles; a love of dented lines, is also traceable, and a tendency to choose cross-like ornaments, and so forth.

All this shows that we have to deal with a closely-related development, with one common tradition, developing differently in different localities. Anan is more primitive and coarser, and has the appearance of being somewhat more provincial and belated, but I cannot entirally agree with Pottier, when he says that the pottery of Anan produces the impression "d'une industrie parfaitement apparentée à celle de Suze mais dans un état de décadence et de dégénérescence plus que de formation." "On y sent," he continues, comme dans le géométrique de Rhagae et de l'Arménie (Persor and Chiptez, vol. v, pp. 868 foll.) des habitudes plutôt machinales". It is quite probable that painted pottery came to Anan in its simplest and purely geometrical form, but this geometrization is strikingly rich, and I am quite sure that in other tells in Turkestan we shall find its naturalistic prototypes. Clearly, therefore, the potteries of Anan and Elam are contemporary and related, but each followed its own independent line of development, of more ulaborate style in Elam, but of a simpler kind in Anan.

At the present time it is impossible to determine the place where this painted pottery actually originated, and indeed the time has not yet arrived even for conjectures on this subject. We shall have to wait, at the very least, for the publication of the data concerning the very interesting neolithic necropolis at Eridu, and near Van, where painted pottery was discovered; the published specimens of this painted pottery show a very close relationship with Elam and Turkestan. Practically nothing is known about the painted pottery found in the neighbourhood of Carchemish by Hegarth's expedition. We do not know, even, whether any parts of it go back so far as the Neolithic Period. On the other side we are awaiting a detailed exact analysis of the neolithic painted pottery from the Danube and the Dnieper regions, many of whose features stand in so strikingly close con-

<sup>1</sup> See Pumonity, op cit., vol. 1, Pl. XXII, fig. 5; un Morgan, Dil. en Pers., Mem. xiii (Porrien), n. 36, fig. 124.

<sup>\*</sup> PEMPELLY, op. cit., PL.XXV, fig. 1; POTTLES, op. cit., p. 33, fig. 125,

PUMPRILY, op. cit., p. 133, figs 106 foll., Pl. XXII; POTTIER, op. cit., Pl. II, fig. 2, Pl. III, fig. 5 and often.

PRIMITELY, op. cit., p. 137, figs. 132, 133, 134; POTTER, Pl. VI, figs. 1, 4, 5 and often.

<sup>3</sup> Prospective, op. cot., Pt. XXIV, fig. 5; Pl. XXVII, fig. 2; Portien, op. cot., Pl. X, figs. 5, 7.

<sup>\*</sup> PERFELLY, op. cit., PL XXXII, fig. 1; p. 137, fig. 135; Porring thinks

Especially instructive is a comparison with the geometrical ornaments of some vessels from Teps-Musslan, Ltd. on Pars, Mino, viii, pp. 94 folk, figs. 152 foil.

A See Porries, D.J. on Perce, Mem. xiii, p. 71-

The excavations made by Capt. R. Campbell Thampson near the ancient Sumerian city Eridu are known to me only by the report of the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries published in the "Times of 31st January, 1918. Pottery was found in the explored necropolis of the Newlittic Period "made of buff wheel-turned clay, painted with geometric designs in black," and this is compared by the discoverer with cummics of the first period of Society of Society of Riblical Archaeology for 1912, pp. 276 foll.

W See Western in Liverpool Annals of Arrhanology, vol VI (1914).

Journ, of Egypt, Arch. vi.

nection with particular features of the Susan pottery). After that alone may it be possible to say whether the painted pottery was imported into the river-valleys from far-away Central Asia, or whether it was developed by the local population in a number of different centres, the people having gradually descended into the valleys from the mountains and having communicated their cultural achievements to neighbours either by migration or by exchange.

The objects from Astrabad open up to us an aspect of the cultural development of Turkestan quite different from that of Anau. We have to deal here not with a small population of land-toilers of poor culture, as in Anau, where only potsherds and a few metallic objects remain, but with one possessing a culture and a state-organization evidently as richly developed as in Tello and Susa and in protodynastic Egypt; we are without written texts, it is true, but I have no doubt whatsoever that a systematic exploration of the perished cities of Turkestan will render us a rich harvest of written texts, probably in cunciform characters. People who know how to manufacture golden vessels with reliefs and engravings as well as their Elamite neighbours, could not possibly remain in ignorance of the art of writing that had already come into popular use in Elam and Mesopotamia about the same time. Unfortunately we have no pottery either, but I have no doubt that excavations in Turkestan will give us a wealth of materials in this direction too, and will show that here also painted pottery died out gradually, ceding its place to vessels with engraved ornaments, as we have seen in Tello.

Anyhow the Astrabad treasure has, I think, opened up to us a new world. It raises anew the question of the roots whence sprung the cultures of Elam and Mesopotamia<sup>2</sup>, and whence many peculiar features of protodynastic Egypt were derived. It shows that this culture covered a much wider region than was supposed before.

If I am right in including the delta of the Kuban river in the sphere of the same culture, it will then become apparent that we are concerned with a number of localities analogous in geographical, geological and economic structure—deltas of great rivers that required hard work and constant attention from men, but returned a generous reward for toil from the artificially-watered soil, in fact a land which was always leading on the people towards a suitled, hardworking life, and converting cattle-breaders into agriculturists and creating a rich material and spiritual culture, the original basis of the contemporary culture of Asia and Europe.

I am unable positively to state that these conclusions of mine are right, but I think they ought at all events to be examined and either confirmed or refuted. To achieve this purpose, it is indispensable first of all to get good photographs of the objects discovered in Astrabad, if indeed the objects themselves, which probably are still preserved in the treasury

For some very interesting comparisons, which could be greatly added to, see G. Wilke, Kultur-benichnegen revischen Indian, Orient and Europa, in Manasadibliothek, No. 10 (Wilrzburg 1913), pp. 45 foll, tigs, 59—70. These comparisons show what a close relationship exists between the pottery of Amau, Elam, and Egypt, as well as the wide area covered by the pottery that makes use of the spiral and magneter patterns. The author's conclusions are, however, faint-stic and inneceptable.

<sup>2.</sup> See Krau, for elt.

I here expressly avoid the very important questions of the relationship between the pottery of Susa on the one side and, on the other, the painted pottery employing the spiral and the meander, i.e. the Neolithic and Acadelithic commiss of the reservoirs of the Dambe, the Bug and the Duisper; the relationship between both these styles of pottery cannot be done away with by passing over it in silence or by denying it. For this some of the coincidences are far too striking.

of the Shah of Persia', are unobtainable. It is impossible for me personally to help in this direction, but France or England might easily arrange something of the kind by the help of their diplomatic representatives. At the same time it is most important in the interest of science that systematic excavations should be made in a number of tells near Astrabad, and above all in the tell where the treasure which I have analysed was discovered. Nor would this be difficult to accomplish—the Aliied forces are very near to Astrabad. It must not be forgotten that Napoleon's campaign in Egypt was the starting point of all the great results which have opened our eyes and unveiled the past of Egypt.

<sup>(</sup> The proper place to keep these objects is not the treasury of the Shah, but a great scientifically organized Muscium.

## THE VICEROYS OF ETHIOPIA'

#### BY PROFESSOR GEORGE A. REISNER

In working over the material bearing on the excavations of the Harvard-Boston Expedition in Dongola Province, I have found it necessary to prepare a list of the Egyptian viceroys of Ethiopia during the New Empire. I submit below the list I have made in the hope that it may be of use to others and may receive additions from material which has not been available to me.

The main list contains only those officials who certainly bore the title of "king's son." Those whose title is open to question and those who are only called "overseer of the Southern Lands" are given at the end of the main list. The references to the inscriptions are not exhaustive, being merely such as are sufficient to establish the evidence. The dates in years are entirely tentative, made in order to show the possible continuity of the terms of office. The sub-titles of the viceroys are given in full, so far as is possible from the publications.

The following is a summary of the list to be discussed below,

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<sup>1</sup> Certain modifications in the transliterations of proper names have been made in order to conform to the usage of this Journal; but such alterations have been restricted as far as possible.—En.

### DETAILED DISCUSSION

## THUWRE, Ca. 1549—1537. Umler Amenophis I and Tuthmosis I.

o. America L. " Communication of Buling." Amosis I, two inscriptions: RAN-DALL-MACIVER, BEACH, p. 88. Semuela on rocke: BREASTED, in door-"King's son of the Southern Region." b. Amenophis I. Journ. Som. Lang., 1908, p. 108. year 7. Gronarti, below Samuelt; copied by " Hereditary prince, topurch, royal saila. Amenophie I, Steindorff: Uck, IV, p. 78. bearer, sols companion, favourite of year & the king in the Southern Lands,... king's am." Coronation decree, stelse from Bulien "King's son, overseer of the Southern L. Tuthmosis I, and Halfa : Uzk., IV, pp. 79-51. Lainda" year 1. Schel, two inscriptions: Urk., 17, pp. 80 " King's som." c. Tuthunsis L. your 3. "King's may overseer of the Southern West Biblich, constable of the vesier, y. Hatshopeut ! Weser Garriera, in Proc. Soc. Bibl. Lands." (No longer in service.) Ared., Vol. xx, p. 1011 Ca. 1537—1501 (†1494/). Under Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II. 2. Sent. Semnel, temple, third period of con-" Overseer of ...." a. Amesis L struction: Urk., IV, pp. 39-41 The name is lost but is identified as Soni by Sethe. " Overseer of the granary of Amin, di-Same inscription. Amenophia L. rector of works in Karnak." "King's son, oversee of the Bouthern Same inscription. Tuthmosis I. Lands." year 3 or after.

Turbinosis II. Titles illegible but probably as above. " Toporch of the Southern City, overseer b. Tuthmosis II. of the granury of Anian, king's son, opprair of the Southern Lands."

Berssted: "vicency of Nubia." e Umlated

Same inscription.

Kummeh, temple, doorway in the wall which was reinscribed by Tuthmosis 11, Uck., IV, p. 142; "All the Menay are reckonal to kim."

Bolien, northern temple, doorway of

Kummeh, in the court, three graffiti of two viceroys; names expanged but one legible as Sewir BREASTED, Awar, Joura, Sen. Lang., 1908, p. 105.

Thus the vicercy Seni is recorded by name in two inscriptions, both found in the temple of Kummeh. Prof. Sethe, in his translation of the Urkumlen, as I am informed by Mr Griffith, identifies the viceroy of a above with Seni on the basis of the date and the titles, and that identification is certainly correct. The resulting conclusion is that the vicercy Seni held office from the 3rd year of Tuthmosis I, or soon thereafter, to the time of Tuthmosis II.

Sethe identifies the water Weser (Gardines-Writall, Cal., on. 41) with the verier Amen-weser (los, cit, no. 131). So also Newberry, Life of Rekimiro, p. 15. In the Silsilch cenotaph Thuwre appears at the head of a row of the daughters of A'amatha (facing a row of his sons) and was cortainly a member of the family. He appears to have been still alive, but could not have been in service although he retained his service title us a courtesy title.

Seni's mane in the two graffiti in the court of the temple of Kummeh (c, above) has been "expanged by enemies," according to Prof. Breasted. Now, inscription b, in the same temple, is written on the doorway inscribed by Tuthmosis II and set in a wall which appears to have been previously inscribed by Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsat. The name of Hatshepsat has been changed to that of Tuthmosis II (Sethe), apparently at the same time at which the doorway was made and the inscription of Seni written on it. Thus if Prof. Sethe's explanation of the succession of these rulers be correct, the inscription b of Seni was written in the joint reign of Tuthmosis II and Tuthmosis III or about the years 6—8 of Tuthmosis III. See further under Nehi, below.

## 3. NEUL. Ca, 1500-1453. Under Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut(?).

a. Tuthuned- III. " Royal soul-beaver, sale companion, Semnel, temple, the earliest murti Crk., IV, p. 194. The name is lost your 2. king's son, overseer of the Southern Landa" but was undoubtedly Nehi. h. Tuthmosis III, "Hereditary prince toperch, [royal scal-Semnel, temple, carliest part: Uck., IV. year S(f) pp. 985-986. bearer, favourity of the king) in the Southern Lands, Ving's son, weerseer of the Southern Lands," c. Tuthrnosis III, " King's son, overwar of the Southern Near Tombosquarry, on rocks: Bagasryear 20. Landle," 10, Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang., 1908. p. 47 (reads "Ani"). d. Tuthmosis III, "Hereditury prince, toperck..... Bulen, temple of Hatsbersut, 11th vetr 23. king's son, overseer of the Southern pillar, colophon to inscription of Tuthmesis III: Uck., Iv, p. 800; Lands." RANDALL-MAUIVER, Buken, p. 27. c. Tuthmosis III. BREASTED: "Progroy." Cf. i, below. Sai Island, rock inscription: Harasyro, year 25, Amer. Journ. Son. Lang., 1908, p. 98. f. Tathmosis ill. " Hereditary prince, topurch, royal real-Ibrim!, grotto of Tuthmosis III : Unk. year 52. bearer, sole companion, etc. (phrases). IV, p. BS3: BREASTED, Anc. Res. (WEIGALL.) king's son, overseer of the Southern Vol. 11, 652; WEIGALL, Lower Nubia, Landa? p. 121; and probably, BREASTED. " Rogal himald" ( Urk.). Amer. Journ. Sem. Langa 1900, p. g. Tuthmosis III, "Hereditary primes, topurch, royal scal-Buhen, temple of Hatshapsut, on the ruling alone. beares, excellent favourite of the Lord doorway of the part added by Tuthof the Two Lands, kinds sun, overseer mosis III; Urk., 1v, p. 985; RANDALLof the Southern Lands." Maclven, Buken, p. 25 (5 S), Same titles: 22 N adds: "facourite of Buben, 22 N and 23 S; RASDALL-MACthe king in Ta-Set." IVER, Buhon, pp. 42 and 43. A. Titthmosts H1. (1) Appointed "first king's herald": Somneh, wall of the latest period: Uch., late. (2) Appeditted "Ling's some inverseer of IV. p. 987. His territory was from the Southern Lands. Nekheb to the frontier (= Karay), "Hereditary priner, toperch, royal and & Undated Sai Island: Urk., IV, p. 898. See e, above. bearer, sale companion, etc., bing's son, vecroese of the Southern Lands." i. Undated, BREASTED: " obavoig." Kummeh, sanilstone stela, now in Chicago: Berasten, Amer. Journ. Sem.

Lang., 1909, p. 105.

<sup>1</sup> Not to be emfused with the grotte at Ellestych, which has two inscriptions on the façade dated one to year 31 and the other to an illegible year (26 or 42 or 51).

4 Unlated

Nearly illegible juscriptions beginning "Later of Amin" and onding " king's MANUEL ET

Sahal: DE MORGAN, Cat. des Mon. Vol. r. p. 89, no. 65, Below is a smaller figure with "Nehi" above it, but I am unable to make out the connection.

1 Funerary.

- A. "King's son"; "first king's herald"; "bing's son, overseer of the Southern
- B. "King's son, overseer of the Southern Lands, first king's herald"; "king's min, oversor of the Southern Lands, operaces of the administration (Vindyment-hall 2),"
- C. "King's om"; "king's son, oversoor of the Southern Lands."
- A. Sarcophagus, sandatone, in Berlin Unt. 11. p. 983.
- B. Pyramidiou, sandstone, in Florence: loc. eit.
- C. Wooden shawabii, found by Petrie behind the Rausesseum. loc, eit. and PHTHIE, Six Tamples, Pl. 11, no. 1.

The inscription e requires an explanation. The name has been erased but seemed to Prof. Breasted to be "Ani" (Yuni ?). The name of the king is reported to be Menkheperre? (Tuthmosis III) and the date clearly the year 20. Prof. Breasted suggests that the name might possibly have been meant for Menkheperuwret (Tuthmosis IV) but notes that the date is incompatible with our present knowledge of the length of the reign of Tuthmosis IV. Thus the conclusion seems to be that the inscription is of the year 20 of Tuthmosis III. In that case, the name of the viceroy is probably Nehi, and indeed the traces left by an erased Nehi might easily be held to be the traces of an erased Ani (or Yuni).

The inscriptions thus proposed for Nehi are dated in the 2nd, the 20th, the 23rd, the 25th, and the 52nd years of Tuthmosis III, and in the later part of his reign (g, h, above). It is clear that Nebi was the viceroy of Tuthmosis III in the first year or two of his reign and also during the whole of his sole reign after the death of Hatshepsut. If the solution proposed by Sethe for the succession of the kings of Egypt during this period be correct, then Seni (see above), the nominee of Tuthmosis II, was superseded by Nehi during the first few years of Tuthmesis III, was restored to office during the years 6-8, and was finally dismissed some time between the year 8 and the year 20 of Tuthmosis III. The erasures of the names of Seni and Nehi are not incompatible with this explanation; but the question arises why, when each of these returned to power, they did not restore their names. And why did Nehi not expunge the name of Seni on the doorway in Kummeh temple when he finally returned as viceroy? It is char that the explanation of the erasures of these names must await the definitive solution of the larger question of the royal succession.

The difficulty in the viceroyalty of Nehi is due to the lack of dated inscriptions from the reign of Hatshepsut, or in other words from the years 3 to 19 of Tuthmosis III. It Nohi simply succeeded Seni in the 2nd year of Tuthmosis III, then he probably ruled continuously from that year until the time of the next dated inscription (year 20). If Seni returned to the office of viceroy during the years 6-8 of Tuthmosis III, other possibilities suggest themselves. Hatshepsut may have appointed a viceroy of her own, whose name has been lost, and Nehi may not have returned to Ethiopia until Tuthmosis III became sole ruler. However, it seems to me more probable that Nehi was the vicercy during the reign of Hatshepsut as well as that of Tuthmosis III, and I have so placed him in the list

awaiting further evidence,

## 4. Wesersater. Uu. 1453-1420(\*). Under Amenophis II.

a. Amonophia II. "Hereditary prints, topored, [the royal soul-bearer! sole] computation, king's son, message of the Southern Lands."

b. Undated. "King's son, overseer of the Southern Lands?"

Funerary(i). Same titles as u, above.

Ibrim, fourth shrine, Amenophis II, on the doorway: Chaurolitos, Natices, p. 84; Leyn, Denka., Text, Vol. v, p. 123; WSHALL, Lover, Nulsis, p. 122 Schöl: Re Monsax, Cat des Mons, Vol. 1, p. 86, no. 28; Larra, Healm, Text, Vol. 1v, p. 126.

Steia from Buhen, now in British Musonm: RANDALL-MACIVER, Bahen, p. 96; Er. Mus., Guide to Scalptures, p. 145.

# 5. AMENHOTPE. Ca. 1420-1410(?). Under Tuthmosis IV(?) and Amenophis III(?).

o. Amenophia III(1). "Overseer of the cattle of Amin, director
of works in the South and the North,
head of the stable of his Mojesty,
king's son of Kush, overseer of the
Southern Lands, mighty one of the
king, praised one of the Gued God,
hing's write."

Schöl, grafito: Dr Mongas, Cat. des Mon., Vol. I, p. 62, no. 108; LEPS, Benkin, Text, Vol. IV, p. 125, no. 5 a ("unter Ammophia III").

The inscription was copied independently for the two publications and leaves no doubt as to the existence of a viceroy named Amenhotpe. The date, however, is not so certain. De Morgan has noted authing which might indicate the date. Lepsius clearly connected the inscription with the name of Amenophis III, and if the Teathard had given us a drawing showing the relation between the inscription and the name of Amenophis III, the question might have been determinable. As the matter stands, all which can be said is that Amenhotpe appears from his single record to have been a viceroy of Amenophis III.

Now, as will be shown below, the titles "king's san of Kush" and "fan-bearer on the king's right" came into use for the vicercy in the time of Amenophis III. None of the vicercys Nos. 1—1 ever bears either of these titles and practically all the vicercys after No. 5 bear both these titles in one or more of their inscriptions, although in some cases the title of fan-bearer is only indicated by the fan shown in the representation. Moreover, the attitudes of the vicercys in the pictures accompanying the inscriptions became more or less stereotyped in the reign of Amenophis III and particularly in the vicercyalty of Mermose (see Plate in the next no. of this Journal). When the titles and the drawing of Amenhotpe are examined in comparison with those of the other vicercys, it becomes significant that he is a "king's son of Kush" but not a fan-bearer, that he is shown in an attitude quite different from any of the others, with a sekhem-staff over the left shoulder. As a "king's son of Kush," Amenhotpe must be after Wesersatet, while his lack of the fan-bearer title and his attitude in the drawing would place him before Mermose. It must be remembered that the titles in the inscription are very full, a fact that makes the omission of the title of fan-bearer very unlikely.

Thus all the evidence available confirms the significance of Lepsius' note ("unter Amenophis III") and makes it extremely probable that the inscription under discussion was made in the early part of the reign of Amenophis III.

The question remains as to who was the viceroy under Tuthmosis IV. No record is preserved of a vicercy dated to that reign. We have Wesersatet under Amenophis II and Amenhotpe under Amenophis III. As far as the possibilities go, either of these might have had a term of office long enough to cover the reign of Tuthmosis IV. On the rock islet called Konesso, there are two records of Tuthmesis IV, one of which is the stela of the year 7 mentioning a revolt in Wawat (DE Morgan, Cat. des Mon., Vol. 1, p. 66). Near these, there are several records which mention the tutor Hekareshut; the tutor Hekarnelieb, the king's messenger (1); the king's hemid, Rec; the Prince Amenhotpe (afterwards Amenophis III); and the prince A'akheperuwre. The inscriptions in the tomb of Hekarneheb (LEPS, Denkm., Text, Vol. 11t, p. 360) connect Hekarneheb and Hekareshut with this same prince Amenhotpe and prove that he is a royal prince, not the viceroy Amenhotpe. But the existence of a titulary "king's son" Amenhotpe and a real "king's on" Amenhotpe in the same reign would suggest an explanation of the origin of the title "king's son of Kush." In other words, the title of the viceroy may have been altered in the reign of Tuthmosis IV to "king's son of Kush" in order to make clear the distinction between the two "king's sons" both called Amenhotpe. The lack of definite evidence forces me unwillingly to weigh such imponderabilia. A certain conclusion is out of the question, but the material as it stands shows that Amenhotpe was in office in the early part of the reign of Amenophis III, and that he had probably bean appointed by Tuthmosis IV in succession to Wesersatet

6. MERMÖSE. Ca. 1410-1370. Under Amenophis III.

a Amenophis III. "King's son, watchful for his lord, year 5(1). favourits of the Good God, occurrent of the lands of Kush to its length, king's scribe."

b. Amenophic IIL "King's son."

Amensophis III. "King's son of Kush."

Amunophis III. "King's son of Kunh."

v. Amenophis 111. "Fasowrite of the king in the southern (pln.) sity (sing.),.....(3 groups last ending with mountain algn) to its length(), king's write,..."

f. Amenophis III. "King's son."

g. Amenophis III. "King's son of Kush."

h. Undated. "King's son."

1. Amenaphis III. "King's see '5 "king's see of Kush, occase of the Southern Lands, fanbairer on the king's right, Maryumsmber" (810).

Semmels stells, now in British Museum; GAUTHIER, Laure des rois, Vol. II, p. 326; BREASTEO, Aug. Rec., Vol. II, §§ 851—855. The revolt in 100ct.

Waldy Abblid (Redestych), grafito near rock temple; Lees.; Denkar., Text; Vol. 17, p. 83.

West Silsileh, graffito: Lasy., Denkm., Text, Vol. iv., p. 95.

Near Assum, graffite Lara, Donkon, Text, Vol. iv, p. 117; for Monacas, Cat. des Mon., Vol. 1, p. 39, no. 177.

Near Assum, graffito: Permis, Season, Pl. X, no. 274; Dr. Morean, ep. cit., p. 27, no. 204; over another graffito and hard to read.

Senst: LERS., Dendon, Text, Vol. IV, p. 125; DE MORGAN, op. cir., p. 01, po. 96.

Bigeh: Larrs., Dealem., Text, Vol. 1v, p. 174.

Ellestych, rock templa of Tuthmosis III, façade,grafiito of Amenemopet: Lars., Deaks., Text., Vol. v, p. 115. See Viceroys, nos. 7 a and 8 f.

Tombos: Lers., Denkm., Text., Vol. v., p. 244.

j, Finarary.	"King's son"; "king's son of Kush"; "fan-bearer on the king's right, king's son, overseer of the Southern Lands, overseer of the Gold Lends of Aman."	Granite sarcophagus in the British Museum (Kurnet Murrai); Gaurnizu, Livre des rois, Vol. 11, p. 338.
& Undated.	"King's con, overseer of the Southern Lands, fun-bourer"; "king's con."	Stela in Cairo, from Assuan, dedicated by the divine scribe(!), Humston; Lacau, Cat. gen., Stèles, no. 24, 140; Daressy, in Roy, tran, Vol., xiv, p. 27.
t. Funerary.	"King's son of Kash."	Stela in Cairo: Lacar, op. cit., no. 34, 133. Caropic jar in Cairo: Marreno, Mondes rogales, p. 583. Canes: Gauthurn, Livredes rols, Vol. II, p. 335.
m Undated.	"King's som fan-bearer on the king's right."	Statuetto in Victina: Bernmann, in Rev. trav., Vol. 201, p. 1.
n. Funerary.	"King s was."	Stells of his letter scribe, Huwy, found in the tomb of Mermose; Gautures, op. cit., p. 338.
7. DHUTMOSE	Ca. 1370—1358. Under Amenop	his IV Akhenaten.
a. Amenophis IV. By inference.	"King's son."	Ellestych, gratin of Tuthmosis III, fayade,graffitoufAmenemopet; Lers., Denka, Text. Vol. v, p. 115. See Vicercy's, nos. 6 h and 8 f.
b. Ameuophis IV.	"King's son."	Schöl: LEPS., Denkm., Text, Vol. IV, p. 125, no. 11; ne Moreax, Cut. des Mos., Vol. I, p. 90, no. 84. The curtombe, given incorrectly by de Morgan, is "Neferkhaperuwrs"-Wufaenret."
r. Ansmophils IV.	"Kings ann of Kush."	Buken, northern temple, bully pre- served stells of Amenophis IV: RAS- DALL-MacIVER, Bukes, pp. 91—92. The name of the vicersy is illegible.
d. Umbated.	"King's son of Kush, [organizer of the Bold Lands] of Amer increases of masons (1)."	Sonel: DE MORGAN, op. mit., p. 86, no. 35.
s. Undated.	"Hereditary prince, topureh,(many signs missing), overseer of the border- tunds of His Majesty, fan-bearer on the	Stamette from Gebel Barkal, Great Temple (B. 500): REISSEN, Journ. Eg. Arch., Vol. iv, p. 216

My attention was first called to the existence of a viceroy named Dhatmose by the fragment of a statuette which I found at Barkal (see no. 7, c). After making up the list I found what seemed a vacancy between Mermose and Huwy and then noticed for the first time the evidence given by inscriptions a and b. In the Schöl inscription (b), the name of Dhatmose stands under a cartouche of Amenophis IV, given nearly correctly by Lers. Dankan. Text, but changed to Menkhoperuwer by de Morgan. It is easy to see how de Morgan mistook the cartouche of Amenophis IV for that of Tuthmosis IV, but that mistake has led to the identification of our Dhatmose with a royal prince, Dhatmose, son of Tuthmosis IV. The three graffiti of Amenemopet, son of Ru(1)ti, at Ellesiyeh (a) are

king's right.....

equally decisive in their evidence. These three graffiti give the titles of Amenemopet under the viceroys Mermose, Dhutmose and Huwy. With the known vacancy between Mermose and Huwy, this would be sufficient to place Dhutmose between the two, but the titles of Amenemopet also show a progressive career which confirms that conclusion. He was:

- (1) ss sc-t sl néwti Mryms: "lotter-writer of the king's son Mermase."
- (2) si imi-ri klut ... m (?) h-t(!) if usuti Dhutus: "scribe, the overseer of works ... in (1) the house (1) of the king's son Dhutmese,"
- (3) idnw n Ks n as nawti Hwy: "agent of Kush of the king's son, Huwy."

These inscriptions (a and b) fix the place of Dhutinose clearly to the time of Amenophis IV. He is then in all probability the viceroy of the Buhen inscription (c) of Amenophis IV, and his name is to be inserted in that inscription. The other two inscriptions are undated, but are important on account of the fuller titles that they give.

8. Huwy-Amenhotpe. Ca. 1358-1350. Under Tutankhamun. Always called Howy except in tomb.

a. Tutankhamûra

- "King's son of Kush"
- "King's son of Kush, oversor of the Southern Lands, fou-bearer on king's right."
- "King's son, overseer of the Southern Lands,"
- "Hereditary prince, toparch, mry-ntrpricet, king's son of Kush."
- "King's messenger to every land, bing's one of Kash, operager of the Southern Levels.
- "King's am of Kush, king's seritor," Also, "sofe companion," are.

King's son of Kash, overser of the

"King's son of Kush, king's scribe, Havey."

Southern Lands, fan-beaver on the

- b. Tinduted
- " King's som." "King's som of Kush, Hang,"

"King's son of Kush"

- c. Undated. Tutankhamin em sed and replaced by
  - Romeses II.)
- d. Undated. (As a, above.)
- e. Undated.
- J. Undated.

Ling's right, Huwy."

"King's son of Kush, Houry," "King's am."

- Kurnet Murral, tomb no. 40: Lars. Dendu, Pt. 111, Ph. 115-118; LEPS., Donking Text, Vol. 11, pp. 301 - 308; Bucuscu, Thomas as, pp. 1133-1141; RREASTRO, Auc. Rec., Vol. II. \$\$ 1010-1041. Territory, from Nekhen to Naputa or Karay. Appointment of vloeroy.
- RI-Kab, temple of Amenophis III, fragment of sandstone statuette: LESS, Benker, Text, Vol. iv, p. 42.
- Sahal, graffito: DE Mongas, Cat. des Mon., Vol. t. p. 84, no. 8. Apparently 3 different graffiti. Cartouches of Ramessos II.
- Schol: DE MORGAN, op. of, p. 96, no. 153: Cartouche of Ramessus II. Cf. also the Schill graffito, ego, sit, me
  - Elgeli Lapa, Denkin, Text, Vol. iv, p. 174; Bucascu, Thesaures, p. 1217.
  - Ellestych, grotte of Tuthmosis III, façade graffito of Amenemopet: LKPS., Denkm., Text, Vol. v, p. 114. See Vicerovs, nos. 6 h and 7 a.

The vicercy Huwy-Amenhotpe is dated to Tutankhamun by the inscriptions in his tomb at Kurnet Murrai which record his appointment by that king, but these are the only dated inscriptions of his which I am able to find. In spite of the certainty of his date

two of his graffiti are apparently dated to the time of Ramesses II by the accompanying cartouches (see c and d). Now in the tomb, all but two or three of the cartouches of Tutankhamun have been crosed except for the name of Amun, and it is well known that the name of Haremhab has been substituted for that of Tutankhamun on most of the public monuments of the latter. Thus the persecution of the memory of Tutankhamun, either by Aye or Haremhab, is well established. It seems to me therefore plausible that the name of Tutankhamun had been crosed in inscriptions c and d, that the cartouches were found empty by some scribe of the time of Ramesses II and reinscribed with the name of the reigning king. In my judgment, that conclusion is much more likely to represent the truth than the assumption that there was a second Huwy who must be added to the long list of viceroys of Ramesses II.

It is to be noted that Huwy in his Nubian graffiti never calls himself by his second name, Amenhotpe. The titles of the viceroy no. 5, Amenhotpe, show that he is not the same as Huwy Amenhotpe. The Louvre stela C. 72 (PIERRET, Rev. des inser. du Louvre, Vol. 11, p. 47) gives the name of an Amenmose, whose son's name was "Amenhotpe, called Huwy." The mother of this Huwy was named Nubnofret; and two other women are mentioned, Apiy and Tanofret. I have been unable to connect any of these people with the viceroy Huwy, but consider the identification as probable.

The suggestion, often made, that the vicercy Huwy or the Huwy of tomb no. I at El-Amarna is to be identified with certain officials named in the El-Amarna letters has a considerable interest, but the detailed examination of the material has no bearing on the present subject. I will merely say that, as the result of such an examination, I have reached the conclusion that the vicercy Huwy was not the same as the Huwy of El-Amarna nor is either to be identified with the Khai, the Khaya, or the Khaya of the letters (see KNUDZION, Die El-Amarna Tafela, no. 11, 19 and Rev. 13, 14; no. 289, 31; no. 112; 42 and 48; no. 255, 8; and no. 268, 16). The messenger Kha'a (op. cit., no. 11, 5) of the time of Amenophis III has been taken for an Egyptian, owing to the bad condition of the text, and has been identified with the vicercy Huwy; but the context leaves little doubt that he was a Babylonian. See also DAVIES, Amarna, Vol. III, p. 19.

# PASER I. Co. 1350—1315(t). Under Aye and Haremhab(t).

m Aye.

"King's om of Kush."

"King's son of Kash, vereseer of the

h Undated

"King's non of Kunh, overseer of the Southern Lands, fun-bearer on the king's right, king's acribe."

"Overseer of the Gold Lands of Amin, king's am of Kush, weerseer of the Southern Lands"

Champoilion gives also: "Occase of the Lands of Amas in Tu-Set" and "Oversee of the Gold Lands." Gebel esh-Shema most northern of the four macriptions, the stella of Paier; Lars., Denkm., Text., Vol. v., pp. 179— 180; Lars., Denkm., Tr. 10, Pl. 114, y; Skeasten, Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang., 1900, pp. 19—20; Weigall, Lower Nebig, p. 141.

Gebelesh Shems, single-chambergratto ("petit appose") of Paser Champontion, Notices, pp. 38—40 ("Masshakit"): Lars. Dealm., Pt. 111, Pt. 114, e.f. h: Breasten. Amer. Journ. Son. Long., 1906, p. 20; Wemain., Lover Nublo., p. 141. e Umlated,

d. By his son.

"Hereditarry primes, toperad, prince in the forefront of mankind, praised of his lord Amin, king's son of Kash."

"King s wm."

Schot, Lars., Dealme, Texi, Vol. 1V. p. 126, no. 20; DE MORRAY, Cat. dec Mon., Vol. 1, p. 86, no. 31; Bayeson, Theraurus, p. 1214, p.

Assmut-Philae road: Dr. Monuas, op. oit, p. 20, no. 123; Parmie, Sensia, no, 110. See Viceroy, no. 10, a and j.

Paser I is often mentioned as the viceroy of Haremhab or as "the well-known viceroy of Haremhab." Prof. Petric (History, Vol. III), however, gives his name only under King Aye, and this view is confirmed by all the evidence that I have been able to find. All the inscriptions cited to connect Paser I with Haremhab refer to the small grotto of Paser at Gebel esh-Shems, in the district of Addeh. Here, in the face of a bold promontary of rock, there are four monuments close together. The northernmost is a stell of Paser dated to the reign of King Aye (a, above; see Breasted's photograph). Then, about a metre to the south, comes a small stell of the deputy of Wawat, Hor. A metre or more further south opens the doorway of the small one-room grotto of Paser, and finally south of that doorway stands the inscription of "the overseer of the mountains of Wawat Katha." Also in the district of Addeh but a few kilometres further north at Abahudah is the well-known rocktemple of Haremhab. The above nomenclature is that given by Weigall (Lower Nubia, p. 141; cf. also Wilkinson in MURRAY, Guide to Egypt, 1858, pp. 427-428) and is undoubtedly correct. But the application of the name of the district, Gebel Addeh to both Gebel esh-Shems and Abahudah has apparently caused a certain amount of confusion. Lepsius' grotto of "Schatani," Champollion's "Maschakit," and Maspero's "Machakit" all refer to the small grotto of Paser at Gebel cah-Shems. Both Steindorff (BAEDEKER, Egypt: 1914 p. 410) and Maspero (Annales, Vol. XI, p. 139) speak of this as the grotte of Paser, the vicercy of Haremhab, while Breasted (loc. cit.) speaks of the four monuments as makes at Gebel Addeh, opposite the Island of Shatawi. Breasted and Steindorff (in Baedeker) speak of the temple of Abahudah under the name of Gebel Addeh. All these different names (except Maschakit) may be more or less justified, but they are applied in an inexact and arbitrary way, liable to great confusion.

Now the small rock temple of Abahudah which was made by Haremhab, contains no mention of the vicercy Paser, so far as I am able to discover from the publications. The grotto of Paser at Gebel esh-Shems, on the other hand, does not show anywhere the name of Harembab, nor is it dated at all by the inscriptions as far as reported. On the west wall, south of the doorway, there is an inscription with a cartouche which Champollion read "Wesermare Setpenre" (Ramesses II). Weigall says that it is illegible, and Breasted (op. cit., p. 20) makes no mention of it. If the cartouche contains the name of Ramesses II. which is to be doubted, the inscription is, of course, a later insertion. It may be noted that "Zeserkheperuwre Setepenre" (Haremhab) might have been mistaken by Champellion for the name of Ramesses II, but I find no evidence in the publication for reading the name of Harembah in the inscription!. Nor am I able to discover elsewhere any reference

to Paser which can be dated to Haremhab.

In my own original copy of the inscription, made in 1908, I find the sign for Zees marked without a query; this indicates the reign of Haremhab. - En.

At West Silsileh, in the rock-cut memorial chapel of Haremhab, in the reliefs in the corridor referring to Ethiopian affairs, a fan-benrer is shown walking beside the king who is borne along in his carrying chair. This probably represents the viceroy of Ethiopia of that day, but his name is not given (LEPS., Denkm., Pt. 11, Pl. 121; op. cit., Text. Vol. 1v., pp. 84—89; Maspero, Struggle, p. 351). Indeed, I have not been able to find any mention anywhere of the name of the viceroy under Haremhab. Nevertheless, the circumstantial evidence makes it probable that Paser I served under Haremhab as well as under Aye:

- (a) The name of no other vicercy is known who might be dated to this period
- (b) Both Paser and Harsemhab served under Aye. Paser was of course in a less powerful position than Haremhab and may have been selected by Harsemhab for his past of vicercy. The dominant position which Haremhab claims for himself in the reign of his predocessor favours the idea that Paser was a friend of his.
- (c) Aye regned only t or 5 years, while the highest known date of Harombab is only 8 years. Even if Harombab is allowed 20 years, the total of the two reigns raight have been covered by one vicency. Viceroyalties of 20—30 years were not unusual.
- (d) The next known vicercy, American pet, vicercy of Sethes I, was in office about 20 years. He was a son of Paser I. In the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, the average conditions of human life and of the continuity of family influence in politics, make it probable that American pet succeeded his father, Paser I, in office. That is, Paser I continued to be vicercy under Harenhab, and until the appointment of his son, probably under Sethes I.
- (e) The preximity of the Abahudah temple to the Gobel esh-Sheme memorials, taken with the absence of any inscription of any other viceroy in the neighbourhood, points to a probable connection in time between Harembah and Paser I. The plausible course of events seems to me this: (i) Paser, as viceroy under Aye, was attracted by the bold prominence of the Gobel esh-Sheme, automehed at that time by any memorial, and cut the northern stell on the most prominent position on the cliff, (ii) Harembah, or Paser acting for him, selected the next promontory (Abahudah), a few kilometres to the nexth for the rock-temple of Harembah; (iii) while the Abahudah temple was in course of construction, Paser utilized a gang of the mem to cut for hunself a more insportant memorial, the grotto at Gobel ash-Sheme, a few metres south of his stells.

Such is the material which I have been able to find. In view of the lack of positive evidence to the contrary, I come to the conclusion that Paser was viceroy under both Aye and Haremhab, and was succeeded by his son, Amenemopet probably early in the reign of Sethos I, but possibly as early as the end of the reign of Haremhab.

# AMENEMOPET, son of Paser I. Ca. 1315—1290. Under Sethos I and Ramesses II.

a. Settion I. "The first charioteer of His Majorty, the king's son, Amenemopet, son of the king's son, Paser," Cf. i, below.

> "Charioteer of His Majosty, king's son of Kush."

r. Sethon I. "Fan-bearer on the king's eight, guerenor of the Southern Lands, king's am."

h. Sethon L.

d Umlated.

" ..., overseev of the Southern Lands, king's son."

Road from Assuan to Philae: DE MORGAN, Cat. der Mon., Vol. 1, p. 20, no. 123; Lieve, Denève, Text, Vol. 11, p. 121, no. 18; Perrire, Season, Pl. V. 110.

Same locality: ne Monnan, op. cit., p. 20; no. 124; Perior, op. cit., 100.

Same locality: DE MORGEN, op. cit., p. 28, no. 5 (with fau); Lurs., Donkin., Pt. III, 141, \$1; Lurs., Donkin., Text. Val. IV, 120, no. 6; Permis, op. cit., Pt. VI, 130.

Same locality or Mondan, up cit, p. 20, no. 12

e. Undated.	"King's am of Kush."	Schël; DE MORGAN, op., ed., p. 1031, no. 53 (Mariette).
f. Sethos I.	"King's am of Kush."	Near Ibrim, stella of Sethes I: SAVCE, in Her from, Vol. xvi. 1894, p. 170.
g. Umlabed.	"King's som of Kush."	Rulen, stells made by the attendant, thrwy: Raybart-Maclves, Bules, p. 77.
A. Sethos I.	"King's son of Kush."	Dösheh, stela: Leps. Denka., Pt. ttt. Pl. 141, 4; Breasten, Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang., 1908, p. 96.
f. Ramesses II.	"King's son of Kush, Amenemapet, son of Paser."	Bôt el Wali temple: LEPS., Denke., Pt in, 176f.; LEVS., Denke., Text, Vol. v. p. 14 (rands Pawer); CHAMPOLLIAN, Mon., Pls. LXVIII, LXIX; BUIGE. Sudas, n. p. 324 (plate prepared from Bonomi's coloured cast).
The second secon	the second secon	

For commentary, see under no. 11, Yuni.

II. YUNL	Ca. 1290 - 1. Under Sethos I(1) and	Ramesses II.
a. Setluss I.	"Head of the stable of Sethus-1, the charioteer of His Majesty, the king's non of Kush, third of the Mazay."	Wady Abhad (Redsstych), mek temple, façade: Liris, Dendin, Pt. 11, 138 s.; Gantisen-Gunn, Josep. Eg. Arch., Vol. 19, p. 249.
& Ramesses II.	"King's son of Kush." ("Man of Ehnesiyeh.")	Abu Simbol, rook stela north of smaller temple: Beeaster, Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang., 1986, p. 28 (photograph); Champaraton, Mon., Pl. 19, no. 2; Weights, Lower Nabia, p. 137.

The inscriptions cited for Amenemopet and Yuni might be considered evidence that these two viceroys held office at the same time during the close of the reign of Sethos I and the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II.

The inscription 10, i occurs twice on the southern wall of the vestibule hall of the Bêt el-Wali temple (at Kalabsheh). On this wall is the famous scene of a battle in Nubia, while to the left of the battle-scene is a picture of the payment of the Ethiopian tribute. In the tribute-scene, the vicercy Amenemopet appears supervising the payment in each of the two registers and in each case with the inscription 10, i. The chief figure is Ramosses II, and there is no evidence of any erasures. Thus, the viceroy Amenemopet is an integral part of a scene made in the name of Ramesses II, and must be assumed to have served as viceroy in his time. The temple is not dated, but only two princes, Amenherwenemef and Khaemwese, are shown. The scenes on the north wall relating to the Syrian wars are ordinarily supposed to be purely decorative, and I can see no reason for giving any greater historical weight to the Nubian battle-scene. The temple may have been completed early in the reign of Ramesses II.

The two inscriptions of Yuni are, on the contrary, both private memorials set up by Yuni himself. The Abu Simbel inscription (11, b) is clearly dated to the time of Ramesses II, while that of Wady Abbad is in honour of Sethos I. In both, Yuni is called a "king's son of Kush." The fact that he is a fan-bearer at Abu Simbel but not at Wady Abbâd may be taken to indicate that the Wady Abbâd inscription is the earlier, The Wady Abbad inscription speaks of Sethos I as if he were alive at the time.

The evidence appears clear. Nevertheless, there is no other case of a divided vizeroyalty during the whole four centuries, and indeed the division of the administration was
earried out in another way, by the appointment of sub-governors (idnw) for Kush and
Wawat (see Part III). Thus, the apparent conclusion that two viceroys held office at the
same time is so contrary to all the other evidence that I am afraid to accept it. Assuming
the only alternative, namely that Yuni succeeded Amenemopet, I would place the inscriptions in the order, 10, i; 11, a; 11, b; and would suggest the following explanation:

- (a) There was a co-regency of Sethos I and his son, Ramesses II, as stated in the Abydos inscription of Ramesses II, lines 43—50 (Breaster, Asc. Rec., Vol. III, §§ 267—268). No material evidence has been produced for the rejection of this statement (see Gauthure, Liere des rois, Vol. III, p. 30, note 2; qr. Breaster, Asc. Rec., Vol. III, § 125 and § 254, with which I disagree).
- (b) The temple of Bet el-Wali was made for Ramesses II during the co-regency, although there is an direct ovidence of this. Amenemoper was still vicercy at the time and probably supervised the work. The temple may have been begun, of course, before the co-regency.
- (c) Soon after the completion of Bet el-Wali, but still during the co-regardy, Amenemopet was succeeded by Yuni as viceroy of Ethiopia. Yuni had risen as head of the stable and charioteer of Sethos I, that is, through the personal favour of that king (see the Wally Abbâd inscription). Being on a journey which led him to Wâdy Abbâd to a temple dedicated by his patron, he made a private prayer for Sethos, and this might have happened although Ramesses II was already the dominant member of the co-regency.
- (d) Being sent to Nubia by Ramsses II, he made a prayer for that king near his temple at Abst. Simbal. The temple of Abu Simbel is supposed to have been begun under Schoe I and contains an inscription dated in the year I of Ramsses II. This inscription is on the dearway leading from the first to the second hall and seems to me to have been made later. The temple was certainly not finished in the first year of Ramsses II. At the time of Yunr's visit to Abu Simbel, Sethos may have been still alive.
- (e) I know of no syidence for ascertaining the length of the co-regency of Sethos I and Ramesses II, but even if it lasted only two or three years, its length would have been sufficient for the events suggested above. I imagine that Yuni as the particular favourite of Sethos I may have found no great favour with his son, especially if the appaintment had been due to an intervention of Sethos I. I would assume that Yuni was replaced by another vicency (Hekanakhi 7) as soon as Sethos was dead.

If there were evidence that the names of Ramesses II and his two sons had been inserted later at Bêt el-Wali, or if the Wâdy Abbâd inscription did not so clearly indicate that Sethos I was still alive, several different explanations might be offered. But as the material stands, the most plansible explanation seems to me that given above which depends on the fact proved by the Abydos inscription that there was a co-regency of Sethos I and Ramesses II.

Sethauw, one of the viceroys of Ramesses II, has been ascribed to the reign of Sethos I and conclusions have been drawn from this ascription affecting the length of reign to be assigned to Sethos I. This is all a mistake: Sethauw was never viceroy under Sethos I; see Sethauw and the commentary, below.

# 12 HEKANAKHT. Under Ramesses II.

a. Ramesnes II.

"King's son of Knah."

Amada, temple, two inscriptions on the usade of each of the first pair of pillars in the hypostyle hall: Cacy-sies, Amado, pp. 133, 136; BREASTED, in Amer. John. Sen. Land., 1996,

Kahan, built in wall in village. Less., Deutsa, Text, Vol. v. p. 60.

b. Umlated.

"King's som of Kush, Heka[nakht]

e Undated

"King's oun, version of the Southern Lands"

"Fan-beares on the king's right."

"Kinds son of Knok."

" Meaninger to every lund, king's son."

"Hereditary prince, toparch, regul satbourer, pleasing (sinduct) the heart, entains of truth, glary of his lard, who goes when each, is whom is satisfaction becomes of the greatness of his excellence, the king's me of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Londs."

d. Ramesses  $\Pi(t)$ .

"King's son of Kulph, genraser of the Southern Lands, [Heka]nakht."

e. Hamessee IL

"...of the house of the palace of Remeasure II, the measurement to every land, king's son of Kush, oversees of the Shuthern Levels, fundented on the king's right.......

Possibly also:

f. Ramesses II.

"King's non of Kush."

g. Ramesses II.

See the commentary after no. 14, Sethauw,

13. PASER II, son of Minmosso. Under Ramesses II.

a. Rameessa H.

Ming's see of Kush, accessor of the Southern Lands, king's write, Puser,

ma of Miniabse."

b Ramossa II.

\*King's son of Kush, occover of [the Southern Levels]."

e. Rathesass IL

"King's sim."

d. Ramesesse H.

"King's son of Kush."

For the commentary, see after no. 14, Sethauw.

14. SETHAUW: Under Ramesses II.

a. Rames-s II, year 38. "King's son of Knah";

"Kind's con of Knoh, oversees of the Southern Lands, steward of Amus, kind's swille."

b. Ramesses 11,

year 44 (7). King's nor of Kush.

"King's son."

Kuban, statustte in Cairo, from Wilbour's collection, presented by Sayon: Quingli, in Annales, Vol. 111, p. 240.

Abu Simbel, south of the larger temple: LEPS., Denkin, Pt. 111, 195, d; CHAM-POLLION, Mon., Pl. 1V, no. 3.

Assum to Philles DE MORGAN, Cot. des Mon., Vol. 1, p. 27, no. 205; PETRIE, Season, Pl. X, no. 275. The name is missing, but Hekanakht was the only vicercy of this reign who was a "messenger."

Schul: Dr Mondan, op. vic., pp. 29, 198. Rather than Sethanw.

Assum to Philas: on Monnas, op. cit., p. 27, no. 207, bis.

Alm Simbel, rack stein between the two temples: Maserno, Temples Invarada, Rupports, Vol. 1, p. 165.

Aba Simbel, rock stells, north of the smaller temple: Lurs, Donkin-

Text, Vol. v. p. 168.

Abu Simbel, large temple, on basis of statue in small room before the sanctuary. Lare., Benker., Pt. 11t, Pl. 196, b.

Family monument of Amenenoyenet, in Naples: Barrison, Theorems, p. 953.

Abu Simbel, double stells, on rocks south of larger temple: Lurs., Denim., Pt. 111, Pl. 180, b, c;

BREASTRO, Amer. Journ. Nem. Lang., 1906, p. 26 (photograph, general riew)

Sebua, temple enclosure, stells no. IX: GAUTHIER-BARRANTI, in Accorder, Vol. XI, pp. 84—85. See se, n, e, below.

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* Ranmosos II.	"King's most of Kush, overmor of the	Tonkaleh, rock stela: WEIGALD, Loss
year 53 (f)	Southern Lands, [king's] scribe.	
d. Ramussea II.	Among titles, "averseer of the Gold Lands of Amon."	The state of the s
d. Ramesses II.	"King's son, occurry of the Kouthern Lands, king's wribe."	
f. Undated.	"King's me of Kush, governor of the	N: RANDALL-MACIVES, Bulleto, p. 25 Same, pillar 31, W: op. cit., p. 47.
g. Ramesses II.	"Ring's non, consisted of the Southern Linds."	Farns: Lass., Dealem., Text. Vol. v. p. 182; Shanpe, Inscriptions, II, p
A. Ramesses II.	"King's son of Kush, [king's scribe 3]"	39. with "his sister," Nefret-Mat. Kasr Ibrim', second grotto from the south Lars. Deales., Pt. 111, Pl 184, d; Weigkel, Larer Nulsa, pp 121—122: Breasten, Ame. Journ Sem. Lang., 1906, p. 38. With
i. Undated.	"King's son of Kush,"	Nefret-Mut and officials of his staff Effestych, rock temple of Tuthmosis 111, on left of niche: Liers., Denkin., Text, Vol. v, p. 112. See foot-note to h.
j. Ramesses II.	"King's son of Kush, overseer of the Southern Landsking, overseer of the Gold Lands of the Lord [of the Two Lands]"	Same, façada: op. cit., p. 114.
Ł. Ramesseis II.	"King's son of Kush."	Tômas, graffio: Wennath, Loore
f. Hamesses II.	"King's son of Kneh."	Auda, p. 108, Amada, temple, inscription of Rames- ses II on southern embrasure of
m. Ramesses 11.	"King's son of Kush, overseer of the Gold Lands of Amins, fan-bouver on the king's right hand, overseer of the treatury, tender of the festival of Amin, king's scribe."  "King's son of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, great steward of Amin, hing's scribe."	entrance: Gautheen, Amoda, p. 184 Sebna, temple enclosure, stela no. VII (second from left): autobiography of Sethams: Gautheen-Bassanti, in Aunales, Vol. XI, pp. 77—81. Sec b, s, o.
u, Ramesson II.	ALTERNATION CONTRACTOR	Same, stelae I (1st from left), II (3nt), III (7th), IV (4th), V (5th, mane lost), VI (not in place), VIII (not in place), and X (6th); op. cit; pp. 64—86. See b, m, o.
е. Вапнесе II.	at the last of the same of the	Sebua, temple, loose blocks, 12 inscriptions, and 3 matmattes with 2 inscriptions; Gauthien, Sebsa, pp. 36—40, 122—123.

There are five grottoes, counting from the south—(1) Tuthinesis III, (2) Ramesses II, (3) Tuthinesis 111, (4) Amenophis 11, (5) unfinished. The tomb of Pennit is in the apposite bank, the west bank, behind Anthali. The rock grotte of Tuthmosts III at Ellestych is south of the village of Ibrim while Kapr Darin is south of that rillage. Thus Ellestych is about 7 kilometres much of Kage Ibrin.

Southern Lands, hing's scribe " (2); "..... [werever of ] the Gold [Lands]

p. Ramesses II.	"King's on of Kash, overseer of the Southern Lands, fundourer on the bing's right hand, overseer of the treasury(1), chief of the priests of, occreer of the Gold Lands of the Lord of the Twa Lands, king's scribe, (Sethaur)."	Abu Simbel, rock stels near at Lers.  Denlin., Text. Val. v, p. 165.
q. Ramesses II.	"Kings om of Kush."	Gerf Husein, temple, on side of door- way: Lups., Doubs., Text, Vol. v. p. 56.
r. Bamesses II.	"King's son"; "King's son of Kush, governor of the city, weresee of the Southern Lands, king's scribe."	Gerf Husein, first statuette; op. cet., p. 56.
a. Ramesses II.	"King's son"; "King's son of Kush"; "King's son, ourseer of the Southern Lands, king's scribs."	Same, senomistatuetto: Lars., Denku., Pt. m., Pl. 178, f—i.
t. Bamesses II.	"King's son of Kush" (A). "King's son" (B).	Road from Assum to Philae; DE MORGAN, Cat. der Mon., Vol. 1, p. 28, no. 3 (=A), and no. 4 (=B).
n. Ramesses II.	"King's am of Kush" (A) with the singer of Amin, Nefret-Mut.	Schöl: op. cit., p. 97, no. 174 (=A), and p. 103, no. 27.
s. Undated.	"Kings son of Kush."	El-Kab, chapel of Ramesses II, twice; Lars., Denkin., Text, Vol. 19, p. 38.
w. Umlated	"King's son of Kush, Sethana, who is quarhead (hry-tp) of the land"; "Hereditary prime, topsech, royal sail- bears, sole companion, conductor of the festival of Amin, the king's son of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands, fan-bearer on the king's right hand, king's scribe."	El-Kåb, temple of Amenophis II, two pieces of statuette: op. ak, p. 42; Liera, Denka., Pt. 11, Pl. 174, &
a: Undated:	"Pan boarer on the king's right, king's one of Kush."	Abydos, on a stone in a house in the village: Bangson, Theoreuse, p. 1223; absold, Res. de Mon., Vol. 1, Pl. XII, 5
y. Undated I	"King's swibs, stoomed of the palace, king's son of Kush." As translated in Guide.	Lid of sareophagus, red granite, in London: Guide to the Egyptics Galleries, Sculpture, p. 199, no. 720, The titles are probably fuller than given in the Guide of the B.M.
o', Ranceses II.	"King's son of Kush." Title expunged in every case. Wife, Nefretunt; mother, An.	Statustie, from Kom el-Ahmar (I), in Mulhausen: Jacouv, in Ros. de Tros., Vol. XXII, p. 113.
6. Umlated.	"King's son of Kush,"	Stela of Pennesttanwi, in the Louvre; PRESERT, Rev. Ouer. Louvre, Vol. II, p. 77.
e. Undared,	"King's am of Kash."	Shawabti in Tarin: BETGSER, The- sources, p. 1428, 46, A. Another in Brd, Mus., no. 8700 o (Potrie).
d. =	-	Reel of pottery in Louvre: P(ERRET, Louvre Cot., pp. 158 and 636 (Petrie).
The comment	Sathame has constinue been identifier	with the high priest of Nokhhot

The viceroy Sethauw has sometimes been identified with the high-priest of Nekhbet, Sethauw, whose tomb at El-Kâb (Lepsius' no. 4) is dated to the time of Ramesses IX. But the error has long been recognized.

Of this long list of inscriptions belonging to Sethauw, only f, i, v, w, x, y, b', c' and il are undated. All the rest, twenty in number, are dated to Ramesees II and there is no reason for supposing that the undated inscriptions belong to any other reign. Inscription a is dated clearly to the 38th year of Ramesses II, b without reasonable doubt to his 44th year, and c with some plausibility to the 63rd year. These dates indicate that the weight of Sethauw's term of office fell after the middle of the reign of Ramesses H. Now, there is one mention of Sethanw, not included above, which has been used to date him, as vicency, to the 2nd year of Sethos I. This is in the Rollin papyrus, Pap. Ribl. Nat., 209, published by Prof. Spiegelberg in Rechnungen and der Zeit Setis I, pp. 23 and 67, Pl. X b. Col. IV. of the verse contains "a list of negroes who were brought from ......," and in line 3 of this list occur the words: "servant of the king's (!) son (!) Sethanw, of (!) ........... Spiegelberg restores: "servant of the king's son, Sethaum, of [Kush]." The papyrus is a palimpsest and the present text is written in several different hands (see op. cit., p. 2). None of the documents contained in the present text is dated, but Spiegelberg assigns it to the 2nd year of Sethos I on epigraphical grounds and because a list of bakers contained in Col v of the recta contains some names which also occur in documents of that date (op. vit., p. 4). This list of Col. v is not in the same hand as the list of Col. iv of the verso. Thus the evidence is clearly of the most questionable kind. It will be noted that the signs read "king's son" do not correspond with the sign for "king" further down, while "Kush" is not in the text. In other words both the reading and the date are open to question. Against this, the fact is to be set that at least two clearly fixed viceroys, Amenemopet and Yuni, are known to have held office between the 2nd year of Sethos I and the 38th year of Ramesses II. It is simply impossible that our Sethauw should have been vicerny from the 2nd year of Sethos I to the 38th year of Ramesses II and beyond. The only possible way of saving the face of the Rollin evidence is to assume another vicercy Sethauw who held office before Amenemopet. He would thus become the vicercy of Haremhab, a man who came between Paser I and his son Amenemoper. For that, I can see at present no evidence, and prefer to reject Spiegelberg's conclusions drawn from the dubious material furnished by the Rollin papyrus.

With Sethauw, I have ended my list of viceroys of Ramesses II. Before taking up the order of the last three (nos. 12, 13, and 14), it is necessary to clear away the confusion caused by the ascription of other viceroys to this reign. The first of these is Hawy (no. 8, above), mentioned by Prof. Petric (History, Vol. 11, p. 93) on the basis of inscriptions no. 8, c and d. I take the name of Ramesses II in these inscriptions to be a later insertion (see under no. 8) and exclude Huwy from the viceroys of Ramesses. Next comes the viceroy Nakhtu of Dr Budge (Book of Kings, Vol. 1, pp. 186—187), who is of course, my no. 12, Hekanakht.

Prof. Petric (op. cit., p. 95) also includes Messuwy among the viceroys of Ramesses, as does also Gauthier (Liver der rois, Vol. 111, p. 113). This conclusion is based on inscriptions no. 15, h and b (see Messuwy, below). Inscription b, on the doorway of the Bêt el-Wali temple, is undated but is manifestly an insertion. It certainly cannot be used to prove that Messuwy held office under Ramesses II and I have no heatation in dating the inscription in question to Meneptah. Inscription h is a graffito on the Island of Eigeh. As given by Champollion, this inscription stands under the curtouche of Ramesses II. Now this inscription is without doubt the same as that recorded by Laps., Denkm., Text. Vol. IV, p. 175, as being on the rocks south of the temple: "Rechts von diesen Gruntblöcken,

folgen anders. And einem Sethos II (the text gives here a feathered cartouche containing "Weserkheperuwr?" setpenre?"). Darunter, ein (the text gives in hieroglyphics "king's son of Kush.......y"), wohl Huwy." From the remains, the name might be Messuwy, as Champoliion read it. Huwy is, of course, out of the question if the viceroy has any connection with the royal cartouche, and in the case of an isolated graffito a direct connection is to be assumed. I have no hesitation in preferring Lepsius' copy and in finding in the inscription a record of Messuwy under Sethos II (see no. 15). In considering the list, I can see no reason why Messawy may not have begun his service as viceroy towards the end of the reign of Ramesses II, but no direct evidence is obtainable that such was the case.

One other viceroy, Wentaperit (Petrie, History, Vol. III, p. 103) has been assigned to Ramesses II. The name has also been transcribed Wentabere and Wentawant. None of his records are dated (see viceroy no. 19). Maspero and Legrain would place him towards the reign of Ramesses II, but advance no positive proof of date. I imagine either of them would have admitted the XXth Dynasty as a possible date. He was a High-priest of Amun of Ramesses (or of Khnum-Weset), not a great High-priest of Karnak, and no argument can be drawn from the order of the known High-priests. As will be seen below (no. 19), I identify this Wentawaat with a son of Hori II, on the basis of two defective inscriptions. On this ground, and because without him an unknown viceroy must be assumed for the XXth Dynasty, I have placed Wentawaat after Hori II. If I am mistaken in my reconstruction of the inscriptions, then the only probable place for Wentawaat is, as Petrie says, in the reign of Ramesses II.

The vicerovs certainly assignable to Ramesses II are, then, Amenemopet, Vuni, Hekanakht, Paser II, and Sethauw. Amenemopet was succeeded during the co-regency with Sethos I, by Yuni, who, as the choice of Sethos I, probably did not long survive the co-regency. The vicerovalty of Sathauw according to his dated records fell for the most part in the second half of the reign. Thus the probability arises that Hekanakht and Paser II both came between Yuni and Sethauw. The co-regency would appear, but with no great certainty, to have come to an end before the first Syrian campaign in the year 4. The Kübân stells, relating to the opening of the well on the Wady Allaki road, is dated in the 3rd year, but it is difficult to say whether this is the date of the monument or the date of the council at which the king ordered the digging of the well. A vicercy of Nubia is mentioned several times in the text, but unfortunately without giving his name Curiously enough the only vicercy, except Thuwre, whose records have been found at Kübün is Hekanakht, a viceroy of Ramesses II (see no. 12, b and o). This piece of evidence is almost imponderable, yet it has almost unconsciously influenced me in identifying Hekanakht with the vicency of the Kuban stells and placing him as the successor of Yuni.

Paser II has left only three records in Nubia, all at Abu Simbel, but these simply prove that he held office under Ramesses II and was the son of Minmose. His previous career seems to have consisted of the office of king's scribe and he holds no titles of honour. Apparently, to judge from the material (which may be defective), he had a short and inglorious career as vicercy. His chief record, however, is the family monument of the chief of the Mazay, Amenemyenet, at Naples (Britisch, Thesaurus, pp. 951—957). This monument gives the names and titles of 24 relatives of Amenemyenet and his wives, nearly all of whom were people of high office in the pricathood, the army, or the civil administra-

tion. The family evidently had great political influence,—a "pull," as it is termed in American slang. The list is as follows:

#### First Generation :

- (5) Minmase, high-priest of Min and Isis, paternal uncle of A.
- (6) Pennesutiauwi, head bowman of Kush, paternal mucle of A.
- (1) Wennefer, high-priest of Aman, father of A.
- (9) \*Isia great favourite of Amuo, unther of A.
- (8) Ruma, priest of Min and Isis, maternal uncle of A.
- (15) Minmose, sem-priest in the temple of Sokaris, father-in-law of A.
- (21) \*Henutmehy, singer of Amun, mother-in-law of A.

#### Second generation :

- (14) Amenomyones (A), chief of the Mazny, director of works on the monuments of His Majesty.
- (2) Hori, director of works, high-priest of Auheret, eldest brother of A.
- (7) Khaemwess, scribe of the divine rolls (7) in Per-Amon, brother of A.
- (10) \*..... wife of the steward of Amin, sister of A.
- (11) \* ...... sport in the king's house, sister of A.
- (12) \*Hemitmehy, wife of the steward of the Ptah-temple, sister of A.
- (13) \*..... wife of the head bowman (19), sister of A.
- (3) Amenemopet, high-pricat of Heliopolis, favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands, cousin (sn) of A.
- (4) Paser (II), king's son of Kush, cousin (as) of A.
- (22) \*Wiay, singer of Amun (d. of 15+21), wife of A.
- (23) \*Nefertiry, singer of Aman (d. of 15+21), wife of A.
- (16) Ammonyenet (B), charloteer of His Majesty, brother of A's wives.
- (17) Hatlay, high-priest of Monthu, brother of A's wives.
- (19) Piyay, head bowman of the chariots (horse troops), brother of A's wives
- (20) Supara, overseer of priests, brother of A's wives,
- (24) \*Sa (f) Hather, sister of A's wives.
- (25) Nefretiry, wife of 16, sister-in-law (f) of A's wives,

The monument is dated by the cartonches of Ramesses II but not with a year-date. The inscriptions distinguish between "brother of one mother" and "brother." "Brother" may mean as usually, consin or "relative." Paser is clearly the son of Minnoise the High-Priest of Min and Isis, the paternal uncle of Amenemyenet (A), the nephew of Pennesuttanwi, who was a head bowman of Kush. The tomb of Pennesuttanwi is No. 156 (Gardiner-Weighl.) at Thebes but is unfortunately only dated to the "19th Dynasty". I would select the High-Priest of Amun, Wennefer, the father of A., as the founder of the family fortunes, and it is to him that one might look to establish the date more exactly. But the present monument appears to bear the only record of his cureer. The most suitable place open for him is between the High-Priest, Nebwenenef (year I of Ramesses II) and the High-Priest, Bekenkhonsu (years 41–47?), see Wreszinski, Hohenpriester, Nos 16–19. Moreover, the impression conveyed by the Naples monument is that the family enjoyed its power entirely under Ramesses II. Thus Paser, the nephew of Nebwenenef, and a member of the second generation, would hardly have held office long before the middle

There are several men recorded of the name of Pennestitauw; or Pennesetauwi, see Lieuwes, Dict., nos. 1044, 2652, and 2544. Of these, No. 2052 was a Pennesetauwi, son of Harenhab, and a scribe of the table of Kush under Sethauw. His father may be the scribe, Harenhab, named in the inscription of Sethauw at Brim. It is conceivable that a scribe of the table should rise to be head bowman of Kush; but the difference in the name causes my to negative the identification.

of the reign, nor would be have received the appointment after the term of office of Nebwenenel. I have therefore placed him after Hekamakht and before Sethauw, the latter of whom held office during the priesthood of Bekenkhonsu, who was in all probability later in date than Nebwenenel.

It is clear that the exact order of the three viceroys, Heknnakht, Paser II, and Sethauw, is not capable of positive demonstration, and the tentative solution which I have proposed must yield to any contradictory evidence which may be forthcoming. The succession of the viceroys during the closing years of Ramesses II is also still a matter of uncertainty. Sethanw had a very long career, as is shown by the extraordinary number of records left by him and his subordinates, and he may well have ontiasted the lifetime of Ramesses II and have been succeeded by Messuwy. Or Messuwy may have succeeded Sethauw during the closing years of Ramesses. Even the third alternative, that another viceroy (Wentawuat?) held office for a short time between Sethauw and Messuwy, is not excluded by the evidence.

15. Messuwy. Ca. 1225-1209. Under Meneptah, Amenmesses (?), and Sethos II.

a. Menophili. "King's son of Kush, measure of the [Southern Lends], fine-house on the king's right, king's wribe."

b. Undated. "King's sow of Kush, bearer of the fun and crook on the king's right, [king's wribs], Messuny, chosen one of the would land (sty n to but)."

c. Memeptali. After "King's som of Kush, fan-bearer on the year 5. king's right, king's wribe."

d. Moneptah. "King's sun of Kush."

e. Undated. "King's son of Kush."

f. Manuptale. "King's son of Kuzh, fun-barrer on the

g. Memeptali. "King's son, overmer of the Southern

A. Sethos II. "King's son of Knock."

Bond from Assuan to Philae: Petrit, Season, Pl. II, no. 11; Dr. Mongan, Cat. des Mon., Vol. I, p. 18, no. 87; Levs., Denkin., Pt. 11, Pl. 200, f.

Bet el-Wali, temple, grafito in side of intrance: Waigall, Lower Nubio, p. 74; Lers., Dender, P. III, PL 176, q-Often cited in order to date Messawy to Ramesses II.

Amada, temple, entrance, northern embrasure, inscription of Maneptah: GARTHIER, Amada, pp. 186—188; BREASTED, Amer. Journ. Som. Long., 1906, p. 46.

Amada, temple, façade, north and south of entrance: GAUTHIER, op. vit., p. 181.

Pyramidion: Gauthers, vo. cit., p. 185. Name lost.

Aksheh, between Sarreh and Faras; Lars., Denkin., Text, Vol. v. p. 188.

Buhen, temple of Hatshepsut, two graffiti on 4 W and 5 W; RANDALA-MACIVEB, Buken, pp. 22, 24 Name of vicercy illegible on both.

Bigeh, graffito: Lers., Denka., Text., Vol.tv,p.175; Grassponisos, Nation, Vol. i, p. 614.

For the commentary on Messuwy's supposed activity under Ramesses II, see under no. 14, Sethauw, above. See also commentary under no. 17, Hori I, below.

16. SETY. Ca. 1209-1203. Under Siptah.

- o. Ramesses-Siptah, "King's um of Kunh." year 1.
- i. Ramesses Siptali,

  year 1 (f).

  of Knsh, overseer of the Gold Linds of Amen, fan-bearer on the king's right, king's scribs of the letters of Pharmh, first chief in (f) the stable, eyes of the king of Upper Egypt, ears of the king of Leneer Egypt, high priest of the Mann-god, Thath, overseer of the treasury, verseer of the letter-scribes in the Cones of the Palace-of-Ramesses-Mianahu (f), in
- Ramesses Siptale "King's son of Kush."
- d. Memorphale-Siphale, "Fau-beurer on the king's right, king's son of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands."

Below are the same titles proceded by a Hereditary prince, toparch."

"King's son of Kash, overseer of the
Gold Lands of Aman, fan-boarer
on the king's right, greet steward of
the king, king's scribe of the letters
of the Pharaph"

Abu Simbel, south wall, merription of the king's messenger, Rekhpehtuf, "when his lord came to establish the king's son of Rush, Sety, in his place": Breaster, Jon Rem, Vol. III, § 642.

Abu Simbel, north wall: Massesse, in Annales, Vol. x, p. 132.

Ruhen, temple of Hatshepant, pillar 6 W. graffito of the king's messenger. Neferhor, "when he came with rewards for the officials of Ta-Set and to bring the lings son of Kuch. Sety, on his heat trip": Rampall-Maclyna, Buhen, p. 25; HRZASTED, Anc. Rec., Vol. III, § 842.

Schol, graffito: Dr. Monoar, Cat. des Mon., Vol. 1, p. 86, no. 29; Lern, Denka., Pt. III, Pl. 202, b; Beharre, Anc. Mos., Vol. III, § 646

Road from Assume to Philae: Lips., Dealm., Pr. III, Pl. 202, c; DE MORGAN, Op. cd., p. 28, no. 6; BREASTED, And Res., Vol. III, § 647.

See commentary under no. 17. Hori I, and appendix, overseer of the Southern Lands, no. vii, in the next number of this Journal.

- HORI I, son of Kama (?). Ca. 1203—1180. Under Siptah, Setnakht (?) and Ramesses III (?).
- a. Meneptah-Siptah, "Piest charioteer of His Majesty, the king's messenger to every land, who sets the chiefs in their places, who estimate his Lord, Hori, son of Kamu, tracuf voice, of the stable of Sethor I, of the Caret."

Buhen, temple of Hatshepsen, 16 8; RANDALL-MACIYER, Bahan, p. 38; BREASTED, Anc. Ros., Vol. 111, § 645. 4. Menoptali-Siptali. year 6.

"King's son of Knuh."

Same place, 13 E : RANDALL MACIVER, Baken, p. 36 and Pl. 12; BEKASTED, Auc. Rec., Vol. III, § 650. "That which made the first chariotoer of His Majesty, the king's messenger to very land, Webskhum (Your, son of the king's son of Kash, Hori" (sie Quite clear in MacIver's photograph; and Prof. Sayce is justified against Profs. Steindorff and Breasted).

c. Undated. By his son. "King's son of Kush."

See below, Vicercy no. 18, a, Hori II.

The order of the kings of the XIXth Dynasty after Ramesses II has now been finally fixed by M. Daressy's article on "Ramsès-Si-Ptah" (Rec. trav., Vol. XXXIV). The ostracon which he publishes proves that Bamesses-Siptah succeeded Sethes II, immediately on the death of the latter in his 6th year. The substitutions in the inscriptions at the Ramesseum prove that Amenmesses was later than Menepiah; while those at the temple of Abydos prove that Amenmesses was earlier than Meneptah-Siptah. The only point about which a question might remain is the identity of Ramesses-Siptah and Meneptah-Siptah, which Prof. Maspero sought to prove (see Annales, Vol. X, pp. 131-138). As Maspero points out, the vicercy Sety was appointed in the first year of Ramesses-Siptah, was still in office in the 3rd year of Meneptah-Siptah, and was superseded before the 6th year of the latter by Hori. The titles given in inscriptions no. 16, b, d, and e, show that the Sety of Ramesses-Siptah is the same as the Sety of Meneptah-Siptah. Consequently, Meneptah-Siptah must have succeeded Ramesses-Siptah. Maspero points out further that Ramesses-Siptah (in 16, b) and Meneptah-Siptah in his tomb have the same Horus-name. Maspero concludes that Siptah at first adopted the names Sekhaearet and Ramesses-Siptah (see DARESSY, loc. oit., and no. 16, a, b, c), made his trip to Abu Simbel, and immediately on his return, i.e. two or three months after his accession, changed his names to Inkhenra and Memptah-Siptah. It seems a very remarkable proceeding, but perhaps there were unusual circumstances. Siptah's anxiety to secure Ethiopia and his marriage with Tawesret, the widow of Sethos II (sic), both indicate a certain insecurity of tenure. Then there is the role of Bay, who first appears after the change in name. Bay, I think, is to be returned to his rôle of "king-maker." The translation of the Bay-inscription (Lees., Denkin, Pt. 111. Pl. 202, a, c) is just as grammatical when sum is taken as a perf. act. participle as when it is taken as the relative form of the verb, and indeed is more natural (cf. similar construction in no. 17, a, below)- Bay, who established the king in the place of his father. It is evident that political events of doubtful issue were taking place during the accession and the first year of Siptah. The unilluminating recital of Daressy's estracon means nothing: an ordinary scribe writing such a document open to the inspection of higher officials would be the last man to take note of a political struggle. On the whole, then, I reach the conclusion that Maspero is right and that the order of the kings after Ramesses H is: Meneptah, Amenmesses, Sethos II, Siptah.

Accepting this order for the kings who followed Ramesses II, their viceroys are: Messuwy dated by five inscriptions to the reign of Meneptah and by one to that of Sethes II : Sety, dated by five inscriptions to the first and third years of Siptah; and Hori I, dated by one inscription to the sixth year of Siptah. Sethes II ruled only six years (see Daressy's

Journ, of Egypt Arch. vi.

ostracon) and we have only the one record of a vicercy of his in Ethiopia. The name of Sethos II has only been reported from a few places in Nubia-twice from Abu Simbel (LEPS., Denkm., Pt. 111, Pt. 204, e. f.), once from Bigeh (no. 15, h. above), and once from Schol (Dr. MORGAN, Cat. des Mon., Vol. 1, p. 95, no. 146). Messuwy was his viceroy, having continued in office, of course, during the short-lived reign of Amenmesses. The vicerov Sety, who served at least three years, but less than six, had the shortest term of office yet proved for any vicercy (cf. however, no. 11, Yuni). Hori, who succeeded Sety, is, I am sure, the same as the king's messenger who left his record at Buhen in the year 3 of Siptah, in the viceroyalty of Sety.

 Hori II, son of Hori L. Ca. 1180—1160 (!). Under Ramesses III (!). Ramesses IV, and Ramesses V (?)

"King's san of Kanh, Hori; son of the a. Ramesses IV. King's som of Kush, Hore."

> "King's son of Kush, operated of the Southern Lands, King's scribe, Hori. His beloved son, Wentstewat (1).

"King's son of Kunh, occreen of the d Undated. Gold Lands of Amen-Ref. King of the Gods, [Hori 1]." "Son of the king's son, Wentaumat."

See commentary under no. 19 and also under no. 22.

Wentawuat. Ca. 1160(f)—1142(t). Under Ramesses VI(t), VH (f) and VHI(t).

u. Undated.

h Undated.

A prayer for the ka of "the blag's son of Kush, the overseer of the Gold Lands of Amen-Ric, ling of the Goda, (N.N., made by) the son of the king's am Wentsummet

And for the ka of "the wa of the king's son, the head of the stable of the must, the first of His Majorty (sic), Wenterwoord,"

44 Lours heart of the stuble of the Court, b. Undated.

I would reconstruct from Birch's translation: "the head of [the stable] of the Court, the son of the ling's son, Wentarrack That which made (1) the ship's captain (1) ...... Amenshau ....." The latter name is probably

Americanovet.

"King's sun of Kush, overwoor of the Gold Lands of Amen Ret, King of the tisute, the high-privat of Amin of Khnum-West, door-openor, steined of Amun at Khaum-West,"

Part of a stell from Semmel, now in Cairo (letter from M. Daressy); see also Lientary, Diet., no. 2114 (also from M. Daresey but incomplete). " Un personnique en grand contiense de la XIX dynastie est agramaille.

Buhen, semple of Hatshepout, 3 S:

Schill: DE MORGAN, Cat. de Mon, Vol.

Stela from Semneh : see no. 19, inscrip-

1, p. 84, no. 3. Two man with hambs

unlifted. The name is abscure, but the traces may be Wentawant (see

RANDALL-MACIVER, Robon, p. 24, with Ph 11. Holds fan and wood.

Fragment of a stella, Buhen, near temple of Haishepout : RANDALL-Maclynn, Bulan, p. 79. "Man in the full skirt of the later New Empire."

is, I believe, Horl II\_

Abu Simbel, small grotto south of larger temple, hisratic graffito in ink : EDWANDS, Thousand Miles, Vol. 11. p. 127, given only in a translation by Birch.

Statue from the great deposit at Karnak: Lennais, Cat. gen., Statues, Vol. II, pp. 25-26. The dross indistes a period towards the time of Ramossas II (Legrain)

c, below's

tion a.

foncial de la main decita la Ambellara. quoted from M. Daressy, The "N.N."

Wenterunt,"

c Umlatel.

P. Cintated.

e. Undated.

"High-priest of Amin of Ramouses, bind's son of Kush. Brother of the High-Priest of Amin of Ramesses, Americans.

Stein in London (no. 792): Tanacats, Dict., ma 1002; Maspubu, Momiss regules, p. 747. Maspere would place him sowards the raign of Rameses II rather than in the Ethiopian period.

The inscriptions fall into two groups, of which the first, a, b, and c, refer to the head of the stable, Wentawant, the son of the viceroy, X, and the second, d and e, refer to the viceroy and High-Priest (of a minor temple of Amun), Wentawuat. The father of the first Wentawnat, is perhaps the vicercy Hori II (see no. 18, c). Unfortunately there is nothing to connect the two groups except general probabilities. Wentawnat is certainly an unusual name, and I have been unable to find any other mention of the name. The head of the stable. Wentawuat, was the son of a viceroy, was much employed in the Ethiopian administration, and was a likely man for the office in succession to his father. It is perhaps not remarkable that on the statue and the stell the lesser title of head of the stable was passed over for the titles of viceroy and High-Priest. In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, I have identified the vicercy Wentawaat with the head of the stable Wentawnat, and I judge that he became High-Priest of Aman of Ramesses, or Amun of Khnum-Waset, after losing his place as vicercy. He was certainly not High-Priest of Amen-Ref, King of the Gods, and we need not concern ourselves with his place among the known High-Priests.

20. Ramessenakht. Ca. 1142-1122 (f). Under Ramesses 1X (f).

a, After Suptah.

"King's sen of Kush, oversir of the Lands (she), fem boorer on the king's right, king's write."

Bahen, temple of Hatchepout, 2d E. on a gratito of the time of Siptah; RANDALL MACIVER, Bulen, p. 44.

There is no evidence which connects the viceroy, Bamessenakht, with any other official of the same name who lived in the XXth Dynasty, least of all with the High-Priest, Ramessenakht. See commentary under no. 22. Herihor.

21 PANEUSI. a. Bamesses XI.

Ca. 1120-1100. Under Rumesses XI. \*Fun-borrer on the bing's right, king's waste, communater of the army, over. wer of the granary, [kings win of Kuchilly overson of the Southern Lunds, communiter. [Lieblein.] " Great chief of the treatury." (Lieblein.)

& Rames XI, year IT.

year 12.

a Ramesses XL

"Heroditary prince, toporch, weward of Amon-Ril, lingle mes of Kast,

"King's son of Kush."

Turin papyrus, PLEYTE and Rossi, Pappei de Turin, p. 87, Pl. LXV u: LIEBLEIN, In Rec. de Tras, Vol. 1, p. 141.

LITEOREES, op. oft, p. 145.

Turin papyras: Pharts and Resat, op. eit, p. 89, Pt LXVI; BREASTED, Juc. Res., Val. 1v, \$8:506, foll.

Buhen, worthern temple, forecourt, pillier B: RANDALL-Maclven, Bulien, p. 86; Breastep, Amer. John Son. Langer 1906; p. 15.

See commentary under no. 22 Herihor.

22. Непиров. a. Ramesses X1.

Ca. 1100-1120. Under Ramesses XI. "High priest of Amon-Ret, king's wa of Kush, weeper of the granury

Commander-ra-chief of the army "Director of works of all the samunants of His Majosty." "Findener on the king's right."

Karnak, Temple of Khonsu; GAE-THIER, Live des rois, Vol. 111, p. 223; HIRESTED, Ave. Rec., Vol. 1v. & III 6.

Same: fore of Same love cit.

Summer toom with

7-2

After the reign of Siptah, the records of the viceroys are at present very meagre, According to my reconstruction, indicated above, the family of Hori I produced three viceroys-Hori I, Hori II, and Wentawuat-who held office in succession. Assuming for the moment that this is correct, there remain three viceroys, Ramessenakht, Panehsi and Herihor. Herihor is, of course, dated after Panelsi by his subsequent kingship. Panelsi is dated to the 12th and the 17th years of Ramesses XI (Menmare-Setpenptah), and must have been the immediate predecessor of Herihor. Ramessenakht is dated after Siptah, and in view of the history of the vicerovalty after Herihor can only be placed before Panelsi. If my conclusion in regard to the Hori family is correct, he must come after Wentawast. Thus we have the five viceroys, nos. 17 to 21, to cover the period between the 6th year of Siptah and about the 20th year of Ramesses XI, or a period which may be as low as 96 years and as high as 105 years. It is perfectly possible for five vicerovs to have covered even the longer period if they each served their time untroubled by changes in the kingship and the priesthood. The history of the period is still obscure, but the group formed by Ramesses VI (Nebmare-Meramun), VII (Wesermare-Meramun-Setpenre), and probably VIII (Wesermara C-Iakhenaman) certainly showed enmity towards Ramesses IV and V, and represent a different branch of the descendants of Ramesses III. Nevertheless, in spite of political troubles, the High-Priests of Amun succeeded one another apparently without trace of any disturbance. The High-Priest, Ramessenakht, who appears in the 3rd year of Ramesses IV, was followed by his son. Nesamin, then by another son, Amenhotpe, who appears as late as the 17th year of Ramesses IX (Neferkare Setpenre). The probabilities are difficult to assess with confidence, but the possibility is manifest that the viceroys may have succeeded one another subject to the same political influences as those which secured the succession of the High-Priests Whether all political influence rested with the High-Priests, as is often assumed, or whether the movement for bringing all factors of power into the hands of the royal family had already begun, I think one can premise some sort of autocracy standing nominally under the king, yielding him obeisance in all ceremonial actions, and yet able to protect themselves in their places. In most matters, the king's wishes appear to have been carried out, and in everything the command ran in the king's name. Under the circumstances, as far as they are now visible, I think it probable that the five viceroys (nos. 17-21) succeeded one another as given in the list and covered with their terms of office the whole period from Siptah to Herihor (as viceroy). Nevertheless, it must be admitted that a different order is possible, that one or two viceroys may yet be found for this period, and that Wentawaat may possibly belong to the time of Ramesses II. The evidence is not precise and positive. The order of the vicerovs adopted by me represents only my interpretation of the material as it stands.

23. PAICANKIL Under Herihor.

at Undated.

"Fun becerer on the king's right hand, king's soribe, economicaler of the army, king's son of Kush, governor of the Southern Lands, high-prices of Amen-Ret, avernor of the granaries of the Pharash, etc."

b. Undated.

The same titles,

Abydos, stela in Cairo: PETRIE, History, Vol. m, p 203 (illustration); Mani-ETTE, Abyelos, Vol. II. p. 57/

Papyri, see Cauretes, Lieve des rais, Vol. III, p. 238; SPIEDERHERO, in Notices et extraits des MSS, de la Bibliothique Nationale, t. xxxiv, pp. 203-209.

N.B. In the Karnak and Luxer temples, PaiCankh is called "high-priest of Aman," but not "king's son of Kush." He was the eldest son of Heriber and the father of Painozem I. He was never king.

### 24. NESIKHONSU, queen of Painozem II.

a. Statutu (1), "First great forwarite of Ames-Rif,
year 5, privatess of Khaum, Lord of the
Categrat, king's see of Kush, oversee of the Southern Lands, etc."

h. Siamun (f), "King's daughter of Kush."
year h. "King's daughter."

Edwards' tablet in Univ. Coll., London: Paraire, History, Vol. 111, p. 218 (figure).

Coffin, in Cairo: Darrasy, Czz. gen., Corc. des Cachettes regales, no. 61,030, p. 110.

The political development of the XXth dynasty ended in the adoption of a policy by which all the more important administrations were gathered into the hands of the heir to the throne. Herihor had his son Pailankh appointed High-Priest of Amen-Rel, overseer of the granary, viceroy of Kush, and commander-m-chief of the army. He himself had held these offices under Ramesses XI (Menmarel-Setpenptah) being to all appearances the accepted heir of that Ramesses. This was a logical solution of the internal difficulties caused by the intrigues of a powerful bureaucracy and a wealthy priesthood in a state with theocratic tendencies. Subsequent misfortunes were due to other causes. The principle was so sound that when the Libyans obtained Thebes they continued the policy, by that time traditional, of appointing royal princes to be the heads of the chief administrations.

After Paicankh, none of the princes—the High-Priests Painozem I, Masaharta, Menkheperre and Painozem II-held the title of "king's son of Kush." Nor, when Iuwput, the younger son of Sheshonk I, was appointed High-Priest of Amen-Ref, and commanderin-chief of the army, did he or any of his successors assume the discarded title. Only once was the title revived and then it was to satisfy the vanity of a woman (no. 24), to give her an honorary rank which she could not claim as her birth-right. The disuse of the title, "king's son of Kush," is however no proof that the functions of the vicercy had ceased to be exercised, as might seem at first sight. In accordance with the policy adopted for the great administrations, the government of Kush would have been in the hands of the eldest son of the ruler of Thebes, or under the Libyans in the hands of one of the royal princes. Now it is manifest that to such of these as were already king's sons, the title of "king's son of Kush" was of less value than their inherited rank. Another point which may have had some influence in the abandonment of the title by Painozem I was the fact that his father, Pailankh, was politically subordinate to the king of Tanis. Thereafter, Painozem's own sons, Masaharta and Menkheperres, were king's sons by birth. Thus the title of "king's son of Kush" may well have been dropped without any change in the relations of Ethiopia to Egypt and without any break in the Egyptian administration of the southern lands.

The evidences of the relations of Ethiopia to Nubia between 1100 and 745 B.C. are few in number and almost all are of an indirect character. Painozem I (or II) has left a graffito at Schel (DE MORGAN, Cat. des Mon., Vol. 1, pp. 94, 139) which appears to have been made by him when "commander-in-chief of the army of the South and the North" and to have had the title of High-Priest added later. Menkheperret is recorded by a graffito on Bigch (GAUTHER, Liere des rois, Vol. III, p. 286) as High-Priest, son of king Painozem.

Sheshouk I, in his Kurnak reliefs, speaks of "smiting the Inuw-Set" (Breasted, Auc. Rec. Vol. iv. \$ 719-720), of Amun, "the maker of Ta-Nehsi" (\$ 724) and of the tribute of Ta-Nehsi (\$ 724). Under Sheshonk III (t), in the Annals of the High-Priests (\$ 770), fine gold of Khenthennüfer is twice mentioned. At Barkal, the latest dated object of the XXth Dynasty which the Harvard expedition found, was a fragment of a statuette (Reg. no 16-4-316) with the cartouche, Neferkare'-Setpenre' (Ramesses IX). A vast area still remains to be excavated, but up to the present, the next dated object was found at the pyramids of Nari a fragment of an alabaster wase (Reg. no. 17-3-420) inscribed of the Lord of the Two Lands, Shashagen-Meramun," with a number below " .......30." This is certainly the same prince as the son of Sheshonk recorded by LEGRAYS, Annales, Vol. XIV, pp. 14 and 39, as having been found at Karnak in an inscription in which his name is associated with that of Pedibast I. Legrain remarks: "Pashodou-Bastit parall avoir gouverné la Thébaïde sous la suzeraineté de Padoubastit, et c'est à ce titre qu'il a fait une grande porte en pierre de grès après qu'il l'avait trouvée menaçant raine. La porte qui menagait ruine semble, dans l'occurrence, avoir été celle du Xe pulône." It is clear that Pashedenbast was the son of Sheshonk II or of the Sheshonk III placed by Breasted as the successor of Sheshonk II. I conclude from the Nuri fragment that he included Ethiopia in the government of the Thebaid. The new material for the XXIInd and the XXIIIrd Dynastics published by Legrain has not cleared up the difficulties of the chronology, while Daressy's reconstruction in the Rec. de Tran., Vol. XXXV, pp. 129 foll, exhibits clearly the wide departure which the material permits from the older conclusions. It is obvious that the chronology down to Shabaka needs re-examination. At present, I content myself with suggesting that Pashedenbast may have been the father of Kashta and the person through whom Kashta and Piankhy based their claim on Thebes.

This material is scanty, but there are other circumstances which make it reasonable to conclude that Ethiopia remained subject to Egypt:

- (a) Ethiopia had been thoroughly Egyptianised during the 450 years of the viceroyalty of Kushi Even Ramesses IX is reported at Napata, and the Ramessides had no difficulty in holding the country it was in fact to all intents and purposes a part of Egypt.
- (b) Ethiopia appears still completely Egyptianized when the evidence of the manaments of the kings of Ethiopia becomes available, that is for the period from 720 to 500 n.c.
- (c) The assumption of independence by Ethiopia under Kashta was only part of a general movement taking place throughout Egypt itself about 750 a.c. The vassal kinglets of the Libyan monarchy were oscuming independence and many of these were of Libyan descent. If there were no other evidence, it would be natural to conclude that Kashta was one of these local dynasts of Libyan descent to whose lot the government of Kush had fallen.
- (d) The historical material for the period in question (1100-720 n.c.) is otherwise very meagre, and the absence of inscriptions dealing with Ethiopia is not a matter of wonder, especially if the country was quietly submissive.

If then, as I conclude, the government of Ethiopia as a province of Egypt was continued during the XXIst—XXIIIrd Dynasties, the general policy of the rulers of Thebes, whether Egyptians or Libyans, justifies the assumption that the agent of the ruler in Ethiopia was one of the princes. The chief titles held by these princes are "High-priest of Amen-Res" and "first (hiwty) great commander of the army." As commander-in-chief,

each of these men must have had control of the forces in Ethiopis and, as High-Priest of Amen-Rev, he must have had close relations with the Amun-temples as far as Napata; but there is no special title which might include the government of that land. It may be, of course, that the main business at this time was the collection of taxes, which would be under the bureaux of Thebes, that the country was under the local toparchs, now largely Egyptian, that messengers and treasury officials were sent up from time to time, and that order was maintained by the "commander-in-chief" and his captains.

In any case, PaiCankh, the son of Herihor, was the last man now known to have borne the title of viceroy of Ethiopia.

(To be continued)

# A STELA OF THE REIGN OF SHESHONK IV

BY T. E. PEET, B.A.

Plate VII shows a stella in the possession of Mr Harding Smith. It is of ordinary Egyptian limestone, has a rounded top and measures 35.5 cm, in height and 23 cm in breadth. In the upper portion is a scene representing the dead man standing before the goddess Hathor. He appears to be made, wears on the left side of the head the long carl of plaited hair symbolic of youth, and round his neck he has a necklace of beads from which hangs the sign of life. In his right hand he raises a sistrum, and in his left, which hangs by his side, is a menat. The goddess is clothed in a tightly fitting robe, and holds the sign of power in her left hand, while from her right hangs the sign of life. Behind her is a vertical line of inscription which reads "Recited by Hathor Lady of Tep-tha." The two vertical lines of inscription behind the dead man read as follows: "The menat in order to propitiate the Golden One." "The Divine Father Ankh-hor, son of Pemay."

The inscription contained in the eight horizontal lines which follow is, like that which describes the scene above, written in poorly cut hieroglyphs mingled with occasional hieratic signs. The translation is as follows:

It is difficult to see how the group below the st should be interpreted. The sign on the right does not seem to correspond to the hieratic form of any sign which would fit the sense. That on the left is, despite the apparent horizontal ent at the bottom, probably merely the stroke. Of the possible suggestions, would give good sense, "The meant in the hand," but would require a Q; which would give "A meant of wood," is open to the same objection. Perhaps we should read \( \formall \) or \( \formall \), giving respectively "The meant as a protection" or "The meant about or behind (him)" \( \formall \) is hardly likely, though palaeographically more feasible than the two last,

This is clearly an enigmatical writing of the name Osona. For the writing One, ef. Juneau, Char dus Schriftsystem im Tempel der Hather in Dendera (Berlin 1903), pp. 6, 26, and for ? see Zeitschrift für agyptische Spracks, vol. xi.vi (1909), p. 55. I do not know of any exact parallel to the present form.

The last two groups are certainly , the five dots in a vertical line representing the water pouring from the vase. This should be read libbe, "cool draughts." Before this come the plural signs preceded by a group consisting of the hieratic form of some kind of vase with the sign 
This group may contain the expected sare, "necesse," or with, "ointment," or even both.

The sign of in the next line is probably determinative of sange, but might just conceivably be the word sign for 11, "thread," leaving ways without a determinative.

\* Not unlike the hieratic for bur.

\* I can make nothing of this. One expects a town name, since the preceding sign can hardly be other than int.



STELA IN THE POSSESSION OF W. HARDING SMITH ESQ., R. B. A.



son of the Divine Father Pemay, son of the Divine Futher Pesherenmut, son of the Divine Futher Nesmin. A good burial of honour. May your names abide for ever and ever."

The stell is of interest in that it gives evidence of a local cult of Hathor. Let us first fix time and place. The king Okheperre is Sheshonk or Shisak IV, the last king of the XXIInd Dynasty, who ruled during the first half of the eighth century E.C.

The title of the goldess, "Lady of Tep-ihu." gives us the scene of the cult, for Tep-ihu is the Greek Aphroditopolis and the modern Atih, a town on the right bank of the Nile nearly lifty miles south of Cairo. Atih is indeed no more than an Arabic form of the older name. In Greek times it was the capital of the Aphroditopolite name. Strabe (Geographica, C. 809) mentions the fact that a sacred white cow was kept in the town in his time. This was undoubtedly an incarnation of the goddess Aphrodito, the Greek form of Hather, and the old name Tep-ihu, "Head of cattle" or similar, would take back the origin of the cult to an earlier date.

But what exactly does the scene represent! (Ankhhor, the Divine Father (a common priestly title), is shown to us in the rôle of an 'thy priest of Hathor. Now 'thy is a name given to Hor-sma-tani, the young son of Hathor, who is sometimes represented on the monuments as rattling a sistrum before her. The king, too, as impersonating the son of the Goddess is on occasion similarly shown and bears the same title of thy. Consequently the priests of Hathor, who according to Egyptian ideas represent the king, also impersonate Hor-sma-tani and are therefore entitled thy (variant thusy).

In the toub of Amenomiat at Thebes we find a scene which represents ceremonies connected with the annual Festival of Hathors. Singer-priestesses (howt) stand before the goddess, described as Lady of Dendereh, holding up to her the sisterum and the menat-pecklace. This last consists of a bead necklace with two menat-pendants so placed as to hang down the back of the wearer. In another part of the scene two they priests of Hathor or Nub. The Golden One," as she is there called, just as in our own stella, advance, holding up in each hand two human-headed castanets. All the objects shown in these representations are instruments of music, including the menats, which doubtless were of metal and jangled as the wearer danced, and all are, as such, peculiarly the property of the Goddess of Joy and Music.

In one of the Middle Kingdom rock-tombs at Mer is a very similar scene, relating probably to this same annual festival of Hather, though the fact is not actually stated in the accompanying text. There too we see the priestesses with menuts and sistra, and the they priests with the castanets. In another tomb at the same place three thy-priests, whose names are written beside them, are dancing with castanets to the music of a harper who sits before them.

The scene on our stell is now intelligible to us. The deceased man was an theory priest of the goddess. In his capacity as her young son he wears the side-curl of youth, and as her priest he presents to her the sistrum and the menut. How far back this local only of Hather at Atfih actually goes we have no means of knowing, but proper names and other evidence show it to have been at least as old as the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Obviously a moddled writing of tris niez.

<sup>\*</sup> See Blackman, article Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian), in Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, and hibliography there given.

DAVIES-GARDINER, Pumb of Ausmembet, pp. 94-6, Pla. XIX and XX.

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sianhe, pp. 100-102, where this view is disputed.

BLACKMAN, Block Tombs of Mair, Part t. Pl. 2. Op. at., Part II, Pl. XV, pp. 24 ff.

# ON THE NAME OF AN UNGUENT USED FOR CEREMONIAL PURPOSES

By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, D.LITT.

THE word of in such combinations as the such combination as the such combination as the such combination as the such comb Qualitat)" as the meaning of 300 ", and his example is followed by Dr A. H. Gardiner, who translates bitt at is and bitt at Thom by "best-quality oil of cedar," "best-quality oil of Libyat." These two authorities evidently regard hitt as a nisbe-form of Shit in its sense of "fore-part," "front," with the meaning "what is in front " in respect of quality.

But so far as I can discover, hit and its compounds and derivatives convey, almost without exception, a sense of what is first or foremost in respect of place and time and not of quality. Thus itself means "forepart" of a person, animal, or object, e.g. the "bow" of a boat, and also "forehead," "beginning," "first-fruits"." nishe-form, means "breast," "heart," Se bitt, fem. msbe-form, "how-rope" of a boat, Se hitty (New Egyptian adj.), "first," leading"." Hity, bitt, masc. and fem. msbeforms compounded with f "position," "place," mean "chieftain," "chieftainess," lit "he, she, who is in front in respect of position." I rhit, a mkit, a fee lit. are used prepositionally in the sense of "in front of," and he lift adverbially with the

The only exceptions to the rule, as far as I know, are to be found in the use of bluty in Piankhi Stele, line 114, where it certainly seems to bear the meaning "choicest," and seems to be "choicest," "best."

<sup>1</sup> See Gamman, Jamenal of Egyption Archaeology, vol. 8, p. 180, footnote 2

E.g. NEWBERRY, Americas Egypt, 1915, p. 97 foll.; MCBRAY, Support Mastabas, pp. 32, 36. Angyptisches Olesser, p. 80. DAVIES GARDINER, Tomb of Amenorabit, p. 85.

Sen WOOLERY MACLY EN, Buken, p. 71 foll.

<sup>&</sup>quot; R.g. Wifet hivery ( D.W.X) "the first (or "leading") cow," Pap. Workings, v. c.

There are many representations on the walls of Egyptian temples of the king anointing

a divinity. We see him, as in the adjoining cut, applying his little finger, which he has dipped in the ointment, to the divinity's forehead.

A similar custom still exists in Lower Nubia. During a circumcision-celebration, which I attended at Derr in the winter of 1909, an old woman, after furnigating the guests with incense, anointed them with perfumed grease, smearing their forcheads with it just above where the hair begins to grow.

We have already seen that one of the meanings of lift is "forehead." May not if hit be a fem. nisbe-form of hit in that sense and mean "what belongs to the forehead," i.e. "unguent for the forehead," just as hitt "bow-rope" is the fem. nisbe-form of hit in the sense of "bow" of a ship, and hitt in the compound hitt-f is the fem. nisbe-form of hit in the sense of "front"!

This interpretation of  $\frac{G}{\Box \Box}$  is supported by the four following passages from the Pyramid Texts.

(1) "Had hitt  $\left(\frac{G}{\Box\Box}\right)$ " said the mortuary officiant



The king anointing the forehead of Min-Amon (after Lurston, Denkmiller, Part III, Pl. 189, h).

Seeing that hit means "brow" and that hit is placed on it, we can hardly be wrong in supposing that hit is a fam nisbe-form of hit in this sense and means, as already suggested, "what belongs to the brow," i.e. unguent for the brow. If this suggestion is correct, then the unguents whose names are compounds of hitt must have been primarily intended for smearing on the forehead, or rather, perhaps, on the hair just above it.

MARIEUTE, Abydos, p. 41; Lawsies, Deulswiller, Part III, PL 185 d, 189 h; Blackman, The Temple of Derr, Pl. XXVII.

<sup>\*</sup> Pyr., § 742. \* Pyr., § 52 a, b. \* Pyr., § 54. \* Pyr., § 453 a.

\* For compounds of bits other than litted and bits Thus see Murnay, Suggera Mastabas, p. 33, items 25—27, p. 35, items 1—3; Persus, Madam, Pls. XIII, XV.

Since, however, hit is said to be placed not only on the forehead (hit) but also, according to passage no. 1, on the "crown of the head" (upt), it might be urged that my explanation of the word cannot be maintained and that "best-quality oil" is after all the correct rendering.

But the fact is that in passage no. I wpt is to be regarded as synonymous with hit as it is in the following passage: O to he father, on whose forehead (hit) she takes her blace (as) Wps on the crown of his head (wpt)!." Here wpt must include the brow, or forehead, as well as the crown of the head, for the uracus is always depicted as resting not on the top of the head but on the brow. Reciprocally in the following passage in Ch. 19 of the Book of the Dead, hit seems to mean not only "brow," forehead," but also the whole of the upper part of the head, the brow and the crown, as opposed to the occiput: "Thy father Atum, king of gods, hinds for thee this thy wreath of justification on this thy brow (hit)."

<sup>1</sup> See SETHE, Zur Sugu vom Sonnmunge, p. 14.

GRAPOW, Urbunden des aegyptischen Altertums, vol. v (Heligiens Urkmulen), p. 138. Grapow, in his translation, renders hit by "Kopf," "head."

# NOTE ON THE HARVARD-BOSTON EXCAVATIONS AT EL-KURRUW AND BARKAL IN 1918-1919

#### By PROFESSOR GEORGE A. REISNER

ON Dec. 24, 1918, the Harvard-Boston Expedition resumed its work in Dongola Province. I was accompanied by Mrs Reisner, my daughter, and Mr W. G. Kemp. We brought 40 trained Egyptian workmen and filled up the ranks with unskilled labourers from the local villages. The work at Gebel Barkal lasted from Dec. 24, 1918 to Feb. 20, 1919. Preliminary work was begun at el-Kurruw on January 30, full work on Feb. 21,

and continued until May 8.

El-Kurraw is on the "east" bank about 8 miles down-stream of Barkal. The desert is a yellowish-grey sandstone plateau rising abruptly at first and then very gently towards the "east." The pyramid field is divided into three parts by two wadys—called by us the "North" Wady and the "South" Wady. Between these two wadys lies the Main Field containing the tombs of the kings. "North" of the "North" Wady is a small field of 6 tombs of queens, called the "North" Field. "South" of the "South" Wady is a much larger field, called the "South" Field, which contains three small groups of tombs of queens and a cemetery of horses. Lepsius plan in the Deakmöler. Pt. 1, Pl. 122 shows only the "North" and the Main Fields, and is fairly correct as far as it goes. The large square behind represents a stone-quarry. The "westernmost" pyramid (Pyr. I) in the Main Field was the latest in date, ca. 350 n.c., that is 300 years after the next one before it in time. This was the pyramid of a king whose queen was buried in Pyr. II which was in the corresponding position in the "North" Field.

Leaving the two late pyramids out of consideration, four of the tombs in the Main Field were identified as the tombs of Piankhy, Shabaka, Shabataka, and Tanutaman. The tomb of Piankhy might have been either a mustaba or a pyramid, but the other three were pyramids. Now these four tombs of kings of the XXVth Egyptian dynasty (to which I reckon Piankhy), are the last four tombs of a cometery which contains 20 tombs. The top of the Field, the primary site, is occupied by a circular tumulus of rubble covering a pit. with step and side chamber. The orientation is "north-south" On the ground of its position, its type and its contents, I place this turnlus as the first tomb made at el-Kurrnw. Near it but lower down the slope, there are three other exactly similar graves. Still lower down towards the "west," stands an improved tumulus grave, like the earlier tumuli but cased in grey sandstone against which a crude brick chapel was built and enclosed in a horseshoe-shaped emplosing wall of sandstone (Ku XIX). A second stone-cased turnning stands to the "south" of this on the edge of the "South" Wady. Beginning in front of the stone-cased innulus Ku XIX, a row of eight square stone-cased mastabas runs from "south" to "north" right across the Main Field to the edge of the "North" Wady, Ku XIV, XIII, XI, X, IX, XXIII, VIII and VII. In front of VIII is a very small tomb, Ku XX. while a larger one, Ku XXI, lies in front of the space between VIII and VII. The type of nit and burial, and the orientation are the same in mastabas XIV, XIII, XI, X, and IX as in the tumuli. Ku XXIII and XXI are of the same type of mastaba as the others but have a simple open pit orientated "north-south" like the tumuli. Mastabas VIII and VII have a different type of masonry from the others and have been restored in later times. Their pits are simple open pits but orientated "east-west," the orientation which from this date became traditional in Ethiopia. These burial pits are like those of the queens buried in the time of Piankhy, which were roofed with corbel vaults of stone. I have no doubt, therefore, that the open pits of XXIII, XXI, VIII, and VII were roofed also with stone corbel vaults.

Still lower down and about 20 metres "west" of the row of mastabas lies the tomb of Piankhy, built in front of the space between mastabas X and XI (the only pair which are separated by a space). The tomb of Shabaka is about 30 metres "south" of that of Piankhy and in front of mastaba XIV, the least important in the row. The site of Shabataka's tomb is behind mastaba VIII, which has been restored in the same kind of masonry as that used in the Shabataka tomb. Tanutaman selected a site close against the "southern" side of the tomb of his father Shabaka. Tirhaqa, it will be remembered, made his tomb at Nûri and it may be noted that the el-Kurruw field would not have borne so large a pyramid as Nûri I. It is clear that the builders of the four kings' tombs at el-Kurruw were conscious of the fact that these tombs were part of an older cemetery which was to be treated with respect.

The temb of Plankhy is merely the older type of corbel-roofed pit with one addition. This pit was much larger and deeper (6 metres) than the older pits, and it was unsufe to build the heavy corbel after the burial. A doorway was cut in the rock, as well as a very rough, small stairway to give access to the pit, which thus became a large rectangular chamber. This is without doubt the first stairway tomb constructed in Ethiopia. The pyramid or mastaba stood directly over the chamber, so that the front of the pyramid or mastaba rested on the rock wall at the "east" end of the stairway. Thus the chapel must have been built on the debris filling the stairway-a very weak feature. Shabaka's masons rectified this by passing the stairway through a rock-cut tunnel to a rock-cut chamber and building the chapel over the tunnel. His pyramid was still directly over the large rectangular burial chamber. Shabataka ended his stair at the mouth of the tunnel and gave the tunnel a flat floor. Tirhaqa's extremely elaborate tomb shows this same plan but with the flatfloored tunnel converted into an ante-room with rabbetted doorway. Tanutaman took over this nucleus plan of an ante-room with a large rectangular chamber. Atlanersa, Nuri XX, repeated this plan and it is the traditional plan used for all queens' tombs down to the last at Núri. Senkamanseken, Núri III, introduced the three-room stairway-pyramid as a piece of estentation and that type became traditional for the tombs of kings.

Thus the development of the three-room stairway pyramid can be traced from the old tumulus at the top of the knoll in the Main Field of el-Kurruw through the stone-cased tumuli, the mustabas and the pyramids of Piankhy and his successors to the first of the three-room type at Nuri.

It is clear that the older graves at el-Kurruw represent the cemetery of an important local family which may be regarded as the uncestors of Piunkhy and his successors. The graves of the ancestors are sixteen in number and include females as well as males. For reasons the details of which would now take too much time, I divide these sixteen graves into six generations, the last of which consists of mastabas VIII, VII, and XX. Mastaba VIII is the most important of the three and contained without doubt the grave of the last chief

of the family before Piankhy. Unfortunately owing to plundering, the name of not one of these mastaba owners was recovered. The last chief of the family before Piankhy was no doubt Kashta and I believe that mastaba Ku VIII was the tomb of Kashta.

The "North" Field contained the tombs of five queens, the earliest of whom, Ku XXII

was buried in the reign of Piankhy (or soon after). The others were as follows:

- Ku IV, Khenensainw, king's wife, king's sister, king's daughter, time of Shabaka (or soon after).
- 3. Ku III. Nenpery, king's wife, king's sister, mistress of the Two Lands, time of Shabataka (or soon after).

4, Kn VI, probably Pekankhary (7) of the Dream Stela, time of Tanutaman.

5. Ku V. Qalhata, king's mother, king's sister, also of the Dream Stela, time of Tamtaman, or soon after.

Thus it is clear that the "North" Field contained women of the blood royal who were probably descended from the queen of Ku XXII (time of Piankhy). Amenirdis was buried of course at Thebes. Peksater was probably buried in the "South" Field, us that contained at least one other descendant of Kashta. I am inclined to believe therefore that Ku XXII was the temb of Kenensat.

In the "South" Field the earliest group of tombs, Ku 51—55, was on the "southern" bank of the "South" Wady. Four of these, 52—55, were close together, so close and so exactly aligned that they were certainly made at the same time and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that all four burials were made at one time. The fifth grave, Ku 51, was apart, behind No. 52. All were of the corbel-roofed type. No. 53 was the most important, and in it was found a stell giving the name of Tabiry, "the foremost great wife of the king of His Majesty. Piankhy, living forever," "the daughter of Alara (cartouche), the daughter of Kasta (sic, cartouche)," and "the great one (fem.) of the Temehuw."

Further "south," were two groups each consisting of two stairway tombs. Ku 62, the nearest to the Piankhy group, was dated by an inscription on a broken ivory plaque to the reign of Shabaka. Ku 71, the furthest "south" was on archaeological grounds (tomb type, shawabtis) assigned also to Shabaka, while 72 was assigned to Shabataka and 61 to Tanutaman. These tombs were all smaller and less important than the contemporary tombs of the "North" Field, but the Piankhy tombs Ku 51—55 are larger than the Piankhy tomb Ku XXII in the "North" Field.

If we calculate the six generations of ancestors at 20—30 years each, the total period amounts to 120—180 years. If we take the beginning of Piankhy's reign at about 740 k.c., we get 860—920 n.c. for the date of the oldest ancestor, he of Ku, tum. I. I reconstruct the history as follows. About the time of Sheshonk I, a chief of the Temehuw, the southern Libyans, imitating the example of the northern Libyans in Lower and Middle Egypt, came into Dongola province over the old casis road and settled at el-Kurruw. This is based on Libyan arrow-heads of flint found in the tunuli, and on the Tabiry stela. He almost immediately obtained control of the trade routes between Egypt and the south and of some of the gold mines, for the fragments of alabaster vessels and faience found in the tunuli are of the best Egyptian work and gold was abundant. The dead weight of gold beads dropped by the planderers in Ku, tum. I, amounted to 38 gold sovereigns. With this control as the material basis of their power, these Libyan chiefs extended their territory until Kashta obtained control of Thebes and forced the adoption of his daughter, Amenirdis I, by Shepenwepet, the daughter of Osorkon-Saisii, as high-priestess of Amun.

Thus the conclusion which I ventured some time ago that the Ethiopian royal family was of Libyan origin is in all probability correct. The Ethiopian proper names, at any rate the earlier ones, are to be examined as Libyan, not as Nubian or Mercitic, names. I have been long of the opinion that the early Ethiopian names bore resemblances in

formation to the Libyan names known from the Egyptian inscriptions.

One other point has some interest. About 120 metres "northwest" of the Piankhy group Ku 51—55, we found a cemetery of horses. There were four regular rows of graves,—the first (on the "north") of four graves, the second and third of eight each, and the fourth again of four. All were plundered. The second row was dated by a cartouche amulet to Shabaka and the third by a number of such amulets to Shabataka. It is clear that row four is to be assigned to Tanutaman and row one to Piankhy. The horses were buried upright in the graves with their heads away from the tombs of the kings and bore originally their trappings and many strings of beads and amulets on their necks. The alignment of the graves leads me to believe that these horses were sacrificed at the royal funerals. This custom was introduced by Piankhy, who took great pride in his horses, as we know from the conquest stels.

One last word in conclusion without going into the details. There was only one Piankhy: Piankhy-Wesermantra and Piankhy-Seneferra are one and the same king-Shabaka also had two throne names—Neferkara and Wuahibra (Athribis stone). The same is true of Shabataka,—Dedkara and Monkheperra (horse-graves). Piankh-Alara, given by Nastasan, is also the great Piankhy, probably confused by the later scribes with

Alarn the daughter of Kashta. The order of the kings is as follows:

1.	Kashta	-14	make.	144	200	Ka VIII /
2	Piankhy	A1 6 46	0.44	244	200	Ku XVIL
3.	Shabaka	155	9.44	1.12	199	Ku XV,
4.	Shabataka	1.69			barn.	Ku XVIII.
5.	Tirhaka	111	19991	244	-0.00	Nůri I.
6:	Tamutaman		200	Ank	244	Ku XVI.
Ŧ.	Atlaneesa	110	1246		0.00	Nûri XX.
8.	Senkamanseken		1 600	-91	44.6	Núri III.
13.	Anlunum	810	(trick)	***	1,00	Nûrî VI.
10.	Aspalta	121	24.5	Sac	210	Nari VIII

And so on as in my Nuri list. There are no other royal tombs, and no other kings are admissible to the list.

These are the chief results. But the work both at el-Kurruw and at Barkal has given a mass of material on many minor questions.

### NOTES AND NEWS

The post-war reorganization of the work of our Society has necessitated various changes in its constitution, and these, set forth in a circular letter distributed among our Members and Subscribers, evoked the most encouraging and satisfactory expressions of agreement. Before this number of the Journal is issued it is hoped that the alterations in our Articles of Association that were hereby rendered needful will have been accepted at two Extraordinary General Meetings convened for the purpose. The principal modifications to be made are the following: (1) The name of the Egypt Exploration Fund is to be changed to Egypt Exploration Society; (2) the distinction between Members and Subscribers is to be abolished, and the uniform status of Membership substituted; (3) Members will subscribe two guineas per annum, besides paying an entrance fee of one guinea; (4) all Members will receive this Journal gratis, and will be enabled to purchase other publications of the Society at a reduction of 334 per cent. off the retail price; (5) a Library will be formed and more lectures will be held than in the past, thereby emphasizing the fact that our Society aims at being an association of persons interested not only in excavation but also in the scientific study of Egyptology.

In connection with the Library, the Society already possesses a good nucleus in the books and periodicals that have been sent to it from time to time, and various Members of the Committee have already promised additional works. A particularly valuable gift has recently come to us from our late Secretary, Miss Emily Paterson, in the shape of a complete bound series of the Transactions and Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology and also a copy of the collected works of Sir Peter Le Pago Renout. The Rylands Library has presented us with Mr F. Ll. Griffith's fine Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri there preserved, and the Trustees of the British Museum have munificently promised examples of all the official publications which come within the scope of our Society. An appeal is here made to Members and Subscribers to contribute to the Library any Egyptological books that they can space. In order to avoid unnecessary duplication it would be well if intending donors would send to the Secretary the titles of their proposed gifts. Presentations to the Library will be notified in the Journal from time to time:

In view of many difficulties, and particularly the political situation in Egypt, it has been found impossible to equip and send out an exploring expedition during the present season. An important site has long since been applied for, but the negotiations concerning it have not yet, in spite of all the Committee's efforts, been carried to a successful issue. It is not thought likely that much excavation will be carried out by anyone during the next few months unless it be at a centre like Luxor. In the meantime there is plenty of work to be done at home. Professors Grenfell and Hunt are about to issue Vol xiv of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, and Dr Gardiner and Mr Peet are busily engaged in the preparation of the second volume of The Inscriptions of Sinai. The Journal, it is hoped, will henceforth appear punctually on the first day of every quarter. Among the articles already received for Vol. vt are some of the deepest interest and importance.

The first two lectures given by the Society in the present season will have been already held by the time this number of the Journal comes into our readers' hands: the first, by Mr T. Eric Peet, on November 21, when the subject dealt with was the Egyptian Origin of the Alphabet, and the second, on December 12, by Professor P. E. Newberry, who chose as his topic "The Tombs of the Kings at Thebes." Three further lectures have already been arranged, and the dates proposed (though these are subject to the convenience of the Royal Society, to whom we are again deeply indebted for the loan of their excellent rooms at Burlington House) are the Fridays January 23, February 20, and March 19, at 8,30 p.m. In January Mr T. E. Peet will discourse upon "El-Amaroa, the Capital of the Heretic King", in February Mr H. Idris Bell has kindly undertaken to speak upon "The Historical Value of Greek Papyri"; and in March we hope to have the privilege of listening to Monsiour Jean Capart, Conservator of the Musée du Cinquanternaire at Brussels, whose subject will be his recent researches in the domain of Egyptian Art.

All who were acquainted with the late Professor Leonard W. King a greatly esteemed member of our Committee, will desire to associate themselves with the following tribute to his memory contributed by Mr H. R. Hall, his colleague at the British Museum :- It is with great regret that we have to chronicle the premature death, on August 20 last, at the age of 49, of a prominent worker in the closely allied field of the Mesopotamian archaeology and history, Professor Leonard W. King, Assistant-Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, and Professor of Assyrialogy at King's College, London University. Professor King had been ill for some time, and overwork. during the war as a member of the Intelligence Staff of the Admiralty, while he was at the same time pursuing without intermission his private Assyriological studies no doubt contributed to his illness. We can only deplote in his loss that of one of the most prominent students and exponents of Assyriology. His work both as an editor and translator of cumeiform inscriptions and as the latest historian of Babyloma and Assyria is well known to all. As a critical historian his work was of the first order, and was of course marked on every page by original research. His duties at the British Museum as Assistant-Keeper of the Department which includes Egyptian antiquities maturally brought him into constant contact with Egyptological interests and problems, and though he never wrote on Egyptian subjects, either officially or privately, his knowledge of them was considerable and his interest both in Egyptian antiquities and in the kindred archaeology of Crete and prehistoric Greece was very great. In him the British Museum loses one of the most prominent and capable of its officials, and his colleagues and personal friends a most valued condjutor, always eager to share his knowledge with others, and a most genial companion, one of the most cheerful kindly and unselfish of men. "Whatsever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might"; " prove all things; hold fast that which is good,"-there have been many of whom these words might be said, but of none with more justice than Leonard King,

M. Benédite desires to call attention to an unfortunate slip in his article on the Carnaryon Ivory: Vol. v. p. 227, note T, fifth line, for 'hare' read 'greyhaund'; the word in the French original was légrièr.

### NOTICE OF RECENT PUBLICATION

Egyptian Mythology. By W. Max MÜLLER, Ph.D. In vol. XII of The Mythology of All Races. Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1918. Pp. xiv, 328. Two Plates and 220 figures in text.

The title of this admirable work is somewhat misleading; for it is by no means devoted solely to the mythology of ancient Egypt, but is a pretty complete survey of the whole field of Egyptian supernaturalism, special chapters being devoted not only to the myths, but to local and solar cults, nature-gods, the Osman Cycle, the other principal gods, foreign gods, worship of animals and men, life after death, ethics and cult, magic, and the development and propagation of the religion. This is of course all to the good; a detailed account of Egyptian myths alone could hardly be made very interesting to general readers, by reason of the heterogeneous and contradictory character which the material (consisting largely of more allusium) has for us at present; on the other hand the more studies that competent scholars give us of Egyptian raligious ideas and practices the better. The book is pulpably the outcome of a great amount of solid study, and is at the same time not lacking in fresh and interesting ideas, showing it to be much more than a mare compilation. The illustration is copious and original and in itself goes far to confirm the statement in the preface that Egyptian doctrines often found a greater degree of expression in religious art than in religious literature. It is, however, a serious defect that in spite of the copious annotation of the text (there are 68 pares of notes at the end of the volume) references to the illustrations are unt given ; even professional Egyptologists would be hard put to it to identify many of the most striking ones. The total absence of hieroglyphic type is probably a distinct advantage in a work of this kind.

In his Introduction Dr Max Miller sketches the study of the subject in the nimeteenth century, and lays great stress on the fact that both the classical and modern worlds have tended to overrate really the philesophical and mystic significance of Egyption religion. He Insists that we have to accept the fact. whether we like it or not, that the most highly developed people of the ancient near East held in religion a place no higher than that which is occupied by some barbarous negro tribes. This failure of Egyptian religious thought to refine itself (i.e., to by increasing stress on subjective values) with increasing cultural development is attributed by the author to the extreme conservations of the Egyptians. But this explanation, to be a satisfactory one, should further show why the conservations was ope-sided, tenacions of primitive beliefs far more than of primitive ways of living; why, for instance, they adhered to their forefathers' views on the nature of the sun, but broke clean away from their forefathers' tomb and rempla architecture by supploying stone instead of brick. Or Max Müller is, I believe, endeavouring to explain a problem which, as formulated by kim, is not really a problem at all. Is there not a follow in the assumption that in some way a development in material culture brings about a refinement in religious views! For in what way can material progress affect beliefs which are independent of material experience ! A sulture of a purely practical nature might concervably develop much further than our present one, and its practitioners enight yet hold the beliefs that food-offerings were of benefit to the dead, and that rain would fall if prayed for; there is nothing in the one to react on the other. The fallacy has probably come into existence from the spectacle of certain other ancient cultures (notably those of the Greeks and Hindus) in which renned beliefs about masses things and high material civilisation are found together; but a little reflection will show that the causes of the former are as little material as themselves. They may be stated to be chiefly; abstract speculation; thought of the scientific type (both imagination and sceptionen playing a part in these; and the personal teachings of certain religious innovators. And where these fasters do come into play they often fail to influence the main stream of the religious life of the race, from a lack of general interest in them. Thus, any surprise which we may feel at the static and primitive character of Egyptian religion throughout its history, should exist, not in view of the high material culture obtained, but because we might well expect a race with the Egyptians' long nistory, high intelligence and preoccupation with religious affairs to have preduced name original thinkers about the subject than they did. We laxe to do here, it seems, with a fact of racial temperament; the Egyptians.

possibly because of their African blood, were not only almost incapable of avolving now and higher conceptions about religion, but were also not interested (at all events until the Christian era) in such new conceptions. Ikhnaton, the one real exception of which we know, was probably frustrated quite as much by lack of sympathy as by vested interests

The coormous importance attached to Egyptian doctrines by the tireeks still seems to await a satisfactory explanation; Dr Müller deals with it is his Introduction on the usual lines of ignorum promagnifice, "you Greeks are but children," etc., but this seems hardly sufficient to account for the traditions about such men as Solon, Democritus and Plato, to say nothing of the unanimous statements of the

Of special interest is the discussion, in the chapter on nature-gods, of the world-tree in Egyptian mythology; this conception is probably new to modern scholarship. Among many noteworthy features and ideas may also be singled out the evidence brought together (p. 157) of the surly cults of Nabian gods, the references to the astral element in the mythology, the statement that if we knew the full history of even the greatest gods we should find them to have been originally spirits or fetishes protecting only the property of single pessants, and the view in the minth chapter that the cause of the primitive reservation of certain animals is to be sought neither in their superior strength or swiftness nor in gratitude for their usefulness, but in the fear that they may possess reason and a language of their own which mun cannot fathom and which connects them with the supernatural world.

The chapter on the Oscian Cycle contains no reference to the theory that in origin Osiris was no more than the lately deceased king. In the chapter " Life after Death " one might have expected somewhat clearer ideas time are expressed as to the nature of the ka' and the be. Dr Müller renders them both as 'soul,' and seems to consider any distinction between their natures to be due only to "some very

The chapter on "Magio" states, in its opening sentences: "It is,....very difficult to state where religion ends and magic begins; and to the Egyptian mind magic was merely applied religion." I would suggest that the popular feeling about the two things should afford this fundamental criterion, and that to depart from this raises more difficulties than it obviates; namely, the view that in religious rites the thing desired a sought for as a boin, while in magical rites the thing desired is obtained by force autieure. Submission and domination are thus the characteristic attitudes of religion and magic respectively. Judged by this test, of course, about nine-tenths of what are regarded as Egyptian religious documents

A few philological points call for notion It is somewhat misleading to translate wishes forms as e.y. "the One Before the Westerners," "the One of the City Ubsect," as on p. 21; it imports a number of uniqueness which the original words do not possess. Why not "he who is before the Westerners," etc. ! "Gold" was the epithet given to Hather, and not, as is stated on p. 30, "the golden." The seven petals (hardly a saven-pointed star) between the inverted horns over the head of the goddess of writing are, says the antiror ip 53), a careful indication of a symbolism which we do not yet understand. It is hardly possible not to see in it a play between sifet "seven" and iffet "also who has put off (the borns)." It is clear from the surliest writings of the hame of Harsaphen that this name does not mean "the ram-faced" as atated on p. 134, but "he who is over his pool (held.f)." There is good evidence that the god-name which De Muller thinks (Ch. viii, note 12) may be read Dedunti is to be read Kherti (kirli). The Graeco-Roman image of Ophois (Wp. of set) with the lower part of the body in the form of a serpent (Fig. 270). doubtless routs on a Greek popular etymology of the name from open. Similarly the interpretation of Harpokrates as imposing allence was probably helped by an assimilation of the kr in this name to Egyption gr o to keep milence."

There is a lengthy and up-to-date Bibliography by the Editor, Dr Louis H. Gray.

BATTISCOMME GUNN,





SISTRUM OF KING TETI (SIXTH DYNASTY)
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE EARL OF CARNARVON

## AN ALABASTER SISTRUM DEDICATED BY KING TETA

By N. DE GARIS DAVIES M.A.

THE interesting pages of temple farmiture pictured on Plate VIII has recently been added by purchase to the collection of the Earl of Carmaroon, through whose courtesy and very real interest in our science I am permitted to publish it here.

The main part of the little instrument, the height of which over all is just ten and a half inches, is cut from a single piece of alabaster. The stone is not of the best quality, for a flaw at the junction of the handle with the superstructure has caused it to sump at this point. The merit of the work corresponds, as is often the ease, to the value of the material, and is not free from a certain clausiness.

Instead of the Harbor head, which in sistin of later date than this surmounts the handle, we have here an outspreading head of papyrus set out a stem, or rather on several stems bound into a solid round rod under the head and at the end of the stalks, the whole having the appearance of a single umbal! A slightly drooping curve is given to the edge of the flower and not the exaggerated earl employed on the handles of some interest and in the decorative panels of false doors. To suit the superstructure the flower is lenticular, not circular, in shape. Since the head of Hathor is absent, her connection with the sistrum has to be shown in other wise, and thus is done by planing on the flower the device which forms a kind of rebus on the name of the goddess. Only here the house is replaced by a shrine and the fideon is set above, not in. It. He tramples on (or is protected by the cobra, whose head with swellen hood is erect before him, as is often the case when the bird stands on the framed Horus-name of the King. The plannage of the falcon is indicated in the usual decorative way with overlapping feathering on the shoulders, then the long plannes and finally the wing-tips crossed forkwise over the tail.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Three separate stone are shown in the wand, Branchar, More, Vol. 1, p. 3; Vol. 11, Ph. XI; they are united at the base, where shouthing is shown. This unique would is the police a sistence. The papyone handle perhaps compoure later, see Larra, Destroy, Pt. 11, Ph. 175, p. 180.

It appears as if there was more in this serpent-shape than a happy decerative fancy, and that it excrised on the tradition of the armons seen in front of Horas here; for where the wand is a more amblem the armons, the class friend of Horas, is often seen cosupying the interior or flanking its walls (cf. Cautrieto, Temple of the Kings, Pl. XV)

In its present state only one side of the box—that to the left of the falcon—is closed but the thin sheet of alabaster which forms this wall is a separate piece; for it would have been difficult to hollow the block out accurately, even apart from flaws. The tiny slab is the full breadth of the mass, and is stuck on to the sides under the roll of the cornice, its lower edge being let into a slight groove cut in the top of the flower. The attachment with coment is apparently modern and the slab might conceivably belong to the other face. A similar groove is cut on that side also, but I am not quite satisfied that this is original. One would have expected at least one side to be open, if the jingling of the metal was to be heard. The genuineness of the extent slab seems certified by the inscription it carries, since it provides us for the first time with the full titulary of King Teta; "Horus He-whobrings-peace to the two-lands'; the tutelary divinity of both Egypts 'He who brings-peace'; Horus, conqueror of Nult, 'He-who-unites' (stm); the King of Upper and of Lower Egypt The son of the Sun, Teta, to whom life and happiness are given sternally." This corresponds perfectly to the peculiarities of the age by combining prenomen and cognomen in one and by closely assimilating the Nebt and Horus names. The front of the handle, i.e. the side to which the falcon faces, also bears a vertical inscription, incised and picked out in blue, which suggests that this sistrum was presented by the King to Hathor of Denderch: "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, beloved of Hathor, lady of Denderek to whom life is given elornally." The inscription is bordered on both sides by the | sceptre. This dedication at Denderch is quite in keeping with the special prosperity of the town under the kings of the Sixth Dynasty.

The sistrum was almost exclusively carried by women (except when kings make presentation to Hathor), often in pairs. In form it was a reminder of the name and mature of the goddess and so gained its cult efficacy. Touched by the devout or received into their hands, the temple instrument brought heightened life. Its use as a musical instrument followed the natural association of the goddess of joy with the dance and merrymaking, and the sistrum is a clever adaptation of the wand to this employment, not an adarament of a musical instrument with reminiscences of the goddess. Here we find that this stage was already reached before the Sixth Dynasty. The ancient device of the head of the ox-god or cow-goddess which is incorporated in the Middle-Kingdom sistrum, is seen in the Cairo palette of Narmer; Griffith, Bear Husan, Vol. III, No. 81; LACAU, Surcophages, Pl. XXXIV, Nos. 84, 85; LEGRAIN, Statues, Vol. II, p. 31; DAVIES, Deir et Gebraini, Vol. 1, Pt. III. It looks as if the stout horns had been combined with the cord by which the symbol was hung round the neck of devotees to form the slender antenmae between which the later mass is set, and which may also have given the impulse to the looped form of the sistrum. The neck-tie of the symbol may be taken from the ribbon which was often put round the neck of cattle specially selected for exhibition or sacrifice.

Dr Cardiner (Notes on Sinuhe, pp. 161—3) has given strong reasons for assigning the name sekhem to the looped sistrum, the term seshesht (also \$3, and even \$88, a plainly onomatopocic word) to the naos-sistrum. Yet this, though strongly evidenced for Ramesside and later dates, and having textual support in earlier times, is directly contradicted by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Blackman's Meir, Vol. 1, Pl. II, the arm of the man is seen through the mass, i.e. it is openwork. No rattle is there shown. It is strange that let sii "playing the ristrum" is used of sixtra without any apparent metal fittings Wilkenson, Manners and Castons (ed. Binou), Vol. in, p. 422; Lepa., Dealm., Pl. 10, Pl. 180).

tomb-scenes at Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The texts indeed seem to point to three objects sacred to Hather and thence transferred to the cult of Amun, the menat, the sekhem (?) wand and the seshesht or seshesh, but the pictures connected with these legends rarely show more than one object besides the menat, and that is always the looped sistrum, never the other form. The looped and the naos sistrum cannot indeed well occur together, as the former seems to be the substitute for the latter.

So far as we can see, the earlier form is that with the nacs. We still have this in the Eleventh Dynasty (word-sign for show in Petrie, Coptos, Pl. VIII, L.8) and in the Twelfth (Grippide, Beni Hasan, Vol. iv. Pl. XXV, and Lacau, Sarcophages, Pl. XXXIV, No. 89) where it is still fitted with tinkling discs. The first appearance of the looped sistrum known to me is, strangely enough, as held by one of a crowd of worshippers on a well-known Cretan vase, assigned, roughly, to the Seventeenth Dynasty. Throughout the succeeding Dynasty this new form replaces the naos-sistrum as a wand and musical instrument. With the full advent of the Ramesside Dynasties the naos-sistrum reappears, but does not replace the looped form. The employment of the two is probably differentiated, and this may be true of the period of disappearance, some change of customary use or representation being involved. The green glaze naos-sistrum in Petrie, Palace of Apries, Pl. XIV, is pierced for wires, but the Ramesside and later pictures do not at all support this use. The later maos-wand seems to be merely a device representative of the goddess and confined to use in temple services.

The reason for the resuscitation of the mass-symbol was perhaps that the use of the hoped tinkling sistems had not only spread to other cults beside that of Hather, but, with the wholesale entrance of women into nominal service in the temple of Amun, had become very general indeed. Like many another ancient custom it was readily tolerated in the worship of the Aton, and the tendency to secularize it and make it an accompaniment of festive occasions was probably strengthened during that period.

It may well have been that the mass device was given the general term sekhen wand when used as such and seshesht when the tinkling discs were added to it. There must have been a time when the new and the old forms existed side by side, and we may have a trace of this in the story of Sinuhe where the terms are held apart, "their menuts, their wands and their sistra" (or, since the hieratic sign is the same, or almost the same, for \$\frac{1}{2}\$, and \$\frac{1}{2}\$ and \$\frac{1}{2}\$. "their menuts, their mass-wands and their looped wands"). In the Theban tambs of the early New Kingdom, as has been said, there is several times an apparent mention of the three objects, though only the menut and looped sistrum are pictured (the picture and the legend have rarely both been preserved intact). Unless we have to do with a slavish repetition of a formula from the transition period or a childish desire to enumerate all the best-known cult-objects or the names used for such, we must be dealing with two words in

Shown only in Lars., Dealest. Pt. 110, Pt. 110, b, but I am sure that the form could no longer be recognised on that monument, and in Pt. 111, Pt. 72 (Amenophus III). The latter I cannot control.

Semi together in Ramesside times in Lers., Dealer, Val. III, Pl. 175, L, and WILKINSON, Popular Account, fig. 282.

<sup>\*</sup> HAID, Aggeon Archaeology, Pl. XVII.

<sup>\*</sup> Of course if the bars were enclosed in a box, so with the subject of this article, their presence might not be indicated.

apposition," the wands—the tattles (or whatever the asshesht may mean'). Hence a passage in the tomb of Kenamun could be translated "I offer to thee the menal ornament, and the jingling (1) sistric" (the picture is last). It may be that the extra-temple use of the sistrum may have only been adopted by the Amun priesthood, and was limited to the Eighteenth Dymsty at Thebes. The decisive feature is that at this place and period the paos-sistrum never appears in the tombs and that the name of the looped sistrum, wherever we can control it, is seshesht. If the records in REDGSCH, Theservers, p. 1191, can be trusted, the inscriptions assert that the princesses carry mos-sistra, while the sketch shows that, conformably with custom in the period of Akhenaten, they are looped. The anomaly, if it exists, must be due to misinterpretation of the one hieratic sign. In Tomb 90, where the hieratic memoranda for the legends are still visible, the text gives as pictograph the masssistems, though the scene showed the looped instrument.

The change in nomenclature from the Eighteenth Dynasty, or perhaps more properly Theban, usage to the practice of Ramesside and later times, for which Dr Gardiner has given proofs; must be connected with the new preponderance of the priesthood and a regained importance for the cult of Hathor! The use of the sistrum came under more strictly religious prescriptions, and the names adopted in priestly circles perhaps gained weight, or at least prevail in the religious texts which are henceforth our main source of information. The more distinctive name seshesht which in popular speech was applied to the familiar looped sixtrum very likely still had wide currency; for the Greeks, who took over that instrument, perhaps echoed the root-meaning of the word in their own sibilant word with similar sense, σείστρον; the populace seem to have had right on their side and there is no reason why we should not adhere to the usage.

I have not referred to the cloth flags which in tombs 39, 109 and 82 at Thebes are carried with the other emblems, as the name sekhem is scarcely applicable to them (though primd facis it seems so in DAVIES GARDINER, Tomb of Amenerabet, Pls. XIX, XX), and their appellation appears to be bk in Manterre, Abydos, Vol. 11, Pl. 55. The statement in the latter text that the menot necklass is carried on the neck, the seshesht emblem in the hand, the seldiem (1) sistrum behind, is explicable by the fact that in pictures the menut is extended in one hand, while the sistrum is held by the loop in the near hand, and therefore is drawn behind the figure though really hanging at the side. The interesting point is that the writer has described the familiar scene as we should, being described by his own convention.

Regarding the substance of which the Carnaryon wand is made, this may well lave been often employed for ceremonial emblems. The wand shown at Beni Hasan is of ebony with copper (?) fittings. Later the material is green or blue glaze. One would have expected the looped sistrum to have been of metal, but I think this is only guaranteed for quite late examples. But the pictures hint at silver and gold instruments. The majority that have come down to us would be burial models probably.

In conclusion it seems not impossible that the looped sistram may be the linear ancestor of our baby's rattle of the same shape; cf. Davies, El Amurua, Vol. i. Pl. XXVII.

DAVIES, Tomb of Paymer's (forthcoming), Pla. 38, 53; SETER, Crimmion, IV, 817. The former tomb contains interesting scenes of the presentation of the various entropiects of Hather.

<sup>\*</sup> The root at seems to mean 'to tremble, 'quiver,' or the like (Serne, Pyramidentexte, § 1080, d), suggesting that the sistrum was already a shaken rattle at the opening of written history.

Compare the revival of the omblems of Hather were by officials (Lannars, Stories, Vol. II. Pls. XXVIII, XXXI and Vol. m. Pls. XVIII, XIX, XX, XXIII, X1., XLVIII; PETRIE, Palmos of Aprice, Pl. XIV, Makinte, Mantabas, pp. 465-7)

## THE VICEROYS OF ETHIOPIA

### BY PROFESSOR GEORGE A, REISNER

(continued from p. 55)

As an appendix to the above list, the following officials must be mentioned whose position in Ethiopia is uncertain!

### i. Tuwnuw.

o. Tendeno IV at Der Rifel. Courrettu, Sint and Rifel, Pla 16 and 17. "New Empire." The macriptions are builty preserved and difficult of occass owing to native occupation of the timb. The tomb was a large one. The owner is the "hand bornam, Tastur, was of the head bornam, Rathotps and the mistous of the house, Sense." The references which might indicate that he was a vicency of Ethiopia are as follows:

Pl. 16; line 10: "king's am, Tawhee."

Pl. 17, line 48 - "herediting prime, toparch, royal seed bearer, sole companion, head bowman, Tantum

Pl. 17. lines 30 -30: "heralitary prince, topurch, voyal scal-henry, sele companion, great of nobility, previous

of .... of great love chief of the two lands to its limit, called etc.

Pl. 17, lines 27-29 : "communater of the army, Pasture"; " .... armsect of the Southern Lines, Tantum."

To this title that of "overseer of the Southern Lands" was often joined (see below). Only once these Tuwtuw appear to call himself king's son (PL 16, line 19); in the nine other cases he is head bowman. In all other inscriptions of viceroys which I have traced, the king's son title was the very one which was never unitted. It is possible, of course, that is now "king's son" in the passage quoted is a misreading for \*\*imse\* "follower." There is no ground for connecting Tuwtuw with the owner of Tomb no. 8 at El-Amarin.

#### H. SENNOPER:

or. Harshepsul and "Occurred of the Gold London of Amen," Tombat Sheikh Abd of Kurneb: Ganturburesis III. etc. "Tombat Sheikh Abd of Kurneb: Ganturburesis III. "Tombat Sheikh Abd of Sheik

#### in. NEHEMAY.

Before Amenophis "Head bownen, secreter of the Southern Statue from Sakkarch, in Cairo : La-Lands, head of the stable." Statue from Sakkarch, in Cairo : Lainais, Réportoire, no. 281. Name of Amon crased.

I have not meinded the Nakhtmin of the Cairc status (see Strankineno, Rec. de Tron., Vol. xxviii, p. 177) in either the main or the supplementary list, since I hold that he was not a king's son of Kush, if indeed he was even a king's son.

### iv. HERAEMSASEN.

co. Undated.

"Herbilitary prime, topurch, great for nourite of the Lord of the Tes Lunds, pread in factour because of his excellence, fan-heurer, werece of the storehouse (Fodgment ball), overnous of the Southern Lends,"

"Hereditary prince, toparch, utone is excellence for the heart of his Lord, eyes of the King in the Southern (plu.) City (sing.), fan-bearer, asserter of the Southern Lands."

Gebel Barkal, fragment of a statuette, found in the debris in front of the temple of Atlaneras (R. 700): Reg. no 16-3-26.

### V. ANHERNAKHT

a. Rameiaes II i

"Hoad of the stable, Americanopet, son of the High-Proset of Améri, American of the great stable-of-Hameron I of the Cross. He comes on a commission of the Pharanh to [majoret] in Kunh, with the head bornian of Konh, Amheritakht."

Schill of Monday, Cat. des Mon, 1, p. 88, no. 62; Burescu, Themara, p. 1215; q.

h. Windsted.

"Fina-bourer on the Ling's right, hand becomes of Kneh."

Schöl: op. cd., p. 102, no. 238 his

c. Undated

"Fundamen on the king's right, head boronian, necesser of the Southern

Schill: op sity 1. 48, no. 61,

d. Undated

"Fire beater on the kings right, house bowning, opener of the tield Londs of Amin"

Scholl 194, 72, p. 89, no. 74

### vi. Pennesuttauni

C. Rumosses II.

"Head learness of Kuch," No room for full titles.

h. XIXth Dyn.

"Head bornan, overwor of the Southern Linds" Monument of Amenenyenet at Naples: BRUGSCH, Theorems, 953, no. 6. Tombat Drah Abu-I-Naga: GARDINER-

Not to be identified, I think, with "the scribe of the table of Kush, Pennesettanwi," son of Harembab, of the time of the vicercy Sethauw (Lieblein, 2052).

vii. AMENEMHAB, son of the vicercy Sery.

a Umlated

"Head bowness, [character?] of His Majorty, accessor of the Southern

Schut, DE Monnan, op. oil, p. 163, no. 69 (Mariette).

b. Undated.

Very had text, I would read, "Head howman, accesser of the Southern Lends, Annual embath, son of the fine bearer on the king's right, [king's scribe of the letters?] of the Pharanh, bring-sell-healthy, of the Court, Sety, been of Americanta(finesis(!)) (det, woman). Those currespond to the titles of Sety before in beaumon viceroy.

Nour Wady na-Staba Rigaloh: Perme, Sermo, Pl. XVI, no. 507 (P)

c. Rameses-Siptali

"King's scribe, steward in the palmer of Romescent's many Aman's, of the Court (or in Pre-RPC, am of the siverny, Say,"

Abu Simbol, north wall, stells of Saty: Massano, Annales, Vol. x, p. 132.

d. Unitatest.

Mutilated text: I read, "[lings scribe, stream] in the palace of Rameson marged with in Per-Rel (or, of the Court), [overseer of the ground] of the kings son, Ammonipals, son of Setty. "Of the horizontal line of inscription for restoration of titles."

Derr, rock stala north of temple: LEPS., Dealm., Pt. 111, Pl. 184 c. Under, but not related to, a cartonelie of Ramesses II. It will be noted that the material is very bad. Even Maspero's copy of the Abu Simbel inscription apparently contains errors of the cappist while the other three texts are in a very disspidated condition. Nevertheless, a and b are the records of the same head bowman, while c and d are of the same steward. Both appear to refer to the son of a Sety and belong. I believe, to the same man, who was head bowman before his father became viceroy and steward of the palace. It is possible that the "king's son" of c is not Sety but his predecessor, Messuwy(?). In any case, the Amenembab of c was not a viceroy, as has been sometimes assumed.

#### viii. OSOBKONSANKE:

a. Dynasty XXII or "Hereditary primes, toporch";
"True victor";
"King's son, orsewer of the Southern
Lands, second of the estate(1)."

Bosis of a standing status, from Akh india, now in French Arch. Inst., Cairo: Gaursten, Bull. Inst. Frompais, Vol. XII, p. 138.

I owe the knowledge of this official to M. Henri Ganthier, who has kindly given me permission to use his communication in this article. Gauthier points out to me that it may be doubted whether Osorkon ankh was really a vicercy of Ethiopia, and I agree with that doubt. The long disuse of the title "king's son, overseer of the Southern Lands" and the fact that the last form of the vicercy's title was "king's son of Kush," itself long in disuse, makes it practically certain that the titles given to Osorkon ankh represent a revival of older titles, conferred as an honour or assumed by Osorkon ankh on his functory menument. Compare the case of Queen Nesikhonsu (no. 24). It may be noted that the title of Osorkon ankh is written "king's daughter" (slt), a not amisual scribal error.

The above list exhausts the material at my disposal. There are overseers of lands or mountains not connected with Kush, such as "the overseer of the Northern Lands, Dhati" (Urk., iv. 999); "the overseer of the mountains on the west of Theles, Didnw" (Urk., iv. 995); "the chief of the Mazauw, overseer of the mountains, Neferkhauwet" (Urk., IV, 990, 7); "the head bowman, overseer of the mountains, Huwy" (Lientein, Diet., 690); "the overseer of the Gold Lands of Coptes" (no name, tomb of MenkhaperrsComb, Urk., IV, 931, 5-14); "the scribe of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands in Ta-Set, the overseer of the lands of Wawat, Katha" (Lens., Denkm., Toxt, Vol. V, p. 180); and "the overseer of the cities of Kush, the scribe of the table of the Lord of the Two Lands, luwnamun" (MARIETTE, Cat. d'Abydos, no. 1169). These examples show that langer? is by no meins to be translated "governor," but only "overseer" or "head of the department." In other words, the title describes the department in which the functions of the other titles are performed. Thus, Hekaemsasen was chief of the Gryt(!) in the Southern Lands: Katha was chief of the treasury in Wawat; Iuwnaman was chief of the department of household supplies in Kush; and the various head bowmen were the communders of the forces in the Southern Lands or in Kush. It is clear that the title "overseer of the Southern Lands" does not in itself imply that the holder was a viceroy or even a governor of the Southern Lands. Nor indeed are the known viceroys ever so designated except in combination with the title "king's son," or " king's son of Kush."

The overseers of the Southern Lands, nos. i, iii, v, vi and vii, given above, are head bowmen. In the cases of v and vi, the title "head bowman, overseer of the Southern Lands," alternates with the title "head bowman of Kush," and in the case of v, also with "head bowman, overseer of the Gold Lands of Amin." The conclusion can hardly be resisted that

these three titles mean the same thing, that administratively "Kush," "the Southern Lands" and "the Gold Lands of Amun " are all one. The title "head bowman " does not occur among the subsidiary titles of any of the viceroys, possibly because no head bowman ever rose to be viceroy, possibly because the office of head bowman of Kush was so directly subordinate to the office of viceroy. For it is clear that the head bowman was commander of the military forces placed at the disposal of the viceroy for the maintenance of order in Ethiopia. The larger pumtive expeditions appear to have been under royal command or under more important officers of the army despatched with special forces.

This appended list contains then for the greater part the names of the head bowmen of Kush, and for the sake of completeness. I continue with the following names of head bowmen of Kush, or of head bowmen who left graditi in Kush and may have served as head bowmen in Kush:

#### is. Mis.

- a. Ramesses 11.
- Fin-bearer on the king's right, king's massinger to every [land], head himman of Kuch."
- Assum-Phila reset: Pernie, Sesson, Pl. VI, no. 146; us Morias, op. cit., p. 14, no. 65.

#### х. Внитемнан.

- a Undated.
- " ..... houd baneaus."
- Schel: DE MORGAN, op cit., p. 84, no. 135.

#### XI PIYAY.

- a. Siptah.
- "Fon-beaver on the king's right, king's earlie, oversees of the treasury, king's scribe of the office of the letters of the Pharuoh, steward of the pulson in Per-Aman, Piyay. He comes to recies the tribute of the land (11) of
- Buhen: RANDALL-MACIVER, Buhen, p. 28.

- h. Siptab,
- "Fundances on the king's right, near new of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands"
- Ruben: ogs cits p. 39.

- c. Siptali. Probably before a
- "King's messenger [to every land]...

  [who establishes the officials of] the
  ling's on to their places, first
  charioter of His Mojesty, ......

  Pigny of the Court!
- Bubout op. cif., D. 13.

- of Siptala Probably before a and c
- "Fan-bearer on the trafe right, head bournan of Knoh."
- Amoda temple: GAUTHER, Acoula, p. 108.

#### XIL BEKNAMUN.

- Under Ramesses
   III or after.
- "Fus-bourer on the king's right, head browners of Kush, king's scribe, great steward, occrewer of the ......, Bet-numbe, am of Penersp." Blackman translates the part telt blank: "occrewer of the baries of Aman, chief prices of Aman Rich I question the acounter of the copy of the text; a High-Prices of Aman would hardly appear thus seting as bowman in Kush.
- Butten temple; RANDALL-MACIVES. op. cit., p. 33.

#### XIII. "BINEMWESE"

- et Ramoses III.
- "Head become of Kunh."
- Turin papyrus: LIEBBERN, Diet., no. 986; and slawbors.

"Binentwese" was, of course, as often pointed out, an inconceivable name, and probably only a perversion of the real name of this conspirator. He may possibly be identical with Beknamun, above.

All these men appear to have held considerable, though not the highest, places of honour. The title of fan-bearer on the king's right was one of the most coveted civil honours, although practically never given to priests of high rank. Two of the head bowmen of Kush were also king's messengers (ix, xi). The function of the king's messenger is revealed by a number of inscriptions, such as nos. 17, a; xi, c, the graffite of Neferher at Buhen (RANDALL-MACIVER, Buhen, p. 25), and that of Bokhpehtuf at Abn Simbel (BREASTED, Auc. Rec., Vol. 111, § 642), and still more clearly by the El-Amarna letters The king's messenger was a direct agent of the king, responsible to some royal office in Thebes, not to the local Egyptian authorities in Palestine or Kush. On the other hand, the local authorities were bound to support and assist the messenger, and in Kush it seems to have been the head howman whose services were most usually needed by the messenger. From the mature of the functions of the two offices, that of king's messenger must have been in fact a higher and more important office than that of head bowman. Two of the viceroys-Huwy and Hekanakht-claim the title of messenger among their subsidiary titles, but none claims the title of head bowman. In addition to these two viceroys, the viceroy Hori I, and the head bowmen Min and Piyay, I have noted the names of five other king's messengers who acted in Kush, all dating from the Ninoteenth Dynasty.

The sum of the matter is, then, that the officials who bear the title "overseer of the Southern Lands" are not governors of Ethiopia but really subordinates of the viceroy. They were almost without exception head bowmen of Kuah, and were only overseers of the military forces of the Southern Lands.

### II. THE TITLES OF THE VICEROYS OF ETHIOPIA.

The general character of the titles of the vicercy of Ethiopia has long been a matter of common knowledge. The essential title was "king's son," which conferred a rank as well as an office. For many purposes, especially in his own territory, this was a sufficient designation; and in Ethiopia the vicercy was probably mentioned simply as "the king's son" just as a modern governor is called simply "the Pasha" in his own province. Parallel to "king's son" occurs the more definite title of rank and office, "king's son of Kash." Both of these essential titles are often accompanied by the secondary titles "everseer of the Southern Lands" or "everseer of the Gold Lands of Aman" or "everseer of the Gold Lands of the Lord of the Two Lands." Just as in the case of some other titles to which they are attached, the secondary titles define the geographical limits of the administration indicated by the chief title. They are, therefore, not essential and are, in fact, often omitted. They occur most commonly in the personal monaments, the prayer-stellas cut on the rocks of Nabia and the inscriptions of the fanerary monuments, both of them places where an effort is made to acceptante the honoamble position of the man in question.

Taking only the titles mentioned above, the following development may be noted:

- [1] Amenophis I.
- (a) "King's sand"
- (b) The office is not defined in fixed turns but always with a reference to the Southern Lands.

- (2) Tuthinnels 1 Tuthmosis II Tuthuceas III Amemophis II
- (a) "King's son" with or withmet (b).
- (h) "Oversom of the Southern Lands," and only with (a),
- (3). Tuthmosis (V (7) Amenophia III Amenophia IV Tutankhimour Ase Harmaliali Setlies 1 Raméseres II
- (a) "King's son of Kush," or less frequently, "king's son." Both occur with and without title (6).
- (b) "Overseer of the Southern Lands" is used only with (a),
- (e) "Overseer of the Gold Lands of Amin" occurs with (a), or with (a) and (b) See must paragraph below,
- (4) Meneptah Sethols 11 Siptah Hamesses III-XI
- (a) "King's son of Kush," usually alone, but also with (b) or (c) not both.
- (b) "Overseer of the Southern Lands" occurs only occasionally with (a). (c) "Overseer of the Gold Lands of Amin" occurs once under Hori II and once under Wentawest, but the material is meagre.

Thus the title "king's son of Kush" would appear to date a viceroy to a period subsequent to Amenophis II, perhaps even after Tuthmosis IV. The titles of "king's son" alone or with "overseer of the Southern Lands" probably mark a vicercy as earlier than Meneptah, and he might be as early as Amenophis L. The fitle "overseer of the Gold Lands" and its modifications have not been found in connection with a vicercy previous to Amenophis III.

The meaning of the title overseer of the Southern Lands" is fairly clear, though there night be some difference of opinion as to the exact geographical limits of the term "Southern Lands." The territory of the viceroy was Kush in its broadest sense; this included Kush and Wawat with such contiguous hinterlands as were in occupation or constant use by the Egyptians. Its extent, northwards and southwards, is clearly defined by inscriptions no. 3, h and no. 8, a to have been from Nekheb or Nekhen (El-Kab) to Karay; these inscriptions belong to the time of Tuthmosis III and Tutankhamun. A number of references, beginning in the reign of Tothmosis I (Tombos inscription), show that Karay or Napata was the southern borderland of Kush. The northern part, or the administrative district of Wawat, seems to have included nominally the two southern nomes of Egypt, as appears to have been the case in the time of Hormoni (Amosis I); but the inscriptions of Rekhmeres show the officials of these nomes making payments of some sort to the vizier in Thebes. Thus apart from certain details, the territory designated under the title "overseer of the Southern Lands" is clear.

The analogous title "overseer of the Gold Lands of Amun" has been so variously interpreted as to require a detailed consideration. The following cases may be set forth:

- (a) MERKOSE vicercy to 6, 5, surcophagus, but not in thirteen other inscriptions : " King's son, oversees of the Southern Lands, oversees of the Gold Lands of Aman."
- (b) Dunymose, vicercy no. 7, d, but not in four other inscriptions: "King's om of Kush, [overseer of the Gold Lands] of Amen.
- (c) Pases 1, vicercy no 9, 6, but not in three other inscriptions:
  - " Overseer of the Gold Lands of Aman, bong's con of Kush, overseer of the Southern Lands.
  - " Oversee of the Lands of Amin in Ta. Sat."
  - "Overver of the Gold Laurele"

(d) Sernauw, ricercy no. 14, d, f, et a, a, and p, but not in a large number of other inscriptions :

d, as "King's son of Kuzh, occreer of the Gold Lands of Amin."

- j. p. "Decrees of the Gold Lands of the Lord of the Two Lands," secondary to "king's am of Kush, oversees of the Southern Lands," and other titles.
  - n. "King's son of Knoh, overseer of the Gold Lamits" (sie).
  - or Municipal text.
- (a) SETY, vicercy no. 16, b, s, but not in three other inscriptions:

"King's som of Kush, overeser of the Gold Lenids of Aman."

(f) Host II, vicercy no. 18, c, but not in two other inscriptions :

"King's som of Knoh, accressor of the Gold Lands of Ameri-Ret King of the Gods"

(d) WENTAWUAT, ricercy no. 19, d, on the statue but not on the stella:

"King's son of Kush, overseer of the field Louds of Amen-Ret King of the Gods," and other litles.

### It is to be noted that:

- The title "averseer of the Gold hands" occurs with only 7 of the 17 viceroys from Mermase to Palkankh.
- (2) It occurs in only 13 of the 75 inscriptions in which the names of these 17 viceroys our found.
- (3) It occurs either as an appendage to "king's son, overseer of the Southern Lands," or with "king's son of Kush," omitting "overseer of the Southern Lands."
- (4) In the inscriptions of Sethauw, the "Gold Lands of Amin" are parallel to "Gold Lands of the Lord of the Two Lands," or simply to "the Gold Lands."
- (5) The form of the title used by the last two viceways, Beri II and Wentawant, is "enverseer of the Gold Lands of Amen-Res, King of the Gods," not simply "of Amen" as in the previous inscriptions.

To this material may be added the references to the "overseer of the Gold Lands of Amin" under it and v. above. Taking these facts altogether, I conclude that the title of "overseer of the Gold Lands" in its various modifications is not a service-title but a poetical or boastful version of the ordinary title "overseer of the Southern Lands." This is especially clear in the titles of Sonnüfer (Urk., iv., pp. 536, 11 foll.; 540, 8 foll.; 541, 8 foll.) where the service-titles are expanded to a great glorification of the man.

In this connection, attention must be called to the title of "overseer of the Gold Lands of Coptes," which occurs in a scene in the tomb of Menkheperre sonb (Uvk., IV. p. 931, 5—14). Here, at "the receipt of the gold of Coptes together with the gold of wretched Kush as annual dnes," three officials appear—"the chief of the Mazay of Coptes," the "overseer of the Gold Lands of Coptes," and the "overseer of the www." They came as bearers of that part of the tribute which was assigned to Amun, and are not subordinates of the High-Priest. The overseer of the Gold Lands of Coptes is of less importance than the "chief of the Mazay." The gold lands in question must have been connected geographically with Coptes, probably having been reached by a desert road from Coptes. The connection of this minor official, the overseer of the Gold Lands of Coptes, with the viceroy (Nehi I) is doubtful. The Coptes gold would appear not to have been included in the Ethiopian gold.

The area of the land containing gold mines is fairly well known and extends southwards through the eastern desert from the latitude of Esneh (or perhaps a little north of that) into Abyssinia. The Egyptians appear to have worked all these mines as far south as the Um Nabardi mines, south of Halfa, and most of them by means of the roads debouching in the valley in Wawat. The proceeds of the mines which lay south of Um Nabardi and those of the placer-mines on the borders of Abyssinia were probably

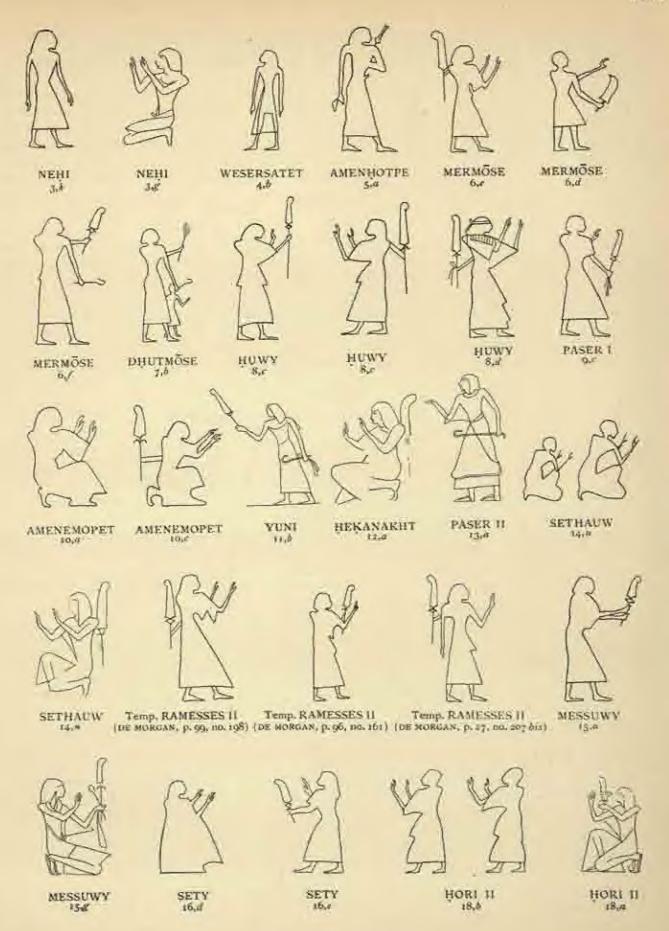
obtained by the Egyptians in trade, by taxes on trade and perhaps to some extent by military extortion. The lists of the tribute recorded in the Annals of Tuthmosis III show that the most important part of the tribute of Kush and Wawat was in gold and that the gold-income from Wawai for the years 38-42 was largely in excess of that from Kash. Thus, the whole of Ethiopia might have been called "the Gold Lands," but if only a part was so called (i.e. "the Gold Lands in Ta-Set"), then that part was Wawat, or rather the eastern hinterland of Wawat. It is possible that this region of gold mines may have received a poetic name like "Gold Lands of Amun," just as Punt was called "the god's land." The name first appears in the time of Tuthmosis III (tomb of Semulfer), and it is quite possible that Tuthmosis may have dedicated the yield of certain mines to Amun just as Sethos I dedicated the yield of the gold mines beyond Wady Abbad to the temple of Abydos. But it is not to be concluded that any king made a grant of Ethiopia, or even of the gold mines, to Amun in a political or administrative sense. The officials of Ethiopia from the vicercy down were the king's men, and I can find no trace of any legal or administrative power exercised by any official except by royal appointment (see especially the evidence afforded by the tombs of Huwy and Pennut). The sum of the matter appears to be that the title "overseer of the Gold Lands of Aman," with its modifications, was an ostentations or poetic paraphrase for "overseer of the Southern Lands" and had no legal signification.

The title of "king's son" with its defining modifications and additions constitutes the service-title of the viceroy. Among his other titles, prominence is given to his formal titles of honour similar in character to the orders and decorations of modern life. The earliest of these are the three honorary titles derived from certain service-titles of the Middle Empire:

Perhaps fuller inscriptional material would show that other viceroys also held these honours, or at any rate the first of them.

Another important honour conferred upon the viceroys almost without exception from the time of Mermose the viceroy of Amenophis III, was that of "fan-bearer on the king's right hand." None of the viceroys before that time hour this title or are represented as fan-bearers in the scenes accompanying the inscriptions. Therefore this title, like "king's son of Kush," indicates that the viceroy bearing it is to be dated to Amenophis III or thereafter. The converse, however, is not to be premised; Yuni, no. 11, is not called a fan-bearer, but he is represented with fan and crook at Abu Simbel and undoubtedly held the title. So also Heri II, no. 18, at Buhen, and on the stella from Semneh is represented as a fan-bearer, although the title does not appear in the inscription in either case, Paser II, on the other hand, appears to be represented only with the crook. But the scene is in a bad condition and the copy may be defective. Both Herihor and PaiCankh bore the title, and I venture the conclusion that all the viceroys after the induction of Mermose were without exception "fan-bearers on the king's right."

Twenty-seven representations of the various viceroys and fan-bearers have been collected on Pis. IX. X. Hence it will be seen that the insignia of the fan-bearer on the





king's right consist of a long feather-fan (or fly-whisk), a bandelette, and usually a crookstaff, or an axe, or both crook and axe. The insignia are held in one hand, or distributed between the two hands, or slung by a cord or thong over the shoulder (especially when the hands are uplifted). All these variations except the axe date from the time of Amenophis III, and are of no value for dating. It is probable that the crook and axe are really insignia of service-titles and the long fan with the bandelette is alone the mark of the "fan-bearer

on the king's right." This title appears to have been originally a service-title as in the first-known case, that of Matherperi, dating from the time of Tuthmosis III (/) (LEGRAIN, Repertoire, No. 108). But later it was merely an honour and indeed one of high distinction, although the recipient may have had the duty and privilege of carrying the fan at some time at a public ceremony. A creation of the New Empire, the title was held, as far as I can find, by only eight men before the reign of Amenophis III, three under Tuthmosis III, three under Amenophis II and two under Tuthmosis IV. Altogether, excluding the royal princes and including the viceroys, I have been able to note only about 65 fan-bearers on the king's right for the 400 years from Tuthmosis III to Herihor. In making the list I have, of course, left out the bearer of the broad fan (som-shade) and the bearers of standards. This list shows that the title of fan-bearer, or fan-bearer on the king's right, came into use in the reign of Tuthmosis III, probably as a service-title, of value because of the intimate association with the king's person. Its use was extended to serve as an honour for household officials in the time of Amenophis II, when the form became fixed as "the fan-bearer on the king's right." In the reign of Amenophis III, the honour was granted to the vicercy of Ethiopia and became a traditional bonour of that official. The royal children of Akhenaten were the first to be represented with the long fan (or whisk), but only in an intimate family scene and without the title (DAVIES, El Amarna, Vol. III, Pl. XVIII). Akhenaten was the first to give the title to the head of a great priestly organization, the High-Priest of Aton. Meryret (op. cit., Vol. 1, Pls. XXXV, XXXVIII, XLI, see here Pl. X), but that was clearly regarded as unfitting and the act was not repeated. The next step in the development of the title was its grant to princes of the blood royal beginning with the crown-prince in the reign of Sethos I (GAUTHIER, Livre des rois, Vol. III, p. 30). Perhaps the accession of Aye, Haremhab and Ramesses II (if he was the same as Para nessuw, Leonais, Annales, Vol. xiv. pp. 29-32) to the throne after having held the title under their predecessors may have had an influence on this extension of the use of the title. Paratmessuw (later Ramesses II /) was the first vizior to hold the title, but his offices were so many and so high that the honour may have come to him from an office other than vizier. Thus the first vizier who appears to have become fan-bearer on the king's right solely in virtue of his office of vizier was Paser, son of Nebnotëruw (Lees., Denlem., Text, Vol. III, p. 254), of the time of Sethos I; and four other viziers after him held this honour. The viceroys and other officials continued, however, to receive the title as before. In spite of the exception in the reign of Akhenaten, "fan-bearer on the king's right" seems not to have been regarded as a fitting honour for members of the priestly hierarchy, probably because of the element of personal service implied in the title. The few fan-bearers who exercised any priestly function at all held important offices of a civil character and came, no doubt, to the honour as civil or household officials. It is to be noted that the royal prince, the sempriest, Khaemwese, the fifth son of Ramesses II, was not a fan-hearer, although his four elder brothers and one other held the title, and none of the High-Priests of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynastics bore the title. It was only in the cases of Herihor and Paifankh that the title of fan-bearer on the king's right was borne by the High-Priest of Amen-Rec. At that time, as the result of the political development of the period, the priesthood, the viceroyalty of Ethiopia, and the command of the army were taken into the hands of the royal family in order to secure the monarchy of Thebes, and it is practically certain that both Herihor and Paifankh took the title of "fan-bearer on the king's right" as an honour properly belonging to the viceroyalty or the army command. After Paifankh, the title of fan-bearer, like that of king's son of Kush, seems to have fallen into abeyance. Its revival for three men in the Libyan period was probably due to special circumstances to which there is now no class.

The rest of the titles claimed by the viceroys of Ethiopia are well-known service-titles which they had acquired during their preceding careers. It is not to be presumed that a man always mentions all his former titles, although cases are known where a High-Priest of Amun, for example, names the titles of third, second, and first priest in the same inscription; but when the titles are full, they probably give a fair picture of his career. Thus the following list of the previous careers of the viceroys, made up nostly from their later inscriptions, is probably full but not complete:

		in tanyard, util pur not comblete;
	- Thungs	Commandant of Buhen.
E. Seni		Toparch of the Southern City.
		Director of works at Karnak.
	20.00	Overseer of the gravary of Amou
.3	The state of the s	First royal herald.
- 4	Commence of the Commence of th	No titles given.
à.	Amenhotpe.	Overseer of the cuttle of Amon
		Director of works in South and North
	Section 1	Head of the stable of His Majesty,
6,	Mermisse.	Nuige scribe
		Oversor of the verilles one Monta v. Cot., p. 380.
		The state of the paper of the state of the s
		Steward of the pessantry (?) (for est.)
7.	Dhutmäss.	CALIBORA OF BIRSOHS ( 7):
18-	Hiswy.	Stribe of the letters of the vicercy, Mermose,
		King's scribe
		Mercanetes primate
	(a) (b) (c)	King's measurger to every land
26	Passer L	Aing's scribe.
10:	Anuncuopet.	Son of the vicerov Passe I
	-	First characteer of His Moissey
11	Yiml.	thead of the stable-of-Sethoa.
		Charloteer of His Majesty.
12.4	24 1	Chief of the Magay,
12	Hekanakht.	King a nit senger to every land
100	No.	OCTION I of the radiace of Ramonas 11
13.	Passer II.	terring in artistical
14.	Setlanzw.	King's scribe.
		Governor of the City
		Overseer of the treasure.
		Great stoward of Amilia
		Leather of the featival of Amon
12	Wante	terral of the present of
15,	Messawy.	Ring's serile.



MERYRE' 1. High-Priest of the Aten (DAVIES, El Amarea, vol. I. Pl. XXXV)



MERYRE' I. High-Priest of the Aten (DAVIES, El Amaron, vol. I. Pt. XXXV)



MERVRE' L. High-Prinst of the Aten (DAVIES, & Amaria, vol.111, PLXLI)



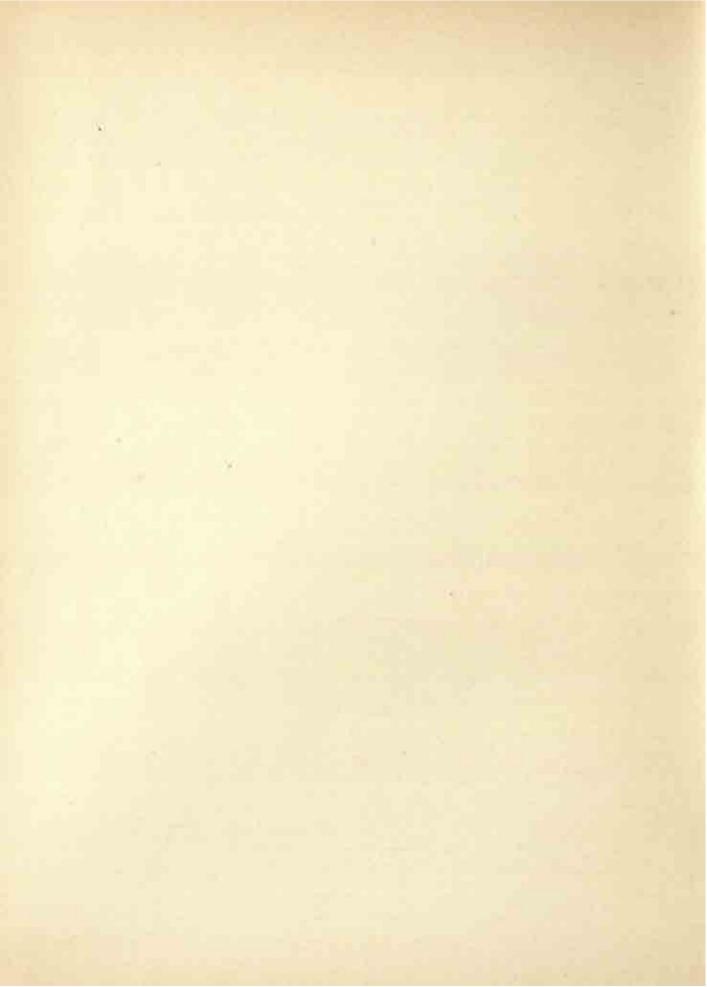
AHMOSE, Scribe, Steward, etc. (DAVIES, & America, ed. III. P. XXVIII



AYE, Scribe, Oversour of horses, etc. (DAVIES, El disursa, vol. VI, Pt. XXXI)



HAREMHAB; General
[Zatures, f. &g. Sprachs, vol. XXXVIII. p.47]



16. Sety.

King's scribe of the letters of the Pharach.

First chief in the stable. Overseer of the treasury.

Overseer of the letter-scribes in the Court of the palace-of-Ramesses-II (I, according to the titles of his son Amenemials at Deer, who succeeded him in this office), in Per-Rec.

+Great stoward of the king-

High-Priest of the Moon God, Thoth,

All but I are dated to year I of Siptah, the year of his appointment as viceroy.

17. Horida.

First charioteer of His Majesty. King's messanger to every land.

Son of Kama (I) of the stable of Sethos I.

18. Hoři II.

King's scribe.

Son of the vicerov Hor I.

19. Wentawnat.

Head of the stable of the Court.

First of His Majesty (i.e. charioteer !). Son of an unnamed viceroy (Hori II \*).

Later titles, also as vicercy ;

Door-opener.

Steward of Amin at Khnum-Wesset

High-Priest of Amun of Khumu-Wesst, or of Ramssess.

20 Ramessenakht. 21 Panelisi. King's acribe.

Commander of the army.

Overseer of the granary.

Steward of Amen-Ref.

Great chief of the tressury.

Apparently held these offices in conjunction with that of viceroy.

22 Beribor.

Overseer of the granary (of Amin !). Commander-in-chief of the army.

High-Priest of Amun

In conjunction with office of vicercy.

Later, king.

23. Paifankh.

King's scribe.

Commander of the army.

Commander of the grands of the Pharaoli. Overseer of the grandry of the Pharaoli.

High Print of Amen Rec.

Son of Hariber.

It is remarkable how many of the viceroys seem to have been in the personal service of the king—as king's scribe, nos. 6, 8, 9, 12(?), 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23; as king's herald, no. 3; as king's messenger, nos. 8, 12, 17; as head of the stable, nos. 5, 11, 19; or as king's charioteer, nos. 10, 11, 17, 19(?). Indeed, nos. 9, 13, 15, 18, and 20 appear to have had no previous experience except as king's scribes. Not one of them, between Thurwe and Herihor, seems to have had any sort of military career. The exercise of the military power in Ethiopia was entrasted, of course, to the head bowmen of Kush. In the viceroy administrative abilities were needed, a familiarity with the names and the personalities of the Ethiopian chiefs, a knowledge of the red tape of the Theban bureaus, an astateness in the devious ways of oriental diplomacy, and above all a zealous devotion to the king's interests. I imagine that the king was concerned most of all in the financial side of the matter and esteemed his viceroy according to the amount of the Ethiopian revenue. He

certainly wanted a strong and intelligent man who could keep the country in tranquillity, and one attached to his own person whom he could trust not to engage in intrigues against the throne nor yet to absorb too much of the revenues. It was only natural that he turned to the men of his immediate entorings whose characters he thought he could judge for himself. That is the custom of monarchy and above all of oriental holders of authority, from the king down to the most petty official or landowner.

The early careers of the viceroys show that each was the personal appointed of the king and in every sense the king's man. He held his office at the king's pleasure, and that seems to have amounted in practice to an appointment for life or until the accession of the next king. We may be sure that some fell into disfavour and were dismissed. Possible examples are some of the viceroys of Ramesses II and the viceroy Sety. Others continued in office under the next king, and Paser I perhaps through two whole reigns. In two and perhaps three cases, Paser I, Hori I, and Hori II (7), the viceroy secured the succession in office to his son:

I can discover no evidence that any viceroy of Ethiopia was ever a prince of the blood royal until the time of Herihor. The political development resulted during his reign in the reservation of the High-Priesthood of Aman for the heir apparent of the king. Herihor extended this scheme for securing the position of the monarchy so that the viceroyalty of Kush and the command of the army both held by himself before he became king, were also held by the crown-prince. Thus all the important sources of revenue—the royal estates, the national taxation, the income of the temple properties, and the tribute of Ethiopia—were brought under the direct control of the king and his son. We know that this plan was carried out by his successors at Thebes and their successors, the Libyan kings, in all points except that relating to Ethiopia. As for Ethiopia, the title of viceroy went out of use, but the functions of the viceroy must have been performed somehow, either by one of the royal princes or by the central bureaus of the administration at Thebes.

## III. THE STAFF OF OFFICIALS ATTACHED TO THE VICEBOY.

The first point of importance in considering the composition of the staff of the viceroy is the division of the administration into Kush and Wawat. The records of the tribute of Ethiopia contained in the Annals of Tuthmosis III (Urk., IV., pp. 695—734) show that the tribute was registered under the headings of Kush and Wawat, and this fact clearly indientes a corresponding subdivision of the administration. There is not, however, as has been suggested by Prof. Breasted, any indication that the viceroyalty itself was subdivided. There is no trace of a viceroy of Wawat, and only one case has been cited in which two viceroys seemed to be in office at the same time, a case which is only apparent and was easily explained in the contrary sense (see no. 11, Yuni). On the other hand a certain number of officials are to be traced who bere the titles of idnum Wheit "deputy of Wawat and idnum Ki "deputy of Kush." and in these titles a subdivision is clearly indicated agreeing with that proved by the records of the tribute. To quote madern analogies, the king's son of Kush corresponds to the Governor-General of the Sudan and the deputies of Wawat and Kush to the Provincial Governor-General of the Sudan and the deputies

The material for recovering the names of the deputies of Kush and Wawat is at present incomplete. There are probably still dozens of unrecorded inscriptions on the rocks

both above and below the Second Cataract. With the material at hand, I have been able to collect the following examples:

#### WAWAY

		WAWAY.	
(1)	Name lest. Date unknown.	"The deputy of the king's son in the diremon(t) of Wawat, wribe of the direct of crisqs."	Schol, Dr. Monoaxs, Cat. derman, Vol. 1, p. 99, no. 194.
(2)	Name lost. Date imknown.	"The deputy of Warrely"	Ellesiveh, rock chapel of Tuthmosis III, fugade: Lers, Denkm., Text, Vol. v. p. 115; Wennan, Lower Nubio, p. 114
(3)	Meny. Sethis II.	"The deputy."  "The sards of the treasury, the commander of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands in Ta-Set, the deputy, Mary, of Warrat."	Abn Simbel, south of the larger temple: Champoniann, Notices, p. 78; Wei- call, op. cit., p. 138. See also No. 4.
(4)	PENNUT. Rainesses VI.	"Deputy of Wascat" and "chief of the quarry service, stantard of Harm lord of Milam" (Breasted). "Deputy of Wascat, Mery," is probably (3), above.	Antheh, tomb: Breasted, Anc. Rec., Vol. IV, §§ 474, 477, 481; Levs., Donkins, Pt. III, Pla 229 foll. Breasted, Anc. Rec., Vol. IV, § 481.
(5)	Horemhal-	"The deputy of Wassat."	Gebel Addah /Gebel esh-Shome), be- tween the stals of Paser and the grotto of Paser: Whitall, op. cit., p. 141.
		Kusa.	
(0)	ARENEMOFET. Tatankhaman	"The deputy of Kush of the kingle out Hung?" See No. 7,	Ellestych, rock chapel of Tuthmosis III., façade: Lars., Denkm., Text, Vol. v., p. 115; Wamali, op. cit., p. 114.
(7)	Name lost. Tutankhuman.	"The deputy of Kurk," among the efficials of the viceroy Hawy. See No. 6, above.	Kurnet Marrai (Gandiner-Weigall, no. 40), tembrof Hawy: Bat Georg, Theranous, p. 1137; Bheartho, Anc. Rec., § 1041.
(8)	Name lost. Date unknown.	** Overseer of the priests of all the gods, deputy of Kush.*	Fragment of sandstone on the Island of Sai: Breaster, Am. Journ. Sem.

The following less definite references may be added:

(3) Sennerul! "The deputy of ..., Seansfor," facing another man, labelled "[king's] con. over ser of the Southern Lands."

(10) Nama(!) "The deputy ......" Schill: op. vit., viz. 105.

(11) Namakhr(!) "Follower in all his journage, bears of schill: op. vit., p. 32, no. 111.

Memokhr(!) of the king's son.

Nelmakhr(!) colled ....."

Lang., 1908, p. 100.

It is to be noted that one deputy of Wawat is dated to the time of Sethes II, one to that of Ramesses VI, and one probably to the reign of Aye or Haremhab, while the only deputy of Kush whose name is known is to be dated to the time of Tutankhamun. The evidence is scanty, but I think the conclusion is justified that the administration of Ethiopia was divided into Kush and Wawat from the time of Tutankhamun in Kush or Wawat at least from the time of Tutankhamun.

The incompleteness of the material, mentioned above, affects also the investigation of the minor officials of the viceroy. Many of them no doubt never left any permanent record, and lists of successive holders of the individual offices are at present out of the question. But a number of offices subordinate to that of viceroy can be gathered from the records.

- (12) "Head bomme of hush," son above, pp. 73-5, nos. 1-xiii.
- (13) "Sorvent (setter th) of the kings som":
  - a. Nakhtuw, under Mermese.
  - b. Name unknown, a "corount of the Land of the Two Lands" but attached to Hiney.
- (14) "Character of the king's and";
  - a Name unknown, undated.
- (15) "Captain of the rowers of the king's son ".
  - a. Name unknown, under Huwy.
- [16] "Scribe of the king s con";
  - a. HARNATHY, under Sethauw.
  - b. HARRMHARWIYA, under Sethanw.
  - c. Passa, umler Sethmen.
  - d. Knat under Howy.
- (17) "Scribe of the gold-accounts of the king's son":
  - IL HARNOVER, under Huwy.
- (18) "Scribe of the soldiery of the king's son";
  - a: AMENEMOPET, under Sethanw.
- (19) "Scribe of the gramery of the king's non";
  - 6. Hou(1), under Sethauw.
  - h. ARENEWHAR, under Sety.
- (20) " Scribe of the letters of the king's wan?".
  - & AMENEMOURT, under Mermien.
  - b. Howr, under Mermose.
- [21] " Kwd of the kind's ton"; or " vwd of Kush";
  - a. Hangapan under Sethanw.
  - The title review of Kush atands over the red men of Ethiopia.
- (22) Decreen of the south ..... of the king's som?;
  - Q. AMENENOPET.
- (23) "Overseer of the cattle";
  - a. Name unknown, under Huwy.
- (24) "Scribe of the table of Kush"
  - a. PENNESETTAUWL under Sethauw.
  - b. See (25), below.
- (25) "Overseer of the extres of Kush".
  - a. IEWNAMES, also " seribs of the table of the Lord of the Two Lands." Dyn. XIX ?
- (26) "Overseer of the priests of all the gods";
  - a. Taneu (7), under Sethane.
  - Name unknown, also "deputy of Kush," Undated.
- (27) Scribe of the afterings of all the gods of Wesset's:

  a. Menvorry, undated.
- (28) "Scribe of the treasury for Wavest":
  - KATHA, "scribe of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands in Ta-Set, overseer of the lands of Wavet."

- Stela from Binban (mear Darkw) WEMALL, Annales, Vol. 1x, p. 112.
- Tomb of Buwy: Burusen, Thomsen, p. 1140.
- Sahél, Dr Mornas, Cat. des mong Vol. 1, p. 103, no. 45.
- Tomb of Huwy: Lars., Denkin, Text. Vol. III. p. 305.
- Stela of Sethans at Ibrim: Champmans, Notice, p. 82; Lirs., Denkin, Pt. III, Pl. 184, d, and Text, Vol. v, p. 127.
- Tomb of Huwy: hers., Denka., Text. Vol. III. p. 305.
- Tomb of Huwy | doc siz.
- Same as (16), at.
- See vii, d, above.
- Ellestych: Lare., Donkon., Text. Vol. v. p. 115. See vicercy no. 5, n.
- Same as (16), a, above.
- Tomb of Huwy: Lars., Denkon, Text, Vol. 10, p. 305.
- Same as (20), or above.
- Tomb of Hawy : Baugsen, Therenes, p. 1140.
- LIEBLEIN, Diet., no. 2002.
- MARIETTE, Cat. of Algebra, no. 1169.
- Stela from Wady ex-SabaG: GAUTHIER, Annales, Vol. XI, p. 82.
- BREASTED, Am. Journ. Som. Lang. 1906. p. 100k
- WEIGALL, Lower Nubice 1, 139.
- Gebel osh-Shems: Lines., Dealm., Text, Vol. v., p. 180.

It seems probable that the priests and the scribes of the temples, as well as the treasury officials permanently stationed in Ethiopia, were under the supervision of the vicercy. This view seems to be confirmed by (26), b, above, which shows that the deputy of the viceroy was overseer of the priests. The toparcles, the commanders of fortresses, and the chiefs of the various districts were, of course, under the viceroy and his deputies in Kush and Wawat.

(29) "Toporch" of various places:

a. name lost, of Khaommafet.

s of Shetepneternw.

c. Mosn, of Mifora.

(30) " Chief" of districts ;

o. Rathores, of Milam.

L. HERANGEER, of Micam. Under the viceroy Howy.

(31) "Commandant of the mountain":

o. A badly preserved graffite: "Commandant of the mountain, overseer of the Gold ....... ..... san of the king's san, the overser of the Southern Lands, N(ahil)." Tomb of Huwy: Barosen, Theseurus, p. 1140.

WEIGALL, Lower Nubia, p. 114, 9, see also tomb of Pennut: BREASTED, Ann. Rec. Vol. IV, § 174.

WEBIALA, op. cit., p. 126.

Ibid.; and in the tumb of Huwy BREASTED, op. cit., Vol. II, § 1037, where the name is translated "good rular."

Toshkeh; WEIGALA, op. cit., Pl. LXVI; SAYOE, Re. do Trav., Vol. xvi, p. 173.

I have omitted the general references to the chiefs of Kush and Wawat, and to the graffiti of many officials travelling in Nubia who may or may not have been attached to the service of the viceroy. The records at present reported can only be a pitiable fragment of all those left by four centuries of travelling in Ethiopia on the part of Egyptian officials. Yet even so, it is clear that the staff of the king's son of Kush consisted of nearly the same set of officials as were necessary for the government of Egypt, or in other words that the governor of Ethiopia was a viceroy in the true sense of the term.

#### INDEX OF OFFICIALS SUBORDINATE TO VICEROYS.

Arranged as here numbered.

OVERSEERS OF THE SOUTHERN LANDS, see pp. 73-5.

Tuwtuw.

Sannüfer. ii.

III. Nehemay.

iv. Hekaemsasen.

Anhermakht. ¥.

vi. Pennesuttanwi.

vii. Amenembab (=19, b).

viir. Osorkon makh.

HEAD HOWHEN OF KORH, and pp. 73-6.

ix. Min (or Nakhtmin).

Dhutemhab. 2.

Pivay. 31.

xii, Beknamün.

xiil. "Binamwese."

DEPUTIES OF THE VICEROY, see p. 85.

(1) Name lost

(2)

[3] Merv.

(4) Pennut.

(5) Hor.

(6) Amenomopet (= ±0, a and ±2).

(7) No name given (=6).

(8) Name lost,

(0) Semmifer (1).

(10) Nobsk (1).

(11) Nebroakht (1).

MINUR OFFICIAIN, see pp. 80-7.

Nakhauw.

(16), o. Harmakht.

& Harembahwiya

e. Paser.

d. Khat

Harnafer. (17)

(18) Amonemopet,

(19); a. Hor (V).

à Amenembab (= vii).

### GEORGE A. REISNER

(90), a	Amenenopet (=6 and 22)	(96)	Tubers (2).
h	Hawy,	(27)	Meryopel
(21)	Harembab.	(29)	Katha
[22]	Amesemopet (=6 and 20, a)	(24)	Mose (of Mican).
(図4)	Pennesettanwi.	(30), a."	Ratherpe lehier of Michigan
(45)	Inwnamin.		Helomater chief of Mikani

### Arranged of phobetically,

Amenombab	Fire	14.	vii, (10), b.	Meryopet	MEA.	-	27).
Amenemopet	-	10m	(6), (20), 0), (22),	Min	157	117	Li.
Amesemapel	1000	1100	(18).	Мове	12.	-	(99)
Anhernakht	PWE	200	<b>V</b>	Nakhtaw	. Test	100	(Eh.
Beknamna	Lew	715	xt).	Nebnakht (1)	111	ine	(11).
"Rinemwës"	ries.	-	xiii.	Nohamay	117	1	E.
Dhutemhal	***	E11	£.	Nohai (1)		101	(10).
Harembah	-	1211	(31).	Nekhtmin	18.8.9		
Harmahabwiya		A.w.	(10), h.	Osurkon ankh	446	10.0	130.
Hamulfer		440	(17).	Pharman	***	Aries	YIII.
Hekaemsasen	han	CERT	iv,		****	No.	(100.6
Hekanofer	5	22	(30), h	Poninsettanvi	010	9.11	1841
Tr.			3.5.1	Pennesattauwi	mint.		rt.
CI 26	101		(5).	Pennut	4.676	164	(4)
AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY OF	110	Nine (	(19), a.	Piyay:		777	EL.
Hornekhl.	Learn.	- 100	(16), a	Harhotpe		3704	(30), a.
Huwy	116		(20), 5,	Sennüfer	***		ii,
Lusmamnii	101	100	(25).	Senuater (f)	4.4	724	(36).
Katha	FV1	.01	(38).	Taliem (1)		0.00	(56)
Khat	-	***	(16), d.	Tuwtow		The s	5,
Mery	Liv.	170	(3).				

### MENES AND NARÂM-SIN

#### By DR W. F. ALBRIGHT

BEFORE proposing a synchronism between the first dynastic king of Egypt and the greatest of early Babylonian kings, one cannot but hesmate, fearing of seeming reckless. It may possibly be that we are dealing with a mere coincidence, extraordinary perhaps, but ballacions, and that the supporting indications will reveal themselves as conspirators against the truth. Yet the lines of evidence, geographical, historical, chronological and archaeological, converge so remarkably in the direction of our thesis that we ought not to shrink from the

test—o bere o affonare!

Nazam-Sin, fifth monarch of the Dynasty of Akkad, says in a triumphal inscription on a statue found at Susa by the Délégation on Perse, that he defeated Mani of Magan: Magon indr a Manis [m] bel Magan | ], Magan be smote and Mani lord of Magan | ]. In a Babyloman chronicles we read (ii, 10, 4), and Magana illik-ma Manna danna sar Magan [qdtsu (kšud] = (II, 38, 17 f.) [uno Ma]gana illiku-mu Magana ichutu-mu [ ] šav Magana quitsu iksud[u], '(Naram-Sin) who went to Magan, and vanquished (not 'espaured')[Manun. the mighty], king of Magan. The fact that king Mannu is here called dunnu, 'mighty,' is very important, as no other of the princes conquered by Naram-Sin has this honorific title in his inscriptions except the latter himself who, in common with the others of his dynasty, affixes dan(n)um to his name: Naram-Sin dan(n)um sar kibratim arba'im, 'Naram-Sin, the mighty, king of the four quarters. The lord of Magan must have been a powerful ruler to receive so illustrious an appellative;

The forms Manium and Mannu indicate a basic "Manni; um is the nominative ending, affixed regularly, like Lat. us, to stems ending in i (cf. Guti, Gutiu"; Suti, Sutiu") in Old Akkadian. The name \*Monni is, I believe, as exact an equivalent as attainable in cuneiform of the early pronunciation of Maj = Myrns. The late translation of the name as affices, if approximately correct, shows that Mni is a qualitative from mn, 'be stable, remain', with the pronunciation Manney, and the meaning 'steadfast' (Ar. Uatiq), or the like.

Magan may now be identified beyond coasonable doubt with Egypt, despite the general

THURKAC-DANGIS, Die sumerischen und akkadischen Konigsmachriften, p. 169, h, Col. 2.

Published by King, Chrometer Concerning Early Bubylonian Kings.

Eg. on corresponds to Ar. banna, remain, by dissimilation for "summer; of the many exact parallels given by Roziega, Konsonnation's Distinutation in the semiliation Sprachen, pp. 92-95. Embor now adopts this etymology in preference to Heb. 128; 'be firm, secure,' which is probably Eg. ins., 'conceal,'

as pointed out by Steinback.

It is impossible in a note to give a clear idea of my work in the field of Egyptian vocalisation, which has placed the phenomena of vocalle development from Proto-Senutio to Coptic on the same secure basis that the consciontal development now is (poss critics of some minificious paragraphs in my "Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology"). I will only remark here that the two qualitative types gone and man are to be derived from "habing < baber and "miner < masses < manner (like pac < "rais < rais = Ar, rais, Assyr, von), respectively. Doubling was given up in Old Egyptian, as in modern English, Coptic doubling is secondary, as shown by Sethe, Steindorff, Spiegelberg, and Lacqu.

impression to the contrary, shared by no less an authority than Eduard Meyer. This consensus of opinion is based partly upon erroneous data, and partly upon the sheer inertia of old preconceptions. In the Assyrian inscriptions of the seventh century, as is well known-Winckler's unfortunate theories are now forgotten, and his fame rests sceare on Boghaz-keui, so no disrespect to his genms is intended-Magun and Meluha are employed as archaic terms for Mucr and Kus (pronounced Kos), Egypt and Ethiopia, respectively, just as Esarhaddon calls Melid (Melitene) Hanigalbat, and Nabopolassar gives the name Sabartu to Assyria. That this is not a mere display of inventive crudition on the part of Assyrian historiographers is certain from the Amarna letters, where Meluha appears repeatedly as a synonym of Kaši = later Eg. Káš, Nubia. It is, therefore, only rational to suppose that Magan and Meluha refer to Egypt and Ethiopia, or contiguous lands, in the inscriptions of the preceding (third) millennium as well.

The first scholar in recent times to advocate the identification of Magan and Meluha with Egypt and Ethiopia is Haupt, whose article on the subject appeared six years ago. While it is now, perhaps, necessary to modify a few of the contentions, in the light of available evidence, it is also possible to add a number of arguments to Haupt's list. In the vocabularies, compiled in the last part of the third millenninus, Magan and Meluha, and their products appear quite frequently. The 'tree of Magan,' Old Samerian mus-magain = Assyr. musukkunu, Heb. mesukkun, has been identified convincingly by Haupt's with the Acucia Nilotica or Acama seyal, the shittim-wood of the Old Testament. Haupt has also pointed out that the usd-stone (NA-KALAG), which Gudea brought from Magan, is black diorite, presumably from the quarries in Wadi Hammamat. Gudea Cyl. A, 23, 1, states that it required a year to bring the stone from Magan to Babylonia. Similarly, the 61-21 (= Assyr. k(su) = qan Makkan, reed of Magan, is, we may suppose, papyrus (Eg.  $\delta df > \text{Heb. } mf$ ). The 'pig of Magan' (\$AG-MA-GAN = sahil makkanil; 11 R, 6 cd, 28), mentioned along with šahū and tabū, 'pig,' and kurkizanna (perhaps = Ar. kurkadana, 'rhinoceros'; the ideogram may not have been \$AG-TUR = sabturral, 'shoat,' but \$AG-RANDA, lit. 'very large hog'), is. probably the hippopotamus (Haupt), called by the Egyptians rri, 'pag,' and by the Arabs hinziru-'l-ma'i water-hog.'

Being unquestionably more remote from Babyloma, the products of Meluha are rarely mentioned. The same stone, which is said to come from Meluha, is certainly not porphyry. or cornelian, but malachite; the Egyptians drew most of their malachite from the mines of Smai, probably included by the Babylonians under the term Meluha, referring, it would seem (see below), to the shores of the Red Sea, south of Palestine and Egypt; it is hardly a reasonable supposition that the Sumerians were acquainted with Nubia. Ships of Magan

<sup>1</sup> Cf. KEUDTEON-WERRE, Die Ed-America-Tofolo, pp. 1154 foll., 1578.

<sup>\*</sup> Ocient, Literator pritting (OLD), Vol. xvi, ods. 198-192.

Sec OLZ, Vol. XVI, and 489; Journ. Bile Lat., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 445 foll.

<sup>1</sup> OLZ, Vol. XVI, colk. 188 foll.

The ideogram means 'upright reed,' or the ilks. Papyros may have grown spondically in Eabylonia, as in Palestine. From the report of Uen Amon we know that it was experted into Asia in the eleventh century; there is no reason to donor that it was occasionally seen in Babylome a thousand years before, as a curiosity of Egyptian origin-

a This disposes of the objectious of Marks, Veschichte des Altertoms, third ed., § 401.

<sup>:</sup> Cf. Am. Journ of Som. Long. (AJSL), Vol. XXXIV, p. 230. The evidence might be considerably increased. I regret to have given to Kugler credit which really belonged to Jensen, Zeit. fur Assyr., Vol. x, pp. 368 ft. Uf also Encyclopuction Bildien, vol. 4808,

and Meluha are often mentioned along with ships of Tilaum = Bahrem, in the southern part of the Persian Gulf, not only in the vocabularies, but also in the religious texts, as in the incantation in R. 25. Col. I. Most interesting is the early text published by Langdon, Sumerian Liturgical Texts, No. 1, where (obv. Col. 2) Magan, Meluha, and Tilaum are mentioned together; cf. line 5 L: [Må]-gank-na un-zaga gō-en-lat [--må]-gi-lum Melug-gak-a-gè = May he reach [Ma]gan, on the horizon of heaven; [-] the bamboo (?) barks of Meluha. A sufficient commentary is provided by line 8: [-] kår-kår-ra Nibruk-kå gé-na-uh-tum = '[The products] of foreign lands may be bring to Nippur. Such passages make it clear that there was a more or less flourishing sea-traffic between Babylonia and the coasts of Arabia and Africa in the third millennium: the first important station was Tylos' in the Persian Gulf, the second Meluha; last came Magan, 'on the borizon of heaven,' a year's journey away. In actual distance by land route Magan was evidently nearer, as no king of Meluha is included among the conquests of the kings of Akkad. Ships bound for Magan presumably stopped at Kosér, opposite Koptos, which, as is well known, was an important port in the earliest times.

In the so-called Epic of Paradise, published by Langdon, the god Nin-dál-la is appointed ford of Magan (rev. 3, 44); he is otherwise unknown, but his name means Lord of wells, associated paranomastically in our text with atal. Book Nindulla is apparently brought into connection with Egypt because of that country's wide reputation for fertility and abundance of potable water. It is even possible that the cult of Osiris as lord of water spread into Syria and Mesopotamia in the third millennium, just as Basalat of Bybles was worshipped in Egypt about the same period as Hibr of Kpm.

There can be little doubt that Hommel was correct in combining Magan with Macan, though this need not imply a connection with the Minneaus, who first come into the light of history more than two thousand years after Naram-Sin. The place-name Macan (> Heb. Macan) or Macan is very common, being derived from Cain, 'spring,' and incaning, accordingly, 'well-watered region, easis', cf. Eth. telient, 'encampment, properly '(camp) by a spring', Macan has the same basic meaning as the name Damascus, which means, as Haupt has made probable', 'settlement in a well-watered region' (Dâr-masqi). Since the name Maçar (> Heb. Mucar, and, by vocalic assimilation, Assyr. Mucar, combined by popular etymology with micru, 'boundary,' whence the form Micr') means 'fortification,' and has

<sup>7</sup> Sum. gi-lum means lit. 'flourishing' or 'flowering read.' Bambise is the most natural readering, as it is the only suitable read for making banks.

For the identification of Tilman with Tyles and Bahrein, already proposed by other scholars, cf. my article "The Mouth of the Bivers" in Am. Journ. Sem. Long., Vol. XXXV, p. 183.

Contrast Laxopox, Sam. Epic of Paradise, p. 83, n. 3.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Cf. his Geographic and Geologichts des alter Orients, p. 132. The g represents the \( \), which did not exist in Sumerian. While the Sum. \( \bar{g} \) appears to have been pronounced like Ar. \( \xi \), it is curious that, if Hommel's combination of geomes, 'ewe,' with Ar. \( \bar{g} \) and \( \alpha \), should be employed to reproduce the Arabic sound. However, linguistic science absunds with such apparent anomalies, due often in reality to slight phonatic differences, which make a strange impression upon a foreigner, not used to quite the same manners of pronunciation. Another case of Sum. \( g \) for \( \cdot \) may be the Gabic of Gudes, altmated in the west, which I would identify with the \( U \) bi of the Amaria betters, representing probably the plain of Dimescus (see Knurrion-Weiner, op. \( vil. \) pp. 1110 \( L \). Hampt, \( OLZ \), Vol. \( xix \), pp. 45 foll., suggests that \( Ubi \) may be etymologically identical with flate \( \dagger \) thickes. Possibly \( Ubi \) is the same word as Help. \( \lambda \) thickness, which may have meant also have taken at the same stem at all does in Arabic.

<sup>\*</sup> OLZ, Vol. xii, col. 69, in. 14.

Zen. der Denuch. Morg. Ger., Vol. LXIX, pp. 168 foll.

therefore been referred with great reason to the Wall of the Princes (Heb. Sale), Macda may very plausibly be explained as the West-Semitic name of Egypt before the construction of this wall: Lower Egypt seemed like a terrestrial paradise to the tribes of the desert (Gen. xiii, 10).

The name Meluha is more clusive; the combinations made hitherto with Merce, Amalek, etc., are quite impossible. Melaja may represent the oldest form of Makaw (Periplus of the Erythraem, 8), modern Berbern on the Somali coast, opposite Aden, still the principal scaport of the country (Fabricius, Periplus, p. 124). At all events, the term Melaha probably included Eg. Pant, the Somaliland. It is interesting to note that malachite, one of the products of Meluha, appears among the precious freight brought to Hatsepsonet by the expedition to Punt

Historically, an invasion of Egypt by Naram-Sin is very probable. Sargon I, founder of the Dynasty (ca. 3000; see below), extended his compusts on the morth-west to the Mediterranean, including in their scope the Silver Mountains (Taurus') and the Cedar Forest (Lebanon). An inscription of his enumerates three western lands subdued by his arms, Mari, Jarmuti, and Ibla. Mari is the country on the Middle Euphrates, about the month of the Habars. Poebel's effort to identify Iarman, the Iarimuta of the Amarus texts, with the plain of Anthoch (op. cit., pp. 225 ff.) is untenable in the light of the Amarus correspondence; see the discussion of the problem by Niebuhrs who identified it with the Delta, and especially by Weber. It is certain that Inrimuta was a district on the sen-coast between Egypt and Byblos, and that it was a great grain-producing land, devoid of timber, under the watchful eye of the Pharaoh, who rules it through his viceroy or willie, a man with the Semitic mane Imhamu (i.e. Ian'am = apr), whose authority extended from Singra in Phoenicia to the extreme south of Palestine. The only available identification is with the Plain of Sharon, described in the inscription of Réminfazar of Sidon as a splendid grain land (nrise principal), with the principal towns of for and Joppa, forty-five kilometres apart. Jarimūta seems, therefore, to correspond to the Palestinian Sefelä, stretching from Carmel to Gaza, a distance of a hundred kilometres. The name has survived in the Biblical I armit (LXX, 1εριμουθ), expressly located in the Šefēlā (Jos. xv, 33, 35), probably modern Hirber Jarmuk (or Jurnalt), some thirty kilometres south-east of Joppa; Jarmult means fertility, precisely like Suron's

Ibla has not yet been identified; I would consider it as a Samerian corruption of Gibla, the proper pronunciation (cf. Heb. gent. Gibli, and Gr. SiShor, 'papyrus') of the name Byblos, which appears in the Amarna letters as Gubla, the u being due to the labial, as often, especially in Assyrian. Byblos was the most important city in Phoenicia in early times, and the only one mentioned in hieroglyphic texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, where it appears as Kpn, Kbn. Onder brought from Ursu in the mountains of Ibla (i.e. the

<sup>|</sup> See Posset Historical Tests, p. 224 2 Cf. CLAY, Empire of the America, 19. 103 poll. 3 Min. der Vord, Ges. Vol. 1, pp. 32-36,

<sup>\*</sup> KNUDTZON-WEBER, op. vil., pp. 1153, 1109-1172. Surise is derived from the stem are. Ar. titell, Assyr. and, swell, be fertile, luxuriant of Jours. Bib. Lit., Vol. XXXVI, p. 147. Law Panal in a specifically West-Smaller abstract formation, like Hele inddit. ' youth, and is derived from an adjective \* idean, ' luxuriant.' The stem upon, from the mot ou, ' be high,' is preserved in Ar. parima, swell, become fat, luxuriant (of a plant), as well as in Eg. sem. Nile immulation. proof, 'swalling,' and Copus to A.a., swell, rise (Lorer, Reveal, Vol. XI, p. 121, n. 4).

Jersen's combanation with Pierra (ZA 111, Vol. 2, pp. 360 f.) is out of the question.

See Gauntsten, Record, Vol. xxxII, pp. 21 foll, and Surne, Zeitsche, f. ug. Sprache, Vol. xIIV. pp. 10 fall.

Labanon) beams of various woods, zabalum (note the Semitic names), talubum, "sycamore, and ušelkum, "firt."

The conquests of Sargon were exceeded in all directions by Naram-Sin, who, after a prosperous reign of half a century, was desired in memory of his extraordinary achievements. In his inscriptions Naram-Sin claims to have visited lands never before reached by his predecessors. In the north he subdued Armanu<sup>m</sup>, presumably the Armina of the Achaemenian inscriptions two thousand years later, and in Mount Tibar in Armanu<sup>m</sup> set up his royal stele. Tibar cannot be separated from the TiBapproi\* of Strabo, XII, 28 foll., later occupying the hinterland of Pharnakia and Trapezos, east of the Iris and north of the Antitaurus, the region called Kizuacha in the second millennium. As Strabo also places the Chaldacans (Chaldians) in the same part of the country, there had evidently been a displacement from the south-east; Mount Tibar refers perhaps to part of the Antitaurus, about a hundred miles north of Pir-Hussein near Diarbekr, where a relief of Naram-Sin has been found in situ.

The chef-diseases of Naram-Sin's reign, however, was the invasion of Magan, to the south-west. As Magan was accessible both by land and sea, and lay beyond Palestine, Egypt is the only available identification. Moreover, Egypt was the only country at that time which was the peer of Babylonia in civilization, and whose king, therefore, might reasonably be considered by the haughty Naram-Sin as his equal (duanus). The cunciform records do not necessarily imply a conquest of Egypt; Mesopotamian rulers were not always more veracious than their Pharaonic contemporaries.

Thanks to the discovery of the Cairo fragment of the Palermo-stone (see below), it is reasonably certain that Menes is to be combined with Horus Naturer, who completed the complete of Lower Egypt begun by his predecessors, especially the so-called 'Scorpion' Naturer also fought with the Libyans, while his successor, 'Aha, had conflicts also with the Libyans and Nubians. It is likely enough that both monarchs extended their sphere of influence into Palestine, a fact in itself calculated to incur the hostility of the warlike Akkadian. There is no more difficulty in assuming a conflict between Menes and Narám-Sin than in the case of Semacherib and Tichakah. At all events the two former were certainly more energetic than the two latter. In this connection it may be added that we need not assume so much exaggeration in the numbers of persons and animals which Naturer claims to have captured as Meyer supposes.' Naturer boasts of capturing 120,000 prisoners, we must remember that this refers to men, women, and children, and that Tiglathpileser IV, for example, carried away 135,000 from Chaldaea, and 60,000 from the north-east, while Semacherib removed 208,000 persons from Chaldaea. The number of 400,000 exen and

For windy, see Manasha, Mill der Vord Ges. Vols. TVID. 6, p. 35, and for its Araman derivative NEUER, Lilw. Phanesanators, p. 60. According to Rashi, the NEUER grows in the female coder, which the ideogram shows to be impossible. The Saled Rubbi says that the NEUER grows in Lebanon. From these statements and the ideogram with an analytic very great 8-av (cf. Assyr. winds Rhan, "lafty addit"), it is crident that the addit was a very lofty conifer, perhaps the Cilicium in (Eg. G. Loret [cf. Journ. of Eg. Arch., Vol. 1v, p. 272] also produced from Lebanon). It is hardly probable that Eg. G is a corruption of a West-Senutio with

<sup>2 17.</sup> POEBEL ON CHAIR 212

In this case Tabal-Tubul is a foreign corruption of the name Tiber which remained the native pronunciation for three thousand years. It is certain that Tabal is the same as Tiber; Her. viz, 78, joins the Moschi and Tibereni, just as the O.T. and the Assyrine monuments associate Mušk(i) and Tabal-Tubal,

<sup>1 (9.</sup> MAYER, op. of., \$ 401.

<sup>6</sup> Hid. & 200.

1,422,000 goats (and sheep) is evidently overestimated, but of the 80,000 cattle and 800,000 sheep which Sennacherib carried away as booty from Chaldaen

It may not be irrelevant to note that native Egyptian traditions ascribe a catastrophe to the close of Menes' reign. The folkloristic legend that Menes was slain by a hippopotamus may even be the garbled remmiscence of his death in battle with a foreign army; Natraner's tomb has yet to be found. Similarly, Egyptian legend transformed the pestilence which attacked the army of Semmacherib into an army of mice.

The foregoing combinations are, of course, misleading if the chronology proves recalcitrant. In the last edition of his Geschichte des Altertums (1914) Meyer places Menes at 3315, Narâm-Sin at 2700, a divergence of over six centuries. Archaeology, however, has not been stationary, and the material published since 1914 completely alters the situation. In fact, the argument from chronology is no less favourable than that from geography and history.

Thanks to the recent discovery of the annals of Larsa, we know that the Dynasty of Isin terminated in the thirty-first year of Rim-Sin of Larsa, which corresponds to the first of Ammu-rauth, who reigned, as we are assured by astronomical testimony, 2123-2080. It is therefore possible to fix the beginning of the Dynasty of Er at 2465 (Meyer, 2469), a date whose substantial exactness is shown by a mass of collateral evidence. The king-lists published by Père Scheil and Arno Poobel give 348 years from the accession of Sargon I to the expulsion of the Guti by Utu-gegal of Erech. From the latter to Ur-Engar, head of the Dynasty of Ur, there is a lacuna of uncertain length, occupied by a Dynasty of Erech, in the period of whose decline falls (Indea I of Lagas, subject apparently of Lugal-kisals) II, and a Dynasty of Adab, represented by at least one great conqueror, Lugal-aona-mundu! To the same period belong at least ten other patesis of Lagus beside Guden including Ur-Ban, the predecessor of the latter. All these were autonomous princes, employing their own dating, contrary to the custom during the Dynasties of Akkad and Ur, and handing down the rule by inheritance, like the Egyptian monarchs of the last part of the third millennium. The length of the lacuna cannot well be less than a century, and may easily have been two or three; 150-200 years is a moderate estimate. We may thus tentatively assign Sargon I to 3000 a.c., and Naram-Sin to 2920, as he ascended the throne 80 or 90 years later; the absolute minimum date for the latter is cir. 2800.

The Egyptological situation may seam hopeless at first thought: the chronology of Meyer and Breasted places Menes in the 34th century a.c., but this figure must be reduced considerably, in the light of the most recent discoveries. The discovery of the Cairo fragment of the Palermo-stone puts the chronology of this document on a much firmer basis. By far the most probable reconstruction which I have seen is that offered in the Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions, 1917, pp. 107—115, by Seymour de Ricci, as it agrees with the length of reign assigned in the Turin Papyrus to Sepseskal, Ueserkal, and Sahurat. On the basis of the reverse, this scholar would then allow about 362 years for the first four registers of dynastic kings on the obverse, a number which can hardly be far from correct. The interval from Menes to the accession of Suefru can thus be hardly over 400 years, and may even be half a century less. A few corrections in the scheme should be made: the king whose name appears in the third register of the obverse of the Cairo piece is not Qebhu (Qatsen), but Semenbét (Petrere, Anc. Eg., 1916, p. 183), while the Necesca (Ner-n) who appears on the Palermo fragment in the fourth register is the third rather than

See Porner, Hosorical and Geographical Texts, No. 70, a copy of an important inscription of this king.

the fifth king of the Second Dynasty; the length of the remaining reigns in the Dynasty must be reduced. As according to this scheme, the first two Dynasties, from Menes to Nebkarel, suled about three centuries, the First Dynasty, covering the second and third register, may be given approximately 160 years, the Second about 140. The following interval, from the Third to the Fifth Dynasties inclusive, may be fixed at about 350 years, as shown by Meyer, following the data furnished by the Turin Papyrus, confirmed by the Palermo-stone and the monuments.

It is very instructive to observe how the figures of Manetho crumple up under the test. Dynasties III-V lasted 710 years, according to Africanus, or 739 if we add up the regnal years actually given, but the Turin Papyrus allows only half as great a duration. The fast three kings preceding Nebkares receive 47 years on the Papyrus, but 103 in Manetho, more than twice as much. Semerhet gets 9 years on the Palermo-stone, but 18 in Manetho, just double. In the light of these reductions, 300 years for the Thinite period, instead of Manetho's 565, must be considered a liberal allotment. Naturally the assignment of three reigns to a century, frequently advocated, following the example of Herodotos, is extravagantly high). Let us compare the contemporaneous situation in Babylonia, where we have scentate data. Fourteen kings of the dynastics of Upi and Kiš receive 205 years (3200-3000), an average of 15 years to a reign; the following 18 kings of Erech and Agade reign 248 years (3000-2750), an average of 14 years; the sixteen kings of Guii and Ur rule 242 years, or 15 years apiece; sixteen kings of Isin rule 2251 years, 14 years each. Fourteen rulers of Larsa reign 265 years, or 19 years each. It is hardly accidental that the Babylonian average we have found, 15 years, if multiplied by 43; the number of kings in the first five dynasties, according to Manetho, will give 645 years, in perfect accord with the available data from the monuments.

On the basis of the 955 years apparently counted in the Turin Papyrus for the period from Menes to the end of the Eighth Dynasty, Meyer has assigned 420 years to the first two. Even if the number 955 does refer to this interval, which is not certain, though probable, we can hardly take it too seriously, being the computation of a Nineteenth Dynasty scribe. In view of the tendency of Egyptian chronologers to exaggerate the antiquity of their country, we may safely discount it: the reduction by fourteen per cent, which would be required if our results are correct is, a priori, very reasonable. Even Babylonian scribes, despite their praiseworthy respect for accuracy, seldom found in Egypt, show a marked tendency to swell their numbers in the process of time: e.g. Berosses ascribes a duration of over 34,000 years to the period from the flood to the First Dynasty of Babylon, 2000 more than is allowed by the lists from the latter Dynasty; Nabonidos places Naram-Sin 3200 years before his time, an excess of 800 years, king-list A gives Hammurabi ('Ammu-ragih) 55 years a number presumably secured by the mechanical addition of the 12 years assigned

6 Elsewhere I shall prove that this is not a more guess of the great archaeologist king, but was a hour

fule computation, on the basis of the available lists.

Even if all the kings about is a lineal genealogical relation to one another, which is far from being the case, three reigns to a century is too high. In ancient Babylonia we have two genealogical series, without interruption, five kings of Ur, who relied 117 years, or 23 each, and five kings of Isin, who reigned 94 years, an average of 10 years. In late Assyrian times we have two series of five, reigning 99 and 100 years respectively, or 20 years to each king, probably a good average for all such computations. There is one exception, in early Babylonia, where can monarche of the First Dynasty of Babylon, each son of the preceding, rule 255 years, or 28 spaces. The reigns in this Dynasty are extraordinarily high, and are, moreover, absolutely certain.

him as king of Larsa in the Larsa list to the 43 years given him correctly by the Babylonian annuls!

Meyer allows 400 years for the dark period between the close of the Sixth Dynasty and the rise of the Twelfth, a duration agreeing closely with Eusebins figures, and more than half as large as the extravagant allotment of Africanus, who assigns six centuries to the Herakleopolitan kings alone. Since some dynastic contemporaneity at this time is vertain, it is impossible to escape the conviction that the Manethenian numbers are grossly excessive, just as in the next dark period, from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth inclusive. where the most cogent astronomical and monumental evidence requires the reduction of the length of 1590 years given by Africanus to little over two centuries! Accordingly, I shall impose the reduction of the interval in question from 783 years (Africanus) to about 160 (see below), fixing the rise of the Sixth Dynasty at cir. 2300 ne. The material cartailment of the duration of the period is also required by the succession of nomarcles, as well as by the intimate relationship of the cultures of the Sixth and Twelfth Dynasties. Moreover, the quarry dates (of MEYER, Chronologie, pp. 178 ff.) point to the same conclusion. Nebtauire Mentuhotep IV worked at Hammamat two to three calendar months after Pepi I. which would place the latter 240-360 years earlier; our estimate from other considerations is 250. Una relates that in the reign of Mercures I he had great difficulty, owing to the low Nile, in bringing a stone table of offerings to Sakkareh in a ship which had been built during seventeen days of Epiphi. For a heavy-laden vessel navigation would be very hard after the first of March; if we allow several weeks for loading and transportation, Epiphi will coincide with January, in accord with our chronology,

There is every reason to suppose that the Egyptian Empire became greatly weakened during the long inactivity of Pepi II's ninety-year reign; it is certain that the following nine rulers, assigned by the Turin Papyrus to the Sixth and Eighth Dynasties, were ephemeral as the five lengths of reigns preserved total ten years, two years each, an average no higher than in the Thirteenth Dynasty. The Tablet of Abydos gives 17 kings after Merenre II. a faller list than that of the Papyrus, which omitted a few names. The penultimate king, Neferkeuhôr, who apparently reigned two years, was still able to publish his decrees at Koptos, so it is evident that the Herakleopolitans had not yet declared their independence. The Turin Papyrus shows that the Memphite kingdom did not last more than forty years after the demise of the aged Pepi II.

The two Herakleopolium Dynasties (Nine and Ten) fall between the close of the Eighth and the triumph of Mentahotep III, the exact date of which is not known, but lies between 2050 and 2020. After the clarification by Wells, op. cit., of the processes involved in the swelling of the length of the Hyksos period, involving especially the reduplication of dynasties and numbers, we can hardly doubt that the Ninth Dynasty, with 19 kings and 409 (100) years, and the Tenth, with 19 kings and 185 years, are simple doublets, an impression confirmed by the Turin Papyrus, which gives here 18 kings for the whole

This may afford a hint as to one of the causes of the exaggeration of Egyptian dates; the scribes and historiegraphers were not hars, though they must have been very careless. When theorgant numbers came into their hands, they showed due respect for the sacredness of the records by adopting both? It can easily be imagined how rapidly the chromology would swell, under such treatment.

<sup>\*</sup> The best study of the chromological situation, with a serious attempt to explain the origin of the Manethonian numbers, is found in Weill's monograph, La periode compress entre la XIII et la XVIIII dynastie, in Journ. As, assième serie, Tome vi (1915), pp. 1—150.

<sup>4</sup> Cl. Liebenia, Recherches, pp. 68-51.

Herakleopolitan rule. The Hyksos parallel, and the situation in the Eighth and Thirteenth Dynasties suggest that we may safely adopt the least number given, a century, and regard

that as probably too large?

The only approximately correct number for the whole period is the duration of 160 years for the Eleventh Dynasty, which we owe to the Turin Papyrus. The rulers of this Dynasty fall into three sections (cf. WINLOCK, Am. Journ. of Sem. Lan., Vol. XXXII, pp. 1 ff.): nomarcles of Thebes, rulers of Upper Egypt only, and kings of all Egypt. The rulers of the second series were engaged in conflict with the Herakleopolitans for the hegemony; after a long war Nebhepetre Mentuhotep III. (II) won the victory, and reunited the land under one sceptre. About a generation later, the Eleventh Dynasty was replaced by the Twelfth (8.c. 2000). While it is difficult to say just when the Theban rulers became autonomous, this may well have occurred immediately after the death of Pequ II, when the decay of Memphite power was evident to all. This assumption leaves ample space for the Hernkleopolitans: 160 - (40 [Memphite] + 30 [Theban]) gives 90 years for the Ninth-Tenth Dynasty, which, as has been pointed out above, is a very reasonable estimate. In Babylonia there is an interesting parallel to this situation. The decline of the empire of Ur set in with the end of Dungi's reign of 58 years, thirty-two years later Larsa declared its independence, followed by Isin, whose first king, Ishi-Urm of Mari (see above), finally conquered fir nine years after the beginning of the Larsa Dynasty. While the latter began first, the Dynasty of Isin was considered legitimate.

Adding the data thus obtained, the accession of Menes will fall about 2950; the absolute minimum is 2850. Menes seems to have ruled about forty years, to infer from the Palermo-stone; as Narkm-Sin reigned 44 (or 54) years, there is some scope for overlapping.

If Menes flourished in the thirtieth century, instead of the thirty-fourth, or thirty-minth, it is difficult, though not impossible, to place the date of the introduction of the calendar so early as 4240; one would hardly feet justified in assuming so great a degree of civilization at so remote a predynastic period. On the other hand, it is quite reasonable to suppose that the definite fixing of the calendar took place at the commencement of the next Sothic cycle, in 2780, shortly after the beginning of the Second Dynasty, according to our chronology. It is interesting to note that Kechoos, second king of this Dynasty, is said to have introduced the cult of Apis, an event which the Sothis Book refers to Aseth, last of the Hyksos kings, connecting it with his introduction of the five epagomenae and establishment of the vague year (cf. Meyer, Chronologie, p. 39). As the worship of Apis is much older than the Hyksos period, it is not impossible that both acts were transferred erroneously from Kechoos to Aseth, and that the Egyptians had a tradition that the calendar was fixed during the reign of the former, whose accession would fall about 2780, according to our dates. However, this suggestion is as precarious as the sources upon which it is based.

Following is a synchronistic table of the early chromology of Egypt and Babylonia, to illustrate our conclusions:

3000 'The 'Scorpium' 2000 First Dynasty, Menss	3000 Dynasty of Akkad, Sargon I			
gr80 ) Introduction of Calendae	2775 Troughlow of the Core			

-3600	Envry Third Dynasty, Nebkart	2650	Buritona Ura-pegal expels the Gata
35/10	Fourth Dynasty, Hufu	2500	Ouder I
3450	Fifth Dynasty, Ueserkaf	2465	Dynasty of Ur, Ur-Engur
E300	Sixth Dynasty, Texi	2314	Dynasty of Isin, Ishi-Urra
_		6993	Dynasty of Babylon, Sunmahum
2160	Eleventh Dynasty, Theban Dynasty of Herakleopolis (Ninth-Tenth) Fall of Herakleopolis Twelfth Dynasty	2153 2123	Elimite conquest of Larva. Fall of Isin; accession of Gammurabi
		1923	Fall of First Dynasty of Balevion

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that our results, if correct, will not depress the antiquity of Egyptian civilization unduly in favour of Mesopotamia. So far as appears on the surface, the age of Menes in Egypt was no less cultured than the spech of Naram-Sin in Babylonia. The Egyptians wrote on perishable papyrns, the Babylonians on indestructible clay; it is the misfortune of the former to have employed the more perfect, but more fragile writing material. If a papyrus eache from the Thinite period ever comes to light, we shall get a different impression of the civilization of the age in Egypt. During the long centuries of the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt before Menes, writing must have been cultivated to an extent not varying much from the scope of cunciform in the centuries before Sargon the Elder. Both Egypt and Babylonia began to date by annual events at about the same time; the earliest known Babylonian dates of this type come from the reign of Sargalisarri, Naram-Sin's successor. Architecturally, the Egyptians of the Thinte period were probably not behind the contemporaneous Babylonians; in the Memphite age they completely outdistanced the latter, whose siggarati never reached the perfection of the pyramids. In sculpture the two peoples kept pace more closely, if we may judge from the statues of Gudea and Hafret, whose similarity in technique has often been noticed, though the latter is superior in execution; according to our chronology, the two works are coëval. The same parallelism may be observed in the external civilization. In the 26th century Snefra controlled the lands adjacent to Egypt on all sides, sending his fleets on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; a few decades later Gudea was able to send his peaceful missions to Syria and Egypt, by land and by sea. The last great period of the Old Empire, from Sahurez to Pepi II (2450-2200), is parallel in civilization and achievements to the Babylonian Empire, from Dungi to the decline of the Dynasty of Isin with Bar-Sin (2247-2206). Very many additional comparisons might be adduced, but the foregoing is surely enough to show the reasonableness of the reconstruction of ancient chronology defended in this paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Papyrus must have been used for writing purposes in pre-dynastic times, as follows from the use of ink to write hieroglyphs on clay.

# THE ANCIENT MILITARY ROAD BETWEEN EGYPT AND PALESTINE

BY ALAN H. GARDINER, D.L.PT.

It is not without good reason that the desert road from El-Kantareh to Rafa, painfully familiar to many a campaigner in Egypt and Palestine, is described in a recent popular book as "the oldest road in the world." To anyone sufficiently acquainted with the history of the Eastern Delta in classical medieval and modern times it might appear anthinkable that any other road should have been assumed for the early inruptions of the Semites into Egypt or for the panitive expeditions which the Pharnohs despatched to Asia by way of retaliation; and it is strange, therefore, that the historians should have shown the diffidence they have shown in defining the precise route followed by the ancient armies. To-day, at all events, the question is finally settled; for in 1011 Dr C. Kuthmann produced convincing evidence that Thel, known from the hieroglyphs to have been the starting-point on the Egyptian frontier, was situated at Tell Abu Sefeh, a couple of miles custward of the present great military centre of El-Kantarch; and the identity of the end-point Rafa has never been seriously in doubt. Thus, no new geographical facts have to be demonstrated in the paper here to be printed; the task before us is merely to set forth, in more complete and accurate form than hitherto, such relevant facts as may be gleaned from the monuments and from papyri.

The main source is a fine series of sculptured scenes that occupies the exterior north wall of the great Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Karnak. Here king Sethos I of the Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1300 B.C.) caused to be depicted various memorable incidents of the wars waged by him in the early part of his rather short reign. The sculptures are divided into two series by a door that is nearly in their centre and leads into the Hypostyle Hall. As has often been pointed out, it was the regular practice of the Egyptian artists so to dispose the scenes chosen by them for the adormant of the walls of temples and tombs that the subjects figured might have a direct symbolic reference to the positions that they severally occupy. Professor Breasted has shown that this is conspicuously true in the present case!. On each side of the door and close beside it the Pharnolt is shown slaying prisoners before Amen-Ree, the god to whom the temple belonged, whereas it is at the remote ends of each of the two half-walls to right and left of the door that the geographically most remote events are being enacted. At the end of the left or eastern half-wall farthest from the doors a scene in the top register is wholly lost, but below it we see the submission of the chiefs of the Lebanon, and below that again the capture of a fortress of Canaan; at the corresponding extremity of the right or western half-wall the events selected for depiction are, from the top downwards, the taking of Kadesh, a battle

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Records, Vol. 111, §§ 50 foll.

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact the terminal somes of this half-wall extend round the corner on to the short wastern face; there can be no doubt as to their continuity with the scenes on the northern face.

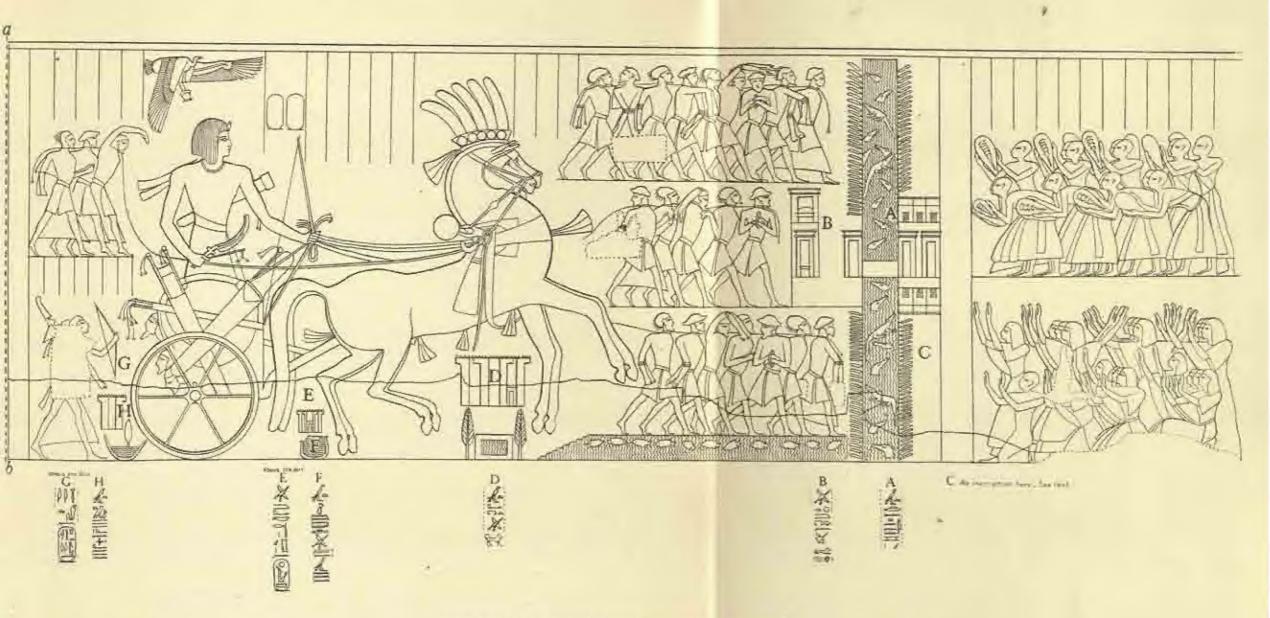
with the Libyans, and a battle with the Hittites. There is every reason to think, with Professor Breasted, that a number of different campaigns are here represented, possibly even one for each register; and that, at all events, the wars referred to on the western half are subsequent to those on the eastern half. The probable reconstruction of the historical sequence is as follows. At the beginning of his reign Sethos I found his castern frontier threatened by marauding Semites whose mame is given as Showt. The campaign of the first year, or part of it, was concentrated upon their defeat and upon the securing of the coast of Philistia; this is illustrated by the lowest register of the eastern half-wall, the only section of the sculptures where any date (in this case 'year I') is indicated. Whether the capture of the unidentified town of Yenoam and the conquest of the Lebanon, as shown in the upper register, were effected this year is doubtful; Professor Breasted\* thinks not, since in that case Sethos I would probably have returned to Egypt by sea from one of the Phoenician ports, whereas the sculptures referring to the first year depict him returning. with countless prisoners at his chariot-wheels, by land. At all events the reduction of the Lebanon, as in the campaigns of Tuthmosis III, was a necessary prehide to exploits further afield; the capture of Kadesh and the defeat of the Hittites, as figured on the western half-wall, must indubitably be attributed to a later date; and to a later date also we must probably assign the campaign against the Libyans, seems descriptive of which accupy the middle register on the same wall, The scenes which concern us here (Plates XI-XII) are from the series occupying the

lowest register of the eastern half-wall. To right of them, not reproduced in our Plates, are a picture of Sethes presenting his prisoners to Amun and another of their immediation (as previously mentioned) before him. These events were intended to be construed as occurring in Egypt, indeed at Karnak itself. The picture to the left of the subject of our Plates, on the other hand, represents the storming of a town somewhere in the maritime plain where the Philistines later settled; whether the words written across a fortress here figured mean a town of (the) Canaan or, as is perhaps more plausible in view of parallel locutions, the town of (the) Canaan in either case there is sufficient evidence to show that the region designated by the Egyptians as Canaan, the Canaan was the maritime plain just mentioned. There is thus great probability, from the outset, that the intermediate scenes will represent the read between Egypt and Philistia, i.e. the read between El-Kantarch and Rafa, known to the Elohistic author of Exodus xin, 17 as the way of the land of the Philistines. This is confirmed by a hieroglyphic legend accompanying the last scene of the series, where the whole campaign is thus described: Year 1 of King Mennas ref., the spoiling made by the strong arm of Pharach

<sup>\*</sup> For the latest discussion of the historical import of these movements, see Denney, Israel's Scillanger in Canada, pp. 75 foll., 81 foll., where all accessary bibliographical references will be found. While most recent writers connect the name of the Shaka with the West-Semitic root 700, Sethe has recently returned to the old stymology from Egyptian its "to wander" (Nachrichten v. d. his. Ges. d. Wissensch., phill-hist. Klasse, 1916, p. 120); he also interestingly shows how both the name Shaka and the still older times (A'anna given to the Semites came to mean 'herdaman' in Copie times (Mosc, s.ac) because in contrast with the settled agricultural Egyptians the Semites could be regarded as reminds and a postural people.

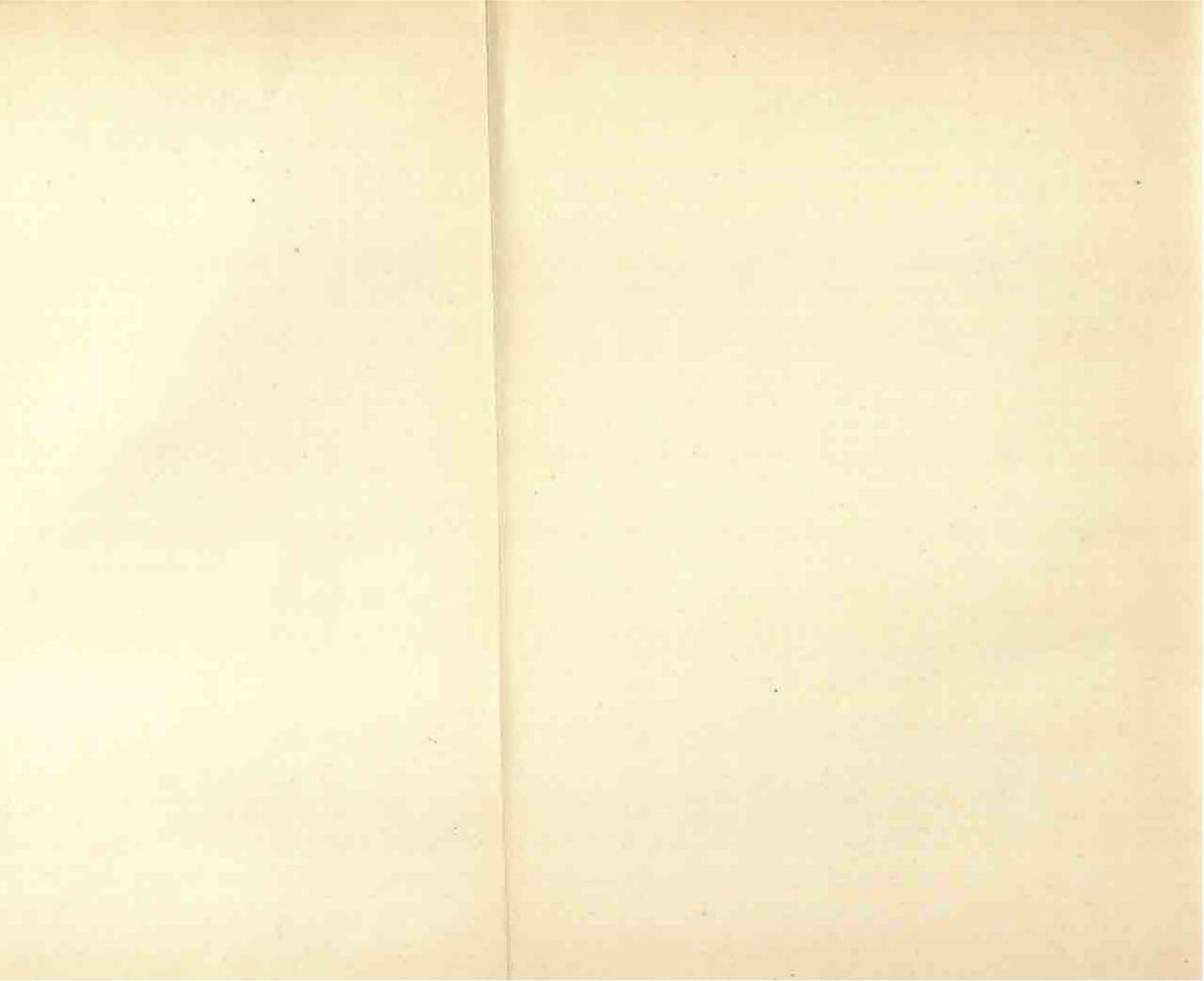
1 Op. vil., p. 40, note c.

For a most business-like and informative discussion of the term Canaan as used in the Egyptian and other sources see Pa. Bina. Kumaanies and Hebrar, pp. 1—11.



# THE MILITARY ROAD FROM EGYPT TO PALESTINE WESTERN PORTION

N.B.- The hieroglyphs will preserved are marked on either side with dotted lines



Turning to our Plates, we find that the artist, making full use of that imaginative and mitrammelled freedom of composition which goes far towards mitigating the stiff conventionalities of Egyptian Art, has here combined in a single pictorial sequence two distinct and beterogeneous sets of facts, I, some lively scenes of warfare, and 2, some extremely valuable topographical data. A difference of scale makes it easy to disentangle the materials here interwoven: the water beneath the feet of the prisoners in Plate XI was clearly intended to be miles rather than yards in extent, and we were certainly not meant to conclude from the representations further to the left that the distance between three fortified wells was spanned by the length of the Pharach's horses and chariot. The relation of the human details to the topographical is of the most approximate character; it is true that the return to Egypt is shown to the right near the fortress of Thel, and that the homage done to Sethos by the conquered Shose is depicted towards the left, i.e. in the direction of Caman; but we must not infer from the battle-scene separating these two subjects that the main struggle took place in the precise region indicated by the pools and fortresses immediately below it. Indeed, of so slight an importance to our present quest are these picturesque but hackneyed representations that we are justified in ignoring them altogether; this may the more readily be done, since they explain their own meaning without further commentary.

Blotting out from our vision, therefore, the figures of the subservient Egyptians welcoming home the victorious Pharnoh thronged by hosts of prisoners, the battle-scene where the routed enemy is being trampled beneath the hooves of Pharnoh's horses, and the picture of Sethos receiving the spoils of gold and silver and a crowd of cringing Semites, we are left with a long line of forts and sheets of water which constitute the earliest equivalent of a map that has come down to us from the ancient world. Before we examine this residue more closely, some account must be given of the sources upon which the Plates have been based. It is a tragic fact and one calculated it might be supposed, to disturb the peace of mind of every stay-at-home scholar, that this precious historical material is now to a large extent destroyed or so weathered as to be scarcely recognizable. A considerable part of the topographical data—everything below a line marked across the length of both Plates—has now completely perished, and here, as in many of the hieroglyphic supperscriptions, we are dependent wholly on a number of old publications no single one of which proves to be reliable. How fervently must we still reiterate the plea for accurate

The scenes depicted in Plate X1 are known from the following copies: Burron, Excerpta Hieroglyphica, Pl. 36 (beneaforth quoted as B); original drawings in the British Museum, Add. MSS, 25, 645, follow 93 and 101-3, which are considerably better than the published lithograph; the topographical inscriptions (B<sup>3</sup>), op. cit., Pl. 17, the materials for which are contained in the aforement MSS, folion 153-5; Chamberlion, Monuments, Pl. 292 (C.M); Io., Nation Descriptions, Vol. 11, pp. 92-4 (C.ND); Resulting, Monument Stories, Pl. 50 (R); Leesius, Deakmiller, Pl. 11, Pl. 128, b+a (I); the copy in Brutosca, Geographische Inschriften, Vol. 1, Pl. 48 (Bin.), is probably not independent and is, in any case, without much value. For Plate XII the sources are much the same, but B and C.M here fail as (C.ND), pp. 90-1 has, however, a full description and the Burton MSS, folio 152 give a few names (B<sup>2</sup>), for the scenes themselves the sole authorities are B, Pl. 49 and L, Pix 127a+1265. Guikysse, Record de Traumez, Vol. 11, pp. 97-41, gives an edition of the texts, based on the publications and imphotographs; but this is hardly accurate onough to be of two to us here. Discussions and translations: Brecoscu, Geographische Duchriften, Vol. 1, pp. 261-5; Is., Dictionauce Géographique, pp. 500-7; Max Muller, Asien and Europa, p. 134; Breaster, Ancient Records, Vol. II., §§ 83-6; Gardiner, Hierarie Texts, Vol. 1, p. 29\*.

copying of the monaments above ground which Mr Griffith, in 1889, placed at the head of his book on the inscriptions of Assiat! But to return to our Plates—so much of the source as is still preserved has been skilfally redrawn by Mr Kitton' from the great work of Lepsius, corrections being made from photographs in so far as the scale permitted and in so far as seemed desirable for the present purpose. Students who may compare our Plates with the publication of Lepsius will notice many details where the latter has been bettered s.g. the crocodiles in the canal, the shape of the fortress of Thel, the trappings of the horses. A further comparison with the earliest copy, namely that by Burton, shows that Burton is often markedly more accurate than Lepsius, despite the more finished appearance of the drawings in the Prussian work. Burton's lithograph is unfortunately confined to the portions contained in our Plate XI; had the scenes further to the left been included, they would doubtless have avoided the enormity there perpetrated by Lepsius, whose draughtsman has omitted the fortress S and the pool T altogether and has displaced the hindlegs of the horses in the most flagrant fashion.

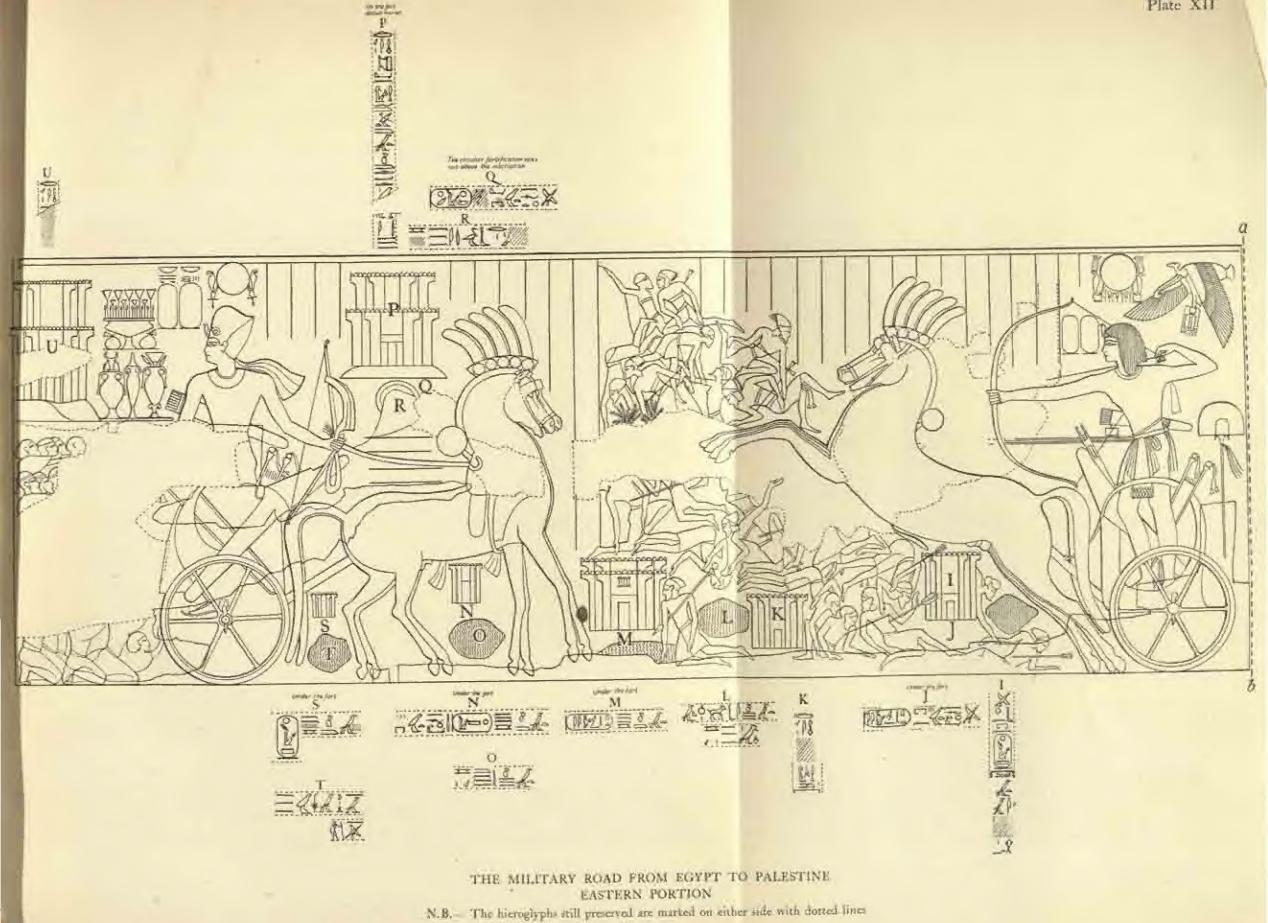
In the topographical data at the bottom of the scenes Lepsius is even a less sure guide than elsewhere, for there is good reason to think that at the time of his expedition much that Burton and Champellion had seen was already destroyed. The hall which Lepsius indicates as extending from a little to the left of our forcress M as far as the neighbourhood of J is probably a simple misinterpretation of the break as it then existed. Ros-llini's copy proves that, even in the early days when this was made, much of the lowest region of the sculptures was already unintelligible. The curve under fortress M is really the outline of a sheet of water; this is revealed to us only by Champollion's Notes Descriptions, Vol. 11, p. 41, where the pool in question is figured and marked with the ordinary zig-zag lines indicative of water. For the lower part of Plate XI we have relied as much as possible upon Burton, but the accuracy of our details must not be assumed in every point; in the water running below the prisoners the fishes are rendered as in Burton's drawing, whereas Champollion, Rosellini and Lepsius show most of them swimming in just the opposite direction! Elsewhere it has seemed better to follow Champollion and Lepsius, as in the reservoir below D, which in all the publications is central between the trees, but is not so in Burton's original drawing. That the copies in the works of Champollion and Rosellini are interdependent is well-known, but it will come as a shock to many that Lepsius drew largely on his predecessors, though this has already been pointed out by Professor Broasted . An example from the inscriptions will demonstrate the fact beyond possibility of doubt. Champollion marks, in his Minimuments, Pl. CCXCII, an inscription at the point C in our Plate XI, omitting it in the well F, where it properly belongs. There is in reality no inscription at C, but Leesits, Denkmaler, Pt. 111, Pt. CXXVIII, b places there the inscription found by him in Champollion, repeating it, in a form slightly different from that given by Burron, in its proper place.

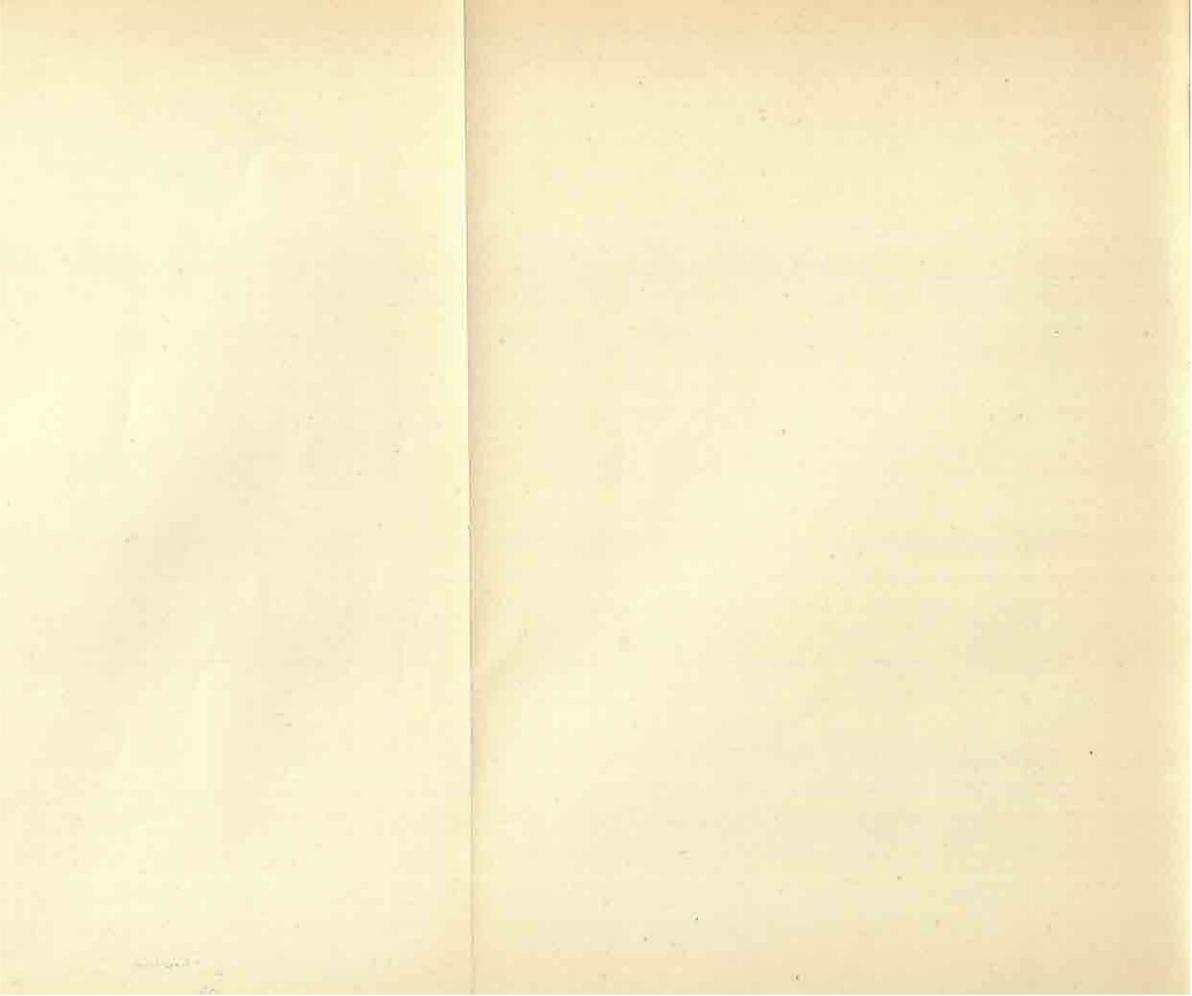
It has seemed irrelevant to cumber our Plates with the bombastic hieroglyphic legends that fill the blank spaces at the top of the register; the reader curious on this subject may be referred to Breasted's Ancient Records. All the more attention has been given, on the other hand, to the legends containing topographical information. For these the publications have been exhaustively collated with one another and with photographs, and much use has been made, above all, of some careful notes taken by Mr N, de G. Davies in front of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Zeiteskrift für aggpt. Sprucke, Vol. xxxvii (1890), p. 139, note 6.



<sup>1</sup> Of the firm of Messrs Emery Walker, Ltd.





original monument. What seemed to be the best text obtainable is given on the Plates themselves, the signs still preserved being enclosed within dotted lines. Doubtful readings will be found discussed in the notes below.

Before proceeding to the enumeration of the topographical names, reference must be made to an important passage in Pap. Anastasi I (27, 2-28, 1) where many of these names recur. This well-known papyrus contains a satirical letter from one scribe to another, in which the latter is taunted with complete ignorance of all the knowledge requisite for his profession. The composition ends with a section where the writer shows how incompetent his friend would prove it called upon to serve as a foreign envoy, and in this connection he chances to speak of that road across the north of the Peninsula of Sinai which is here engaging our attention. "Come," he writes! "I will tell thee of many things. Turn thy face toward the fortress of 1000 & Ways-of-Harns. I will begin for thee with The Dwelling of Sexe. (See was a familiar abbreviation by which his subjects were wont to refer to Ramesses II, in whose reign the original of Pap. Awastas( I was probably composed.) Thou hast never tradden it in south; then hast never cuten the fishes of (the waters) .....; thou hast never buthed in them. Prithee come, I will remind thee of 15 11 1 what direction is its fortress! Come along to \_ 1865 Je (M. 10) HIM Truct-of-Bato-of-Sesse (and 1) 1 Man 18 ( 120 ) I fill In his Stronghold (is) - Usima cret (prenomen of Ramesses II, Gk. Osymandyas), A Shel and Shel and Shell and She the receding the name seems to be superfluous), than hast never beheld them since thou wast born. O Maher (a name apparently given to foreign envoys), where is Rafa? What is its wall like? How many leagues murch is it to Queal Answer quickly! Render me a report, so that I may call thee a Maker and boast to others of they name of Marianna (term for a Syrian lord)." As we shall see below, out of the twelve place-names here mentioned five can with

As we shall see below, out of the twelve place-names here mentioned five can with certainty be identified in the Sethos reliefs, three more find equivalents there which are reasonably probable; two names in Pap. Anastasi I are undoubtedly absent from the Karnak wall, where on the other hand, there are eight or nine names that do not occur in the papyrus. Ten of the twelve names in the latter are thus accounted for; about the last two there might be some hesitation, and as the matter is of considerable importance, we may as well discuss it here. The city, the spoils of which Sethes I is examining in the sculptures, (Plate XII, II) is described in the hieroglyphs as 'the city of......,' the name being lost.

I have omitted here the notes of interrogation and brackets which are strictly necessitated by this corrupt and defective text, reserving them for the names above, these being our principal concern in the present context. For fuller details see Gamusan, Hieraric Texts, Vol. 1, p. 29\*.

<sup>\*</sup> For this rendering see below ju 111, n. L.

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<sup>2</sup> For this rendering see below p. 111, u. t.

Assuredly this must be either Rafa or Gaza, the only two towns that can come into the question as termini of the military road. Which identification is the more probable? In our opinion Rafa is to be preferred. The omission of so important a place in a list which must necessarily have contained some names of quite slight significance would be very strange, and it is noticeable that the two names immediately preceding Rafa in the papyrus are in the scalptures quite close to the town whose identity we have to determine. As a last argument we may refer to the hill on which the fortress stands; it is true that one of the four quarters of modern Gaza is built on a low hill!; but it is also true that some of the mud huts which, together with the two frontier police or customs houses, constitute the whole of present-day Rafa are likewise situated upon a hill. Thus Gaza in the papyrns probably stands altogether outside the range of the Karnak scalptures reproduced in our Plates. Is it too rash to conjecture that the 'town of the Canaan,' of which the storming, depicted further to the left, as we have seen, marked the culmination of the expedition of year I, might be Gaza itself? The occupation of Gaza, at that time no less than in the recent campaign, must have been a vital stage in the successful invasion of Palestine.

Beginning at the right end of Plate XI, the first place to be encountered (B) is Honor the fortress of The!" Since it is there that the Egyptians greeted

the returning Pharaoh, this fortress must obviously have been situated on the frontier of Egypt; and indeed it is now fully established, as stated at the beginning of this article, that the site of the ancient Thel is Tell Abu Sêfeh, two miles eastward of El Kantareh, the starting-point of the modern caravan route to Syria\*. The ancient name Thel corresponds to that of the Graeco-Roman military post and seat of a bishopric called Sella or Sele, a fact indicating that the transcription Thel is superior to the transcription Zaru which was favoured by most Egyptologists before the identification was established. The fortress lay, as the sculptures show, partly on one side and partly on the other of a canal full of erocodiles. the reedy banks of which suggest that it did not contain flowing water. The name of the canal (A) was a transfer to Ta-denit, clearly meaning the dividing waters, and so-called because they sundered Egypt from the desert. The fortress is depicted as a rectangular space contained on each flank by three buildings with doors. The entrance was through a large portal on the Egyptian side, and on reaching the canal one passed through a second portal on to a bridge, the desert side of which ends in a third portal. A little farther on is a tower having within it an unusual vaulted structure. If we now turn to the map given in the Description de l'Egypte (Fig. 1), the best source of information

2 Mantin S. Brionis, Through Ligget in Wartims, p. 235.

For the evidence identifying Thei with Tell Abu Sefeh see this Josephil, Vol. v. pp. 242-4, and

especially p. 244, note the

<sup>1</sup> Euroyclopaedia Britannico, 11th edit., s. c. Gaza,

<sup>\*</sup> Only the first two signs are now preserved, but down to if the reading is beyond dispute. The him is incomplete in C ND and is marked as indistinct by BR. At the end we have felt compelled to retain O since C SD marks this with a sic; but I I I in B and lin, suggests post, which is the determinative in the general seminary of the purport of the sculptures quoted above pp. 100-1. The last-named text, of course, puts the identity of the fortress here mentioned beyond all doubt

bel 'to sunder, 'to divide,' to distribute, also 'to dam off.' In Eloquent Poussat B1, 237, 277 the word clearly means a dum or barrier of earth; there is no reason why the same word should not designate both kinds of dividing-line, of the English 'dyka.' The Sa'ldic equivalent is Tune, see Peyron.

with regard to the conditions prevailing before the Sucz Canal was cut, we see that the Syrian road traverses a narrow strip of land between Lake Menzalch on the north-west and



Fig. 1. The neighbourhood of El-Kantarch, as shown in the Discription de l'Égypte,
Atlas géographique, Pls. 31, 34-

Lake Ballah on the south-east. Two canals run athwart this strip of land, and must evidently have been crossed by bridges, whence the name of the region ——— Gisr el-Kanatir, 'the crossing of the bridges'. (Kanatir 'bridges' was noted by Mr Griffith in 1885 as the invariable name given by the inhabitants to the place now familiar in the singular form El-Kanateh, 'the bridges'.) It is not necessary to suppose that the Pharaome conditions were precisely the same as in the French map, but the latter undoubtedly provides a most striking explanation of the facts indicated by the sculptures'. Just as the

<sup>1</sup> The name Post du Tresor, marked on the French map, seems to be a translation of a local term Kantaret el-Hexnell, see Chapar, in Bound de Tromas, Vol. xxxvin, pp. 22-3.

PETRIK, Nebeshek and Deferench (bound up with Tenis, Part II), p. 101.

M Cledat (for, cit.) claims to have actually found the fortress of Thel:—"L'enceunte de la fortresse, je l'ai reconnue au sud-est, sur la face and et en partie sur la face onest; la face and a 185 mêtres de languour, avec quatre tours rondes et une aux angles; les murs construits en briques craes ent tan, 55 d'épaisseur. Elle forme un quadrilatère aux cétés orientés exactement nord, sud, est et onnet. Je n'ai pas trouvé de portes, mais une des tours avait été aspée en croix." From M. Clédat's description one would imagine that the ancient Thel was nearer to the modern El-Kanturch than his previous reports and that of Mr Griffith led one to auppose. M. Clédat has perfectly well understood what water is meant by the canal with the crocodifies, but he offers no explanation of the stream with the fishes. The suggestion made by Dr Küthmann [Die Outgrenze Agyptens, p. 47] that the water with the fishes is the Pelusiae Nile-arm ignores the true course of that arm of the Nile, which is many miles to the wast and north of Thel.

modern starting-place of the caravan road Gisr el-Kanatir took its name from bridges crossing the canals connecting Menzaleh and Ballah, so in the time of Sethes I the fortress of Thel commanded a bridge over a canal at right angles to the direction of the road. The water containing fishes below the feet of the prisoners now receives a rational explanation, as Mr Griffith appears to have realized long ago; this stretch of water will be seen to continue for a little distance and then to slope murthwards out of the picture. Looking once more at the French map we note that the south-eastern margin of Menzaleh similarly runs parallel to the road for a little way, until at a given point the road definitely bids farewell to the region of water and passes on to a desert tract where wells have to be dug and protected by fortresses.

That desert tract has not yet been reached at the place in the sculptures which we

have marked D. This place, called a The Dwelling of the Lion! was a fortified outpost, but nevertheless possessed its groves and garden-ponds. In the papyrus Anastasi I this town or settlement appears to be represented by ACA The Dwelling-of-Sese, since that is the name following next after Ways-of-Horus, a well-known alternative designation of Thel (see below). The formative expression to the Dwelling is sufficiently uncommon to render the equation a practical certainty: 'the-Lion' in the Karnak name naturally refers to the reigning Pharaoh Sethos, and there is nothing strange in the substitution of 'Sese' (i.e. Ramesses II) for an epithet of Sethos; other analogous usurpations by successive Pharaohs will be illustrated further on Now the place called The Dwelling-of-the-Lion in one context and The Dwelling-of-Sese in a second is mentioned in a passage (Pap. Anastasi V. 23, 7-25, 2), where the form the name takes is To (off) ( ) The Dwelling of Ramesses Beloved of-Amin. The passage is a model letter purporting to be addressed to a Royal Butler by two army officers; it has been but seldom translated, and the following rendering will. therefore, perhaps be welcome to our readers. "Ani, lieutenant-commander of the army, and Bekmamun, lieutenant-commander of the army, <to> the Royal Butler Macmen. In life, regalth, health! In the favour of Amen-Res, king of the gods, and of the genius of king Usermatret-setpenret (Ramesses II), thy good lord. I [speak] to Pret-Harakhte; give health to Pharanh, our lord, may be celebrate millions of Scil-festivals, thou being in his farmer every day. Another topic, to wit that we have been sent from the [place where] the King is with three stelae, together with their wooden ..... (1) and their base(1)-stones. It was said to us: go after the Butler of Phuranh very quickly with the stelus; reach kim very quickly with them. and hearken to all that he says so that he may place them in their eternal positions. So spoke the King. Behold, we pussed the fortress of Ramesses which is in Thel in year 33 (or 131). second month of summer, day 33, and we shall go to empty the ships at The Dwelling of Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amila. (There follow the words: and drog the monuments into the presence of ! the Battler of Pharaok when you come to him ; they are obviously out of place

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The lion, now test, is confirmed by all publications except R, which has a clear forse; the Burton MSS, fidio 93, have a lion more distinctly than Burton's published copy. This place-name has been discussed more brindly, Journal, Vol. 7, p. 132, under H.

TCHARLS, Mélanges égyptologiques, Vol. 11, pp. 135-9; Mastero, fémire Épistolaire, pp. 18-20; Brousen, Dictionnaire Géographique, pp. 405-6.

and are probably to be intercalated before "and hearken" in the foregoing command.) Let the Butler of Pharach write to us about all that we are to do." Here it is evident that "The-Dwelling-of-Ramesses," like 'The-Dwelling-of-the Lion' in the Karnak sculptures, was the farthest point along the Syrian road that could be reached by water; probably the stelae alluded to were destined for Syria, and here triumphal inscriptions designed to impress the might and majesty of Pharach apon the terrified peoples of Palestine. While we may thus roughly localize 'The-Dwelling-of-the-Lion,' its exact position remains uncertain. We can feel no great assurance in identifying it with the spot marked Ruines in the French map 5½ kilometres along the road from the extreme edge of Menzaleh; for here, as Mr Griffith points out—he gives the name as Tell Habwe instead of the Tell Semut spoken of by others—there is no more than a small heap of ted brick, about 20 yards square, perhaps the remains of a medieval guardhouse.

Some distance farther to the left on the Karnak wall we come upon a smaller fort E, above which was written the name have the well F, apparently shown in section, the same the legend have now completely disappeared, but the readings are fairly well established. It is difficult not to identify the name at F with have to identify the name at F with have regards the medial consonant, were not identical. But if this identity be assumed, as we think it must be, one of the two sources has to be regarded as falsely substituting the sign have per for the sign of the two sources has to be regarded as falsely substituting the sign have proposed to understand H-t-y-n as hittle stronghold.

The name of the fort E deserves careful consideration, for there is good enough reason for believing, despite the doubts of some scholars, that it corresponds to the Migdol of the Old Testament and to the Magdolo of Gracco-Roman times. The word Migdol is a well-

<sup>1</sup> Paymes, Nebuliel and Defranch, p. 101.

M. Chidat's attempt (Annales du Service, Vol. xvt, p. 10) to identify 'The Dwelling of the Lion' with El-Findynh, the probable situ of Ostracine at the eastern and of Lake Serbons, is obviously very wide of the mark.

<sup>2 1:</sup> ND and R have the inscription correctly, the other publications having minor variations; L omits the corrector.

As already pointed out (p. 102), C M and L wrongly place this legand at C in Plate XI, L repeating it in another form at the point F; R amits it altogether. The variants are: B (and B)

<sup>\*</sup> ERMAN, in Zeitschr. f. iig. Sproche, Vol. xv (1877), p. 37; MAX MELLER, Asien und Europa, p. 134.

<sup>\*</sup> So rightly Baucasii, Geographiche Inschriften. Vol. t. p. 261, where he combata the views on the subject previously expressed by Laustus. Chromologic, Vol. t, p. 240, note 5. Brugsch's later utterances on

known Semitic term for tower' (2722) and was probably borrowed by the Egyptians as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty; as a common noun it occurs in the Goldnischeff Glossury 6. I (Dyn. XXI), is found occasionally in the form μαγδωλός in (Iracco-Roman documents (e.g. Grenfell and Hunt, Faylor Towns, p. 154) and survives as mestod: mystod in Coptic. Hence it may well have been the designation of many different places; there was a village called Magdolo or Magdolos in the Fayum, and the demotic papyrus Gaire 31169 (recto, col. 3, nos. 20-3) mentions no less than four Migdols in the Eastern Delta'. It is significant, however, that only the first and westernmost of the four Migdols in the Cairo papyrns remains without further epithet or qualification, and while the other three are probably forts of less importance further along the road to Palestine, the first is in all likelihood identical with the Magdolo' recorded by the Antonine Itinerary as lying midway between Pelusium and Sele and at a distance of 12 Roman miles from each. That this Migdel was a town of some size seems likely from the Hebrew Prophets: Ezechiel xxix, 10 and xxx, 6 threatens desolation upon Egypt 'from Migdol to Syene'-the marginal rendering in the Authorized Version is undoubtedly right; Jeremiah xliv, 1 and xlvi, 14 names Migdol in the same breath as Tahpanhes (Daphnae) and Noph (Memphis), the three cities being the places where the Jewish refugees from the Babylonians had congregated and where the prophecy of Egypt's downfall is now, accordingly, to be preached. Nor does the obscure parrative of the Exodus afford any real grounds for distinguishing the Migdel therein mentioned (Exodus xiv, 2; Numbers xxxiii, 7) from the Migdol of the Prophets. Very possibly also the Mayδωλός πόλις Λίγόπτου mentioned by Stephen of Byzantinm, quoting from Hekataeus, as well as by the grammarian Theognostus', may be considered identical with the Biblical Migdol and the Magdolo of the Itinerary. The latter Brugsch sought to equate with Tell es-Semut, the doubtful name of which is replaced by Tell Habwe in all recent accounts. We have tentatively suggested an identification of Tell Haliwe or Tell es-Semut with 'The Dwelling-of-the Lion' named at D in the Karpak sculptures; the hesitation that we felt upon the point was due to the small extent of the rains, a fact which a fartiori excludes the possibility that this was the site of a prominent town like Migdol-Magdolo. For that town the only location possible seems to be at Tell el-Her (the Description has Her with .); the late Mr Greville Chester' and Mr Griffith', both of whom have visited the

the subject are complicated by vanturesome and impossible conjectures, put forward in the most dogmatic fashion; see L'Ercole et les Monumente Éngrétiens, pp. 20, 27; Dictionnaire Géngraphique, pp. 50-2, 310-1, 548. Further bibliographical references in the footnotes below. See especially Max Mellen, art. Migriel in Encyclopaedia Biblica.

- <sup>1</sup> See Senseemeno, Die demotischen Pappens, pp. 273 (where I. 23 is overlooked in the transcription and 278. Diseaser, Sphrac, Vol. xiv. p. 169, has proposed some new readings, which, as I understand, are not to be trusted.
- <sup>2</sup> This place is sometimes marked as Magdolon on the maps. Jurome has Magdalum, and this is perhaps the source of the neuter form

This point I hope to deal with in dotal on another occasion:

- <sup>4</sup> Μαγδωλόι Δουμο πόλεων, Theognostus, Canoure, apad Channa, Ancedota Grasca, Vol. II, p. 62, L. II. I am indebted for the exact reference to Mr II, I. Bell.
- The identification of Migdol with Tell as Semut started Brugson on a characteristic chase after further phantastic conjectures; upon this depends his guess that another name of Migdol was \$\forall \sigma\_{\infty} \cdot\ \cdot\

See his admirable paper entitled A Journey to the Biblical Sites in Lover Egypt, etc. in Quarterly Statement of the Pulcetine Exploration Fund, July 1880, especially v. 148.

7 Perrie, Nebeskeh and Defennek, p. 103, note L.

site, are agreed upon this point. Tell el-Hêr stands on the south side of a spit of sand running westward into the bed of a lake; it is conspicuous for a high medieval fortress of red brick, but besides there are traces of a town of large size, where innumerable sherds of pottery, fragments of ancient glass, and Ptolemaic coins are still found scattered over the surface of the mound. The only objections that could be raised to the identification of Migdol-Magdolo with Tell el-Hêr are that this mound is much nearer to Pelusium (about 7 Roman miles) than to Selë (12 Roman miles, as in the Itinerary), and that it is not directly on the caravan-route to Palestine. An objection similar to the first would remain whatever identification might be proposed, the distance between Pelusium and Sels being much exaggerated in the Itinerary. The second objection is scarcely one at all, since the designer of the Karnak sculptures—the only source that seems to indicate that Migdol was actually on the military highroad—may not have intended anything so precise, but may samply have desired to express the fact that the well F was at about the same lavel as the fort at Tell el-Hêr, which in any case will have been easily visible; the absence of Migdol in the Anastasi papyrus might conceivably be quoted in support of the last conjecture.

To turn now to the hieroglyphic texts where a Migdol is mentioned, if there be climinated a Palestinian place of the name that is to be found in a list of the time of Ramesses III1 and another occurring among the conquests of Sheshonk I2, all the other passages may well be taken as referring to the Migdel at Tell el-Her. That 'The-Migdel. of-Menma (rec' in the Karnak sculptures cannot have been far from Tell el-Her is at once obvious, so that it is quite innecessary to seek any other position for that Migdol, at least. Likewise, no very cogent reason has been given for placing elsewhere a Migdol named after the same king that is alluded to in a model letter of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The passage has not been quite correctly translated, so that a new rendering of the crucial sentences (Pap. Anastasi V, 19, 6-20, 2) can hardly be dispensed with. One officer is reporting to another concerning his search for some run-away slaves:—"I was despatched from the Courts of the Royal Palace on the winth day of the third month of remmer, at eventide, in quest of those two servants. I reached the enclosure-wall of Theku (i.e. Tell el-Maskhûteh in the Wâdy Tumilat) in the tenth day of the third month of nummer, where they told me that they had said in the south that they (the slaves) had passed on the tenth (sic?) day of the third month of summer. And [when I] reached the fortress (scil. of Theku), they told me that the groum (?) had come from the desert [to say] that they had passed the north wall of King ]

Menoptah (is)-beloved-like-Seth. As will be seen, there is no indication whatever as to the

At Madinet Haba, Max Mollka, Egyptological Researches, Vol. 1, Pl. 88, no. 82.

At Karusk, op. cit., Pl. 80, no. 58. The Magdolus of Herodotna, II, 159, where Necho defeated Josiah, is clearly a blunder for Megiddo.

Quoted and discussed by Charas, Recherches pour servir à l'hotoire de l'Egypte au temps de l'Exode, p. 122 Translations: Bautosen, Dictionnaire Giographique, p. 51; Iv., Genchichte Agyptens, Ist ed., pp. 585-6; Iv., Sainimmérift and Bholsort, pp. 227-8; a translation revised by Mr Griffith in the late Professor Driver's contribution to Authority and Archaeology, ed. D. G. Houaurs, p. 60; Driven, Exodus, pp. xxxviii-ix.

What exactly this means is not clear; but it is surely impossible to render, as has been sunctimes done; and was told that they spoke of (or purposed) the muth—they passed on an the 2th of Epiphi. 'The phrase he ray can only mean 'in the south' and e dd that follows is clearly to be construed with sole.

threction in which the slaves were making or as to the distance that they had already covered. But for the desire that has been felt to coordinate this passage with the story of the Exedus. Theku being identified with Succoth, it is hardly likely that this Migdol would have been differentiated from that at Tell el-Her! Lastly, the place named

at Medinet Habû must surely be located at Magdolo or Tell al-Hér, despite the severity with which Max Müller castigated the folly of those favouring this view? The texts accompanying the sea-fight and the neighbouring scenes distinctly say that 'the peoples who had come from their islands in the midst of the sea were advancing against Egypt' and that they had 'entered the river-mouths,' where a word is employed that is not known to apply to any estuaries except those of the Nile! There seems good reason for supposing that it was the Pelusiac Nile-arm that was attacked by the islanders, and that in consequence of this attack Ramesses III retired to his town of Migdol a little further inland. Thence he sallied forth, when the victory was won, to congratulate the victors and to receive the cut-off hands which were the visible token of their success.

The remaining wells along the road are depicted, for some unknown reason, quite differently from those at F and H, namely as ponds or pools of irregular shape. The

Professor Naville (The Store-city of Pithon, p. 30) follows Ebers in placing the Migdol of Execute near the modern railway-station of Scorpsum. At some other time, according to the article in Encyclopaedic Biblico, Ebers identified the Migdol of Execute with the modern Bir Makdal or Makhdal (Description, Atlas, Pl. 31) 23 miles NE of Ismailtych. However, this last Migdol is a doubtful quantity; the most recent War Office map names a Bir Makkur near the point where the supposed Bir Makdal ought to stand; have two semilar names been confused?

Asian and Karopa, pp. 177-8. Note that here the word Migdol is determined by the sign for 'town' (3) and dispenses with the definite article, of No, the common appellation of Thebes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For the scenes see Champolaton, Monuments, Pls. 222-5; Roskillini, Monumenti Storici, Pls. 131-3. Translations of the lexis are to be found in BREASTED, Ancient Records, Vol. 19, §§ 74-7.

A few signs only are left, L gives all correctly; C M and C ND omit a at and of the cartonche. The whole name is emitted by B and R.

See Zeitschr. J. agypt. Sprachs, Vol. 11 (1913), p. 123.

Now entirely destroyed. L alone gives if know quite complete. For the rest B, C, B and L are in substantial agreement, with minor variations as regards the dubious sign.

C M and B (B) fail here, but the Burton MS (B) gives a few mames.

fortresses similarly vary in size and plan. Whether in both cases the artist was endeavouring to record actual facts or whether be was merely indulging his individual fancy cannot be determined without investigation on the spot. On fort I (Flate XII) are the words of the words

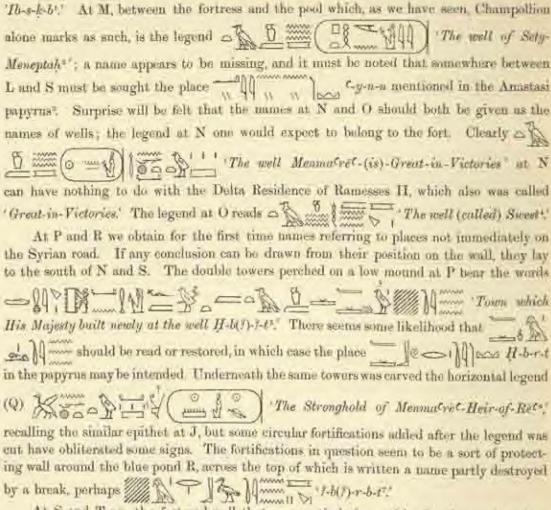
be illusory. At K there is a fort which is described as \[ \] \[ \] Town which (His) Majesty [built] (newly). The sculptor has not found room for the suffix-pronoun f his nor for the adverb min newly, and it is not impossible that a place-name that was in the original draft has also been omitted. The papyrus mentions at this point a place called \( \frac{1}{2} \) \[ \]

\*\* Pap. Assessme III, verse of p. 6, col. 5, l. 1. On the stele published Mannerre, Abydos, Vol. II, Pl. 57, there is named a Mayor (http:// Hori of 'The Coult- of Ramesen,' Ramesess I being meant; but this man held another office in Abydos, and is therefore not likely to have had much to do with an outlying provincial fortress. Again in a well-known passage (see this Joseph Vol. 7, p. 187, no. 17) the great town of Ramesess II is named a 'castle' (blu). It is, of course, out of the question that the town of Ramesess should be meant in the Karnak reliefs.

<sup>3</sup> Only fragments are now left: B<sup>3</sup> is also incomplete. Nevertheless the reading is sufficiently well authenticated: C.N.D omits the second t of ages and the s in the cartonche: It gives these, but marks a because in place of the st before the cartonche.

i For the word signs 'stronghold' see Harris 76, 8; 77, 5 and below at Q.

The signs &m m are given as seen by Mr Davies, who is a trifle hesitating, however, about the absence of f; CND gives m, but L marks a lacuna. For the restoration see below at P.



At S and T are the fort and well that were entirely ignored by Lepsius, no less than by Champellian (Notices Descriptives) and by Rosellini. At S we find the sell of Menmatric and at T, on the water.

Still intact except for the two lower s of hours and the top s at the end of the name; these are confirmed by both C ND and L.
\* Still intact.

From Pap. Harris 77, 6—8 we hearn that Ramesses III made a fornified well in a place called C.y. a, which might just possibly be the C.y. a of Pap. Januaras I.

<sup>\*</sup> The publications are dubious as to the sign name, but Mr Davies marks it as quite certain. He also concludes that the only other sign that is doubtful must have been \_\_\_\_; there are slight indications of a horizontal sign; C ND and L give \_\_\_\_ as against \_\_\_\_ sin R.

Mr Davies gives the only signs that are doubtful thus:

The break he suggests Ω or 

but perhaps the hind-legs of the

lion is a possible suggestion. The publications have some obvious errors and offer no help. Professor

For the square sign to left after the publications have some obvious errors and offer no help. Professor

For the square sign to left after the publications have some obvious errors and offer no help. Professor

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Figure 1. The square sign to left after the left after the lace th

<sup>\*</sup> The extremely doubtful plural strokes, the very questionable of the cartonche have thus been destroyed.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Davies thinks that the bird of which only the tail is left must be the human-headed M.

N-h-s of the Prince.' The latter place-name corresponds to N-h-s in the papyrus, the last place to be mentioned before Raphia. It is upon this fact that the conjecture has been based that at T N-h-s [N-h-s] The town of Raphia is to be read. The papyrus gives N-h-s [N-h-s] The name of the city of Raphia, the modern Rafa, is mentioned in the two palimpsest lists (temp. Sethos I) of Palestinian places on the same north wall of Karnak upon which our sculptures are found; elsewhere in hieroglyphs it is found only in the list of Sheshonk\*, where it is written great battles before the Christian era; the first was in 720 s.c., when Sargon of Assyria defeated Sabacon, the Ethiopian ruler of Egypt; the second was in 217 s.c., when Ptolemy IV gained a decisive victory over Antiochus III of Syria.

It may be convenient now to set both in tabular form the place-names on the road to Palestine that are mentioned either in the Karmak sculptures or in the papyrus Anastasi I, together with such few modern identifications as are certain or plausible.

	Karnak	Pap. Anastasi I	MODERN SITE
-3.	The forteen of Thel, B	- Ways of Horses	Kantareh
	"The dividing-waters" (name of canal), A	_	
	* The Dwelling-of-the-Lion, D	= "The Divilling of Seve"	Tell Halowell
	The Migdol of Menmatrit, E.		Tell el-Hart
	* The well H-p-a, Y	t= 'H-t-y-n'	(Magdolo)
	Buto-of Sety Monoptak, G	- Trachof-Buto-of-Sem	Kntlynh?!
	The well Tract of II	_	-
4.5	The Castle of Menmus of called The(is)-		
150	his-Protection, 1	_	
· G	"The Stronghold of Sety-Memptah" (alterna-)		
100	tive name for 87), J	1 = In his Stronghold (is) l'aimatre	-
100	Town which (His) Majesty [built] (nowly). 6		
IL	There are the married formed to a firm	8-b-d	
	The well The & b. L.	= 176-a-kb	
	The well of Sety-Meneptah, M		
14.	The state of the s	$r_{eq+m-n}$	
17.41.11	"The well Mountaloff dis ferent in Victories," N		-
	"The well (called) Secret," O	?=H-h-r-t (follows ±1)	
844	Town which His Majesty built usuby at the well	in State of House and	
10	Held College P		
T.B.	The Stronghold of Manual res Heir of Re		
220	(alternative name for 177), Q		
	'Lb(I)-reb-t,' R	_	
	The well of Mannas et , S	A A delegandos (12)	-
	N-h s of the Prince, T	) = 4V-4-a (precedes 17)	Rafa
	*The man-of-[Risphia], U	= R.pA	Gaza
23.		K-d-1	CARLA

<sup>1</sup> The n, omitted by all publications, is clear. For the restoration R-p-b see above p. 104

\* Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 113-4.

See Max Melanu, Egyptological Reservolus, Vol. 1, Pl. 57, un. 16; Pl. 58, no. 17.

It does not fall within the scope of this article to describe in detail the natural conditions and landmarks of the Kantarch-Gaza road, nor yet to enumerate the historical events of which it has been the constant scene. As regards the first point, it will suffice to mention very briefly the salient features, and for the rest to refer the reader to the works of some recent travellers and investigators; as regards the second, we shall confine our attention to

the Pharnonic period.

In the main, the region of northern Sinai between Kantarch and Rafa may be described as an inhospitable, almost waterless desert, inhabited only by a small population of Bedawin nomads. Two principal roads lead across it eastwards from Egypt (Plate XIII): the shorter one runs from the neighbourhood of Farameh (Pelusium) along the narrow ridge of land between Lake Serbonis and the sea; this rejoins the longer, inland route not far from Zaranik at the south-eastern extremity of Serbonis. The northern road was that supposed by Brugsch to have been taken by the departing Israelites in their Exodus from Egypt, wrongly no doubt; but now and again in the course of history it may have formed the place of transit for expeditionary forces, though its double risk of quicksands and of submergener through a northern wind, as described in the graphic accounts given by the late. Mr (irreville Chester) and by M Clédatt, rendered it far too uncertain and treacherous ever to become the normal or austomary route, whether for military or for commercial purposes. The land-route well to the south of Serbonis is obviously that which has been preferred from time immemorial, and is certainly that depicted in the Karnak sculptures.

Concerning this southerly road Kinglake has an entertaining chapter in Eother, but his narrative turns more on the incidental features of the journey—upon the psychology of the Amb guides rather than upon the nature of the country. Other accounts to which one can refer are a paper by Mr A. R. Guest in the Geographical Journal, some notes by Mr Griffith in one of the E. E. F. publications, and a popular recent account in a war-book by Mr Martin S. Briggs. Uninteresting as the road assuredly is from the landscape point of view, nevertheless it has formed the subject of a monograph from which historical memories have been ruthlessly excluded; the little book by the Archduke Ladwig Salvator of Austria contains a considerable number of drawings from which a good idea of the tract of country can be derived. Last of all, the French archaeologist M. Clédat spent a number of years just before the war in investigating the ancient sites near the Suez canal, and many illuminating reports of excavations and other researches here have appeared from his pen in the Annales du Service of Cairo'.

The distance between Kantaroh and El-Arish is 91 miles, between El-Arish and Rafa 29 miles more, and from Rafa again to Gaza 20 miles, in all a distance of 140 miles. Wells have been sunk at every five or six miles all along the route, and as a rule yield a good supply of clear water, though very brackish. There is plenty of herbage and low scrub in most places, and here and there, as at Kaniych, there are palm-groves. Shoikhs' tombs and various

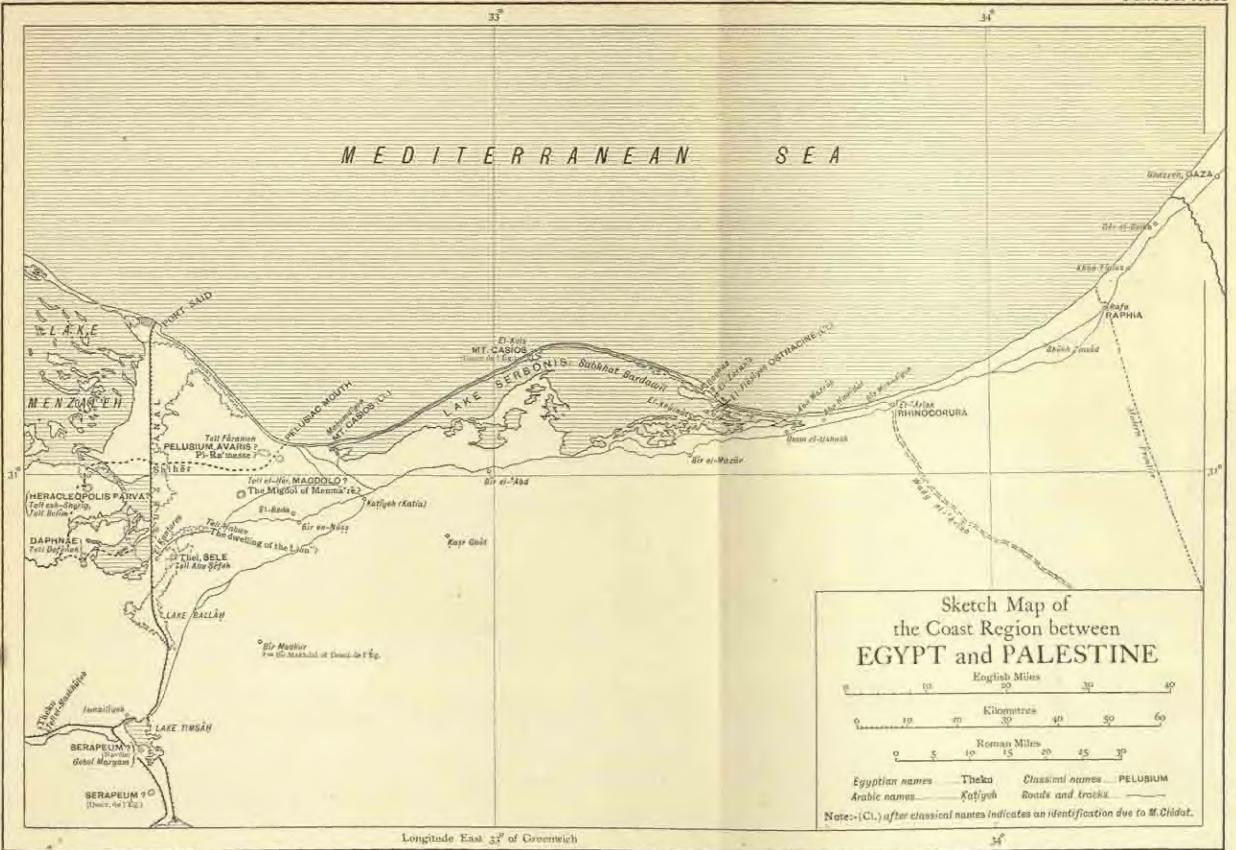
1 In Polastine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, July 1880, pp. 144-158.

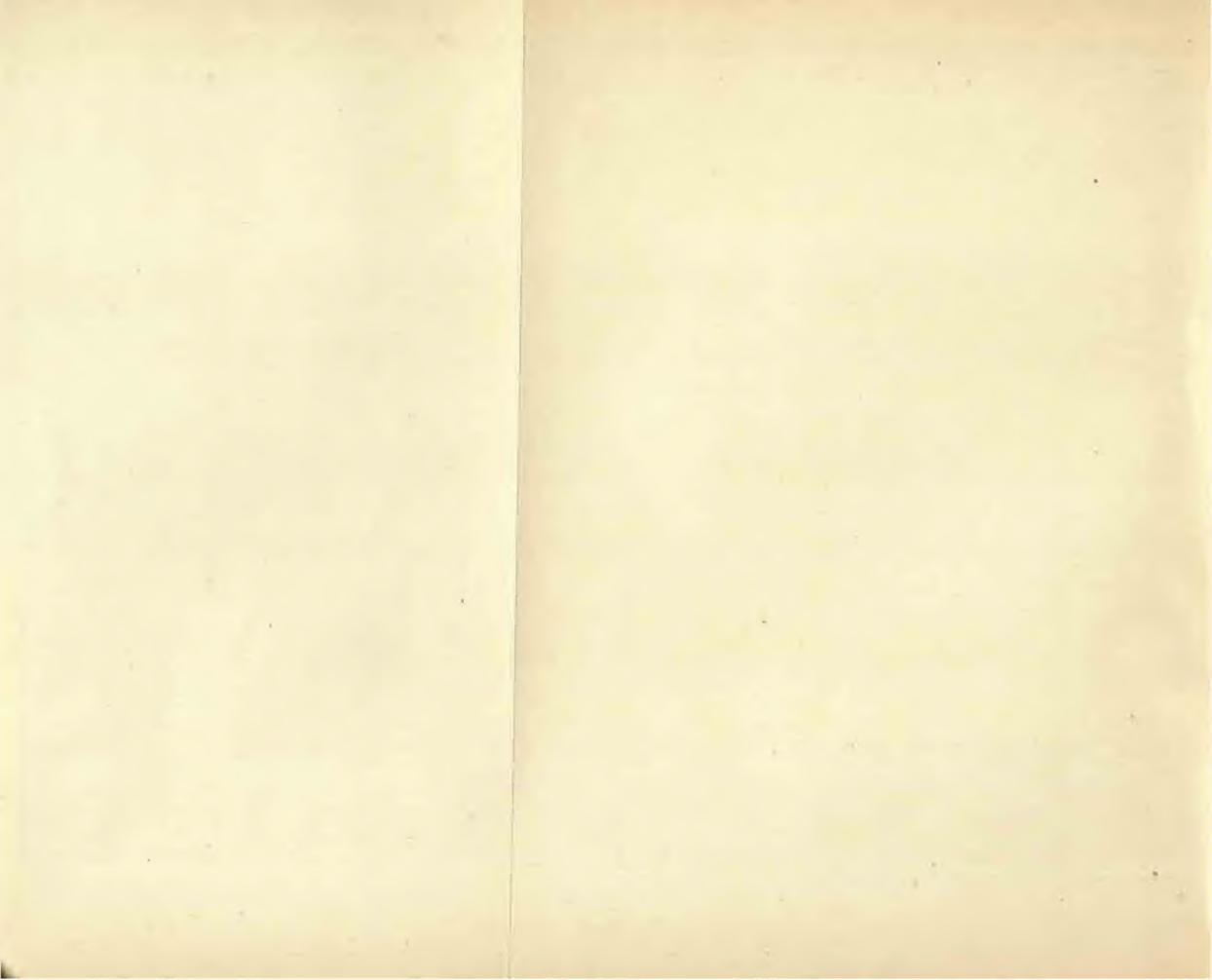
\* Annals de Servis, Vol. 1, pp. 200-237.

Vol. xiii (1899), pp. 281-5.
The Mound of the Jee, pp. 25-7.

Through Egypt in War-time, pp. 190-237.

- 1 The Caravan Route between Egypt und Syria. London, Chatto and Windus, 1881.
- Feeders the articles elsewhere quoted in the footnotes see the following: Vol. xv., pp. 145—168, excavations at the Roman site of Kasr Ghet, south-east of Katiyeh; Vol. xv., pp. 12:—18, the Roman site of Shekh Zuwal, between Rafa and Gaza, where fine musaics were found; Vol. xv., pp. 6—32, the Roman site of El-Pharych, identified by M. Cledat with Ostracine.





ancient remains are found on all hands; indeed there seems no particular reason here why ancient manuments should perish at all, and doubtless excavation would reveal many of the fortresses depicted in the Karnak sculptures. None the less, not a single ruin of Ramesside date appears to have been identified as yet. M. Cledat has just published an account of a Ramesside fortress recently discovered by him between the Bitter Lakes and Suez, and this affords an admirable notion of what the contemporary fortresses on the Kantareh-Rafa road may have been like. The newly discovered building was a square tower about 15 m. on each side, doubtless with cronellated walls; the first storey was probably lighted by one or more windows. The interior was divided into three portions by long walls parallel to the entrance-door; the hindermost of these contained a chapel with sculptured scenes and hieroglyphic texts. But to return to the Kantareh-Gaza road. After leaving Kantareh there is no town or even village worthy of the name until El-Arish is renched. This, which is now a town of some 4000 inhabitants, appears to have been in Gracco-Roman times the frontier-station of Rhinocorum, a place that owes its name to the fact that prisoners docked of their noses were sent thither for penal servitude, just as they were sent to Thel in the time of Haremhab. Beyond El-Carish the descrt-character of the landscape begins to disappear, gradually giving place to meadows and arable land. Rafa is the present Syro-Egyptian frontier, but consists now of little more than a few muci-huts. The railway from Kantareh runs at the present time as far as Dêr el-Bela, only a little distance beyond which lies the famous Philistine city of Gaza.

There seem good grounds for believing that the Kantareh-Rafa road was used by the Egyptians approaching Palestine, no less than by the Palestinian Syrians approaching Egypt, from time immemorial. A trace of the earliest Dynastic period has been found in some very ancient pots with incised hieroglyphic Horns banners which were discovered by M. Clédat at El-Beda, not far from Bir en-Nusse. But still more significant testimony to the great age of the road is provided by the name & Ways-of-Horus, Sinuhe, B. 242; Pop. Petrograd 1116 A, rocto, 89; Ways-of-Horus, Village & Urkunden, IV, 237; MARIETE, Dendera, Vol. II, Pl. 39d; Rulletin de l'Inst. Franç., Vol. XI, p. 31, that was given to the place later called Thel, i.e. Tell Abu Sefelt mear Kantarche; this name can only signify that the locality to which it refers was an important station upon the road employed by the living Horas, i.e. the reigning Pharach, for his victorious marches abroad. The name 'Ways-of-Horus' is probably for older than the texts in which it is first encountered. By the time of the Herakleopolitan Dynasties 'Ways of-Horus' was already a garrison-town, if we may trust the 'Instruction of King Akhthoy 'contained in the abovequoted Petrograd papyrus: 'I drove in my (?) mooring-post in a region that I made to the sust of the boundaries of Hbn (!) at Way(s)-of-Horus, equipped with townsmen, and filled with people of the best of the entire land, in order to repet the arms of ..... Again, the exile Simula in the well-known tale returns to Egypt via Ways-of-Horns': Then came this

2 Annales die Service, Vol. XIII. pp. 115-121.

I Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Vol. XVI, pp. 208-212. Also a brief sezount by Mr Offord in Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, October 1919, pp. 175-7.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Wiest-He was synonymous with That was proved by means of two passages in the temple of Domlerch by Engas, Zeitschr. f. agypt. Sprache, Vol. xLIII (1906), pp. 72-3.

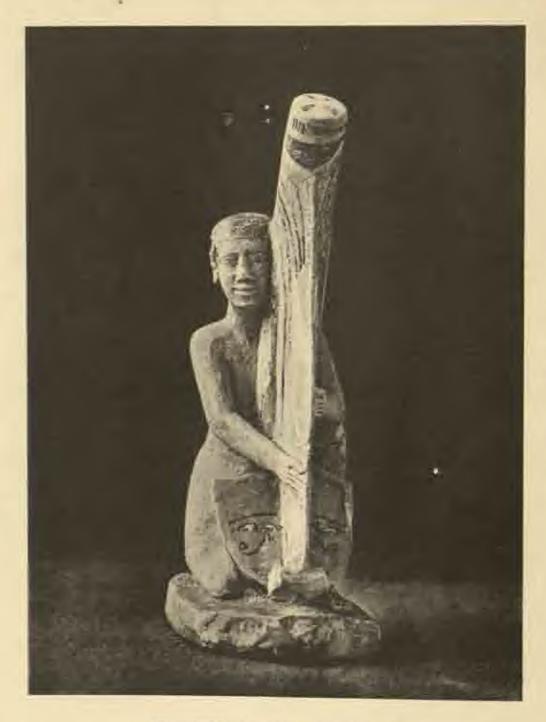
humble serious southward and halted at Ways of Horns. The commander who was there in charge of the frontier-patrol sent a trusty head-fowler of the Palace, having with him shaps laden with presents of the Royal bounty for the Asiatics that had come with me to conduct me to Ways-of-Horns.....Then I set out and sailed, until I reached the town of Ithtone' From the last passage it emerges, as it does also from a letter in Pap. Anastasi V cited above', that the region of Memphis was accessible by water from Kantarch; perhaps vessels could cross a portion of Memzalch and join the Buhastite river somewhere near Daphuse.

It is unnecessary to do more, in conclusion, than allude to the fact that not only Sethos I, but also Tuthmosis III and Ramesses II are known from documentary evidence to have used Thel as the point of departure for their expeditions to Syria. For other Pharaohs than these, both earlier and later, positive evidence is not forthcoming; here, however, the probabilities may serve as sufficient testimony. There can be little or no doubt but that the road from El-Kantarch to Gaza ria Rafa has witnessed the marches of nine-tenths of the armies that have sought to invade Palestine from Egypt, or Egypt from Palestine, along the land-route.

See p. 106.

Tothmusia III, see Sarna, Urkanden ty, 647; Romesses II, see this Journal, Vol. v. p. 179, no. 2. For further information with regard to Thal see op. cit., Vol. v. pp. 242-4. For a search of Romesses II, now at Moscow, recording the "establishment (grg) of Thel," see Turkeff, Egyptological Notes, vi in Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale du Sciences, 1915, p. 611.





STATUETTE IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM

# NOTE ON THE STATUETTE OF A BLIND HARPER IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM

By PROFESSOR GEORGE A REISNER

THE figure of a blind harper reproduced in Plates XIV-XV is of white limestone painted in the usual conventional colours. It was found by the Harvard-Boston expedition on March 11, 1913, in tomb S.F. 132 at Sheikh Farag, the northernmost of the cemeteries at Naga ed-Dêr. The find was recorded under Reg. No. 13-3-205.

The Sheikh Farag cemetery is on the high bluff marked "Sheikh" to the left of the general map, Reisner, Naga ed-Dár, Vol. 1, Pl. 70. The ground between this site and that of cemeteries N-3500 and N 4000 (see Mace, Naga ed-Dár, Vol. 11, p. 48) was occupied by a continuous series of badly plundered rock-tombs. Thus Sheikh Farag was clearly a part of the Naga ed-Dár site. The cemetery extends up the slope of the hill east of the Sheikh and over the next bluff to the south, marked "25" on the map. The total number of graves located was two hundred and twenty. Of these, S.F. 5 on bluff "25" was duted to the Twelfith Dynasty by half of a bivalve shell inscribed with a cartouche containing the name "Sesostris" (Senwesret). S.F. 217, on the hill-side to the east, contained a stella dated to year 30 of Amenemmes III. But many of the graves were clearly previous in date to the Twelfith Dynasty, reaching back to the Ninth or Tenth in types of grave pottery, beads and scarabs. A few graves may have been still earlier. The pottery of the grave S.F. 217, dated to Amenemmes III, was about the latest in type found in the cemetery.

The grave S.F. 132 on the southern bluff ("25") was of a type very common before the Twelfth Dynasty. Assloping descent, 325 cm. long, led to a rock-cut chamber about 300 cm. square, which served as a burial-chamber. The roof was broken down and the interior had been plundered. Among the rubbish near the floor there were a few beads, a small alabaster jar, this statuette of a harper, and several pottery vessels, namely a tall pot-stand, a small globular pot, and a tall hes-vase, all of ordinary red ware. The pottery was earlier in date than that of S.F. 217 (Amenemmes III). In my judgment it is previous in date to the Twelfth Dynasty.

The harper has his eyes closed and is manifestly blind. He is coloured brownish yellow with black hair parts and white skirt. The harp is brownish yellow with red, black and white markings, the strings being red. The base is red. The small vertical red dashes just under the upper edge of the skirt seem to indicate the puckering due to the pull of the drawstring. The shape of the harp, the attitude of the harper sitting on one foot, the position of the bands in playing, and the blindness of the harper, add to the interest of the figure, but the workmanship is only mediocre, as is usual in the servant-figures of the Old Empire as well as those of the Middle. The height of the figure is 18 cm.

It is of considerable interest to note the manner in which the attitude of the blind harper is reproduced in the Old Empire reliefs. In the tomb of Ukh I at Mår, as shown in Blackman's photographs A 10 and B 50 of the E.E.F. series, a blind harper is shown sitting on one foot in a nearly impossible position. It is clear that his knee was turned outwards

as in our figure. The harp has the same form and the lower part is represented as turned at right-angles to the true form in order to show the front of the body of the harp. The strings in this relief were probably painted in red on the background and have now disappeared. The fingers are shown in characteristic positions twanging the strings, instead of in the stiff position of the fingers in the figure. In other Old Empire representations, as in the Sakkåreh relief in Grebaut, Musée égyptien, Vol. 1, Pl. XXVI, the base of the harp is correctly shown in profile, but the position of the left leg of the harper is shown as in the relief at Mêr. This manner of representing the left leg was used in the reliefs all through the Old and Middle Empires. The representations of harpers given by DAVIES, Sheikh Said, Pl. X, and Deir of Gebrāwi, Vol. 1, Pl. VIII, have the base of the harp turned to the front. At Dêr el-Gebrāwi, the harpers lean forward as if the left arm were through between the strings and the pillar of the harp.

The two harpers in the wooden model found by Quibell in the tomb of Karenen of the Middle Empire at Sakkareh (see Quibell, Excavations at Saqqarah, 1906-1907, Pl. XVI) have the same attitude and the same style of harp as our figure. The wall pictures of harpers in the Middle Empire show both female and male players in the traditional attitude

(see NEWBERRY, Beni Hasan, Vol. 1, Pl. XII, and Vol. II, Pl. IV).

In the New Empire, the harper sits with both feet doubled under him, see especially Davies. El Amarna, Vol. 1, Pls. XXI and XXIII. But he often plays in a standing position. Female players are more frequent, and are shown in the same attitudes as the males and also sitting on pillows; see Davies, El Amarna, Vol. vi. Pl. XXVIII. and Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, ed. Biacu, Vol. 1, pp. 435 foll.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE: BY THE EDITOR.

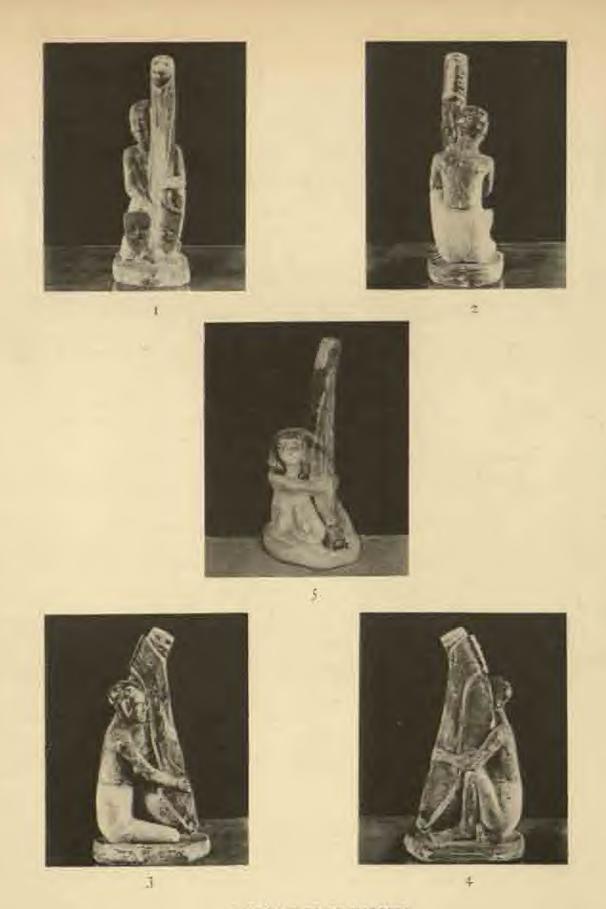
In view of the great rarity of statuettes of harpers, it has been thought desirable to re-publish here one which belonged to the late Mr H. Martyn Kennard and was disposed of at the Sale of his collection in 1912. By the kindness of Mesars Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge we are permitted to reproduce this object, which was figured in the illustrated edition of the Sale-catalogue, Pl. II; Mr George Day was good snough to assist us in tracking down the original negative, for the loan of which we are deeply indicated to the courtesy of the London Stereoscopic Company, Ltd.

The Martyn Kennard statuette (Pi. XV, centre) differs from that discussed by Professor Reimar not only in the femaline sex of the harper, but also in the smallness of the size; whereas the Naga ed-Dêr figure is 18 cm. in height, this figure amasures only 12 cm. We have nothing to add to the description

given in the Sale-estalogue, which results as follows:-

\*51. A small Figure of a Woman seated on the ground and playing a large horp; in sandstone, with colouring in red and black: 44 in. high; a very intecesting and rare piece."

For the remains of actual wooden harps, Professor Reisner sends us the following references: Middle Kingdom, Garstano, Burial Customs, p. 154, Figs. 152-3; New Kingdom, Quinett. Executions of Supports, 1900-1907, Pl. XXXIII, with p. 78.



## STATUETTES OF HARPERS

1.5.3.4. Statuette in the Cairo Moseum. Height 18 cm.
5. Statuette forwards in the Martyn Kennard Collection. Height 12 cm.



# BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT A. PAPYRI (1915-1919)

#### BY H. IDRIS BELL M.A.

In concluding the last instalment of this bibliography I expressed the hope that it might be the last to be published under conditions of war. The hope was realized, but in a manner very different from that of which I thought. The war went im; it was the bibliography that censul. Even yet, when this article goes to the printer (Oct. 1919), communications are slow and difficult; but conditions have so far improved that an effort can be made to resume the Report on the literature of Gracco-Roman Egypt. It is true that even now the task is far from easy. The British Museum's files of foreign periodicula, in particular (curiously enough) of those published in certain allied and neutral countries, are still seriously incomplete. and much of my work has necessarily, owing to limited leasure, had to be done somewhat hurriedly. But the kindness of friends has been such as in large measure to make up for these difficulties. Prof. Grenzelle has not only supplied me with many references, but has given an descriptions of some items not accessible to me or has lent me the publications themselves. To Mr M. N. Top I ows a number of other useful references. Mr N. H. Baynes and Dr Alax H. Gardinen have lent me books or periodicals; and Prof. Roszovrany has supplied a few additional references. Lastly, I have derived much assistance from two multished bibliographies, that of the Scurda Papirologica of Milan and that of Wesselt in his Studies? to which reference may conveniently be made here. That of the Schola Papirologica is particularly wallarranged and handy to use. I must add that the dates 1915-1919 given above are somewhat misleading; I have had the apportunity of examining some publications of 1914 not accessible to me when I compiled my last Report, and on the other hand have been able to see only a few publications of 1916 and those only of the earlier part of the year. But it seemed better to notice all items seen up to the moment of writing than to terminate my review with the end of 1918. Doubtless my list of references even for 1918 is seriously incomplete.

#### L NEW PUBLICATIONS OF LITERARY TEXTS.

As usual we owe to the Egypt Exploration Society the principal item under this head. Part XIII of the Oxyrhynekus Papyris, like Parts v and XI, consists entirely of literary or theological texts, and while it contains none so lengthy as certain papyri in Part v, it can certainly rank among the most cotable volumes of the series. Among the theological texts a third century fragment of a new recension of Tobit. which the editors regard as an earlier form of the BA recension, a third-burth century fragment of Acts showing (an interesting phonomenon in an Egyptian MS: affinities with the Old Latin text, and a fourth century leaf of the Shepherd of Hermus are the most notable; to them we may add a homily on the wickedness of women (see below), and one on spiritual warfare, both of some interest. The classical texts are more important. Pride of place is held by the fragments of the dithyrambs of Pindar, which are and only of special value as adding to our scanty knowledge of this side of the poet's work, but make, in the magnificent opening of the second dithyramb, "For the Thebans," a noteworthy addition to the stock of Greek lyrical poetry. The wonderful word-picture of the dithyramb in Olympus there given, the drams of the Great Mother, the torches and the frenziod Nainds, the hissing snakes of Pallas's aegis, and the lions of "lonely Artemis," is worthy to be set beside that of the music of Apollo's lyre in the first Pythian. A simall frequent attributed with great probability to the Micropies of Menander is of interest chiefly as belong to identify a fragment published by Wilamowitz (see below). More important than this are the

<sup>4</sup> J. E. A., m (1916), pp. 129-138.

<sup>\*</sup> Hibliografia metodica del papiri e degli atudi agiziani in Studi della sc. pap., It. Accord. scient. lett. in Milano, 1917, pp. 249—284.

<sup>4</sup> Literatur der Papyruskunde 1913-1917 in Stud. 2. Pal. and Pap., 17 (1917), pp. 54-68.

<sup>\*</sup> Edited by B. P. Guestent, and A. S. Hust. Part and, 1919. Pp. 205, 6 plates.

fairly extensive fragments of a roll containing some new orations of Lyana. A four amount of two speeches, note 'Involupage and Against Theomostus, is preserved; from four to six speeches in all are represented. Another papyrus contains portions of ton columns of a speech, perhaps by Hyperides (or assigned to him), on behalf of Lycophron. More interesting than these oratorical fragments, and indeed of considerable importance, are the remains of a Socratio dialogue, Alvibiades, by Asserbines Socrations, valuable as subting evidence from a new quarter for the character and dialoctical method of Socrates. Of the remaining new texts the most noteworthy are some tragments, not large, but valuable for the evidence they bring as to the methods of Diodopus and for their possible bearing on the rexed question of the amburship of the Hellenica Organization, which are almost certainly from the history of Ephorus (they show that Diodorus copied Ephorus slavishly and give some support to the view that Ephorus was the author of the Hell. Org.); and an interesting cration on the cult of Caesar, showing an anexpected boldness and independence of view.

Among the fragments of extant works, one of four columns from the Olympian odes of Pindar is a novelty, the extant epinician odes having hitherto best conspicuous by their absence in Egyptian papyri; the text is very close to that of the best MSS. The drama is represented by fragments of the Ajar, the Orester, and the Planes; and a welcome item, pending the publication of the fragments found at Antimopolis by Johnson, is night columns from a lifth century codex of Theoretius, of some importance for lift 15. Some fairly extensive fragments of Herodotus show a good text, and Thursdides is represented by fragments of four different MSS, one of them containing not the work as a whole but a collection of the speeches. The remaining two MSS, are from Plato, Protagoras, and Aeschines, In Oresiphontem (of some textual importance).

Interesting reviews of this volume have appeared in the (English) dihenceum) by J. T. Sherrand and in the Times Literary Supplement. The only articles I have so far soon on single texts are one by A. Carneauxi on the new Pindar fragments, one by A. Carneauxi on the housily against women referred to above (P. Oxy. 1803), which she has necessised in identifying as from the sermon of Pseudo-Chrysostom, In Decoll, S. Joan, Bapt., Migne, Patr. Gr. 59, 487 ff. 4, and one by Remon Harris on the same identification, reprinting the text, and giving some additional notes by Greafell<sup>4</sup>.

The shief publication of new literary texts after the Oxyrhynchus volume is one by WILAMOWITZ in the Proceedings of the Prossian Academy. This is a collection of miscellaneous pastical fragments; they are: (1) Tyrtaeus (P. Berol, 11675), some fragments of vartourage, of the second half of the third century sic., of annie interest. There are three fragments, but only one column can be restored with any great probability. The papyrus was first copied by Louen; (2) An elegac poem of the Hellenistic period (" time of Eratosthenes") from a papyrus in the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek. The seese is not averywhere clear, but there is a question of the desputch of an ambassador to the Galatinus, his return and a speech to the king, whom Wilamowitz regards as probably a Salescont but possibly a Ptolemy or an Ausgemid; (3) Homer's glosses from the Berlin Ostr. 12605; third cent. a.c.; (4) A collection of "elegant extracts" from Euripides, Theogras, Homer, Hestod, and unknown sources, probably a writing exercise, from Ostr. 12319; third cent [apparently a.c., though this is not definitely stated]; (5) Fragment of a commity belonging to the Middle Comedy, the authorship being by Wilamowitz conjecturally assigned to Alexia; from P. Berol. 11771 (cartomage, third sent, [n.c.]); (6) Fragment of a New Connedy play, P. Burol. 132c1, of the third cent of our em. Wilamowitz beaves the anthorship uncertain; though he points out a conneidence with the Missaparan, and as Grenfell and Hunt remark in their introduction to P. Oxy. xiii 1605, the fragment is probably to be assigned to that play . (7) Some not very important scholls on Pindar. Pyth. 2, from P. Berol, 13410 verso, of the third fourth cant . (8) An epigram of Meleager, Anth. Pal. r 152, from P. Barol 10571. A short article on this collection of tests by J. U. Powell, makes some suggestions for readings or correction.

- 4 Apr. 16, 1919, pp. 201-202.
- 2 1919, probably March or early in April, but I are unable to give an exact reference.
- Nuori tessi di Pindaro recentemente scopceti, in Nuova Antologia, 16 Apr. 1919, pp. 8-8.
- Francount di un' modific specia del Originationa riconosciuto pel P. Osy. 1603 eccosion sute pubblicato, in Rend. R. Ist. Lomb. di Sc. a Lett. 53, 1919, pp. 292—296.
- 4 An Unidentified Papyrus in the New Grychpuchus Volume, in Bull, of the John Bylands Library, 5 (1919), pp. 550-7.
- \* Stizungaber, d. Kim. Preurs, Akad, d. Wiss., 1918, 34-36. pp. 728-151; Dichterfragmente am der Papprusmonitung der Kyl. Museen.
  - 7 On the New Fragments of Greek Postey recently published at Berlin, in Class. Review, 34, 1919, pp. 50-91.

In the same publication appear two other new literary texts. The first is an interesting account, in Ionic dialect, of the siege of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorectes in a.c. 304, edited by Hillen v. Gaunthiors from a papyrus in the Königliche Museen. The editor regards it, appearently with reason, so the author's original draft of the work; the date is the second century. A good photographic facsimile is added. The second\* is a musical papyrus of a very noteworthy kind, also in the Kön. Museen (Pap. 6870 verso) second-third century), edited by Schubart. Unlike the other extant papyri with musical notes, this one does not consist of a complete poem with music but of extracts, the object being apparently to give specimens of music. Schubart recognizes distinct instrumental parts in many lines, and both as an example of musical notation and for the light which it throws (or may throw) on Greek music the papyrus is of considerable importance. Schubart, recognizing that a complete elucidation of the many problems presented by this papyrus calls for a specialist in musical history, contents himself with publishing the text, with a minimum of commentary, and with a good photograph. A. Terrarrance has published a volume which appears (though I have not seen it) to refer to this papyrus?

The worthy Dioscorus of Aphrodito, great as is our debt to him for the many interesting documents be left us, can hardly be regarded as a poet; but since his verses belong, in a formal sense, to the genus literature, we have to include them in this section. The third volume of the late Jean Massen's Cairo callabous contains several additions to the specimens we already possess of his peculiar talent. They are chiefly of the same genre as the others (encount, an epathalamion); but there is one novelty in the shape of a poem on the subject of Achilles (67316 verse, 1—8), headed zion in sing his/out 'Ayokaris involvesian dai ris Hologicism'; this here seems to have been a favourite with Dioscorus, for elsewhere (67353 verse) are the headings of two other poems (the poems themselves are illegible) concerned with him; in the second he was represented as calling on Thatis to halp him.

Viruiti has lately published a poetical fragment consisting of parts of eighteen tamble lines, evidently from a dialogue in a tragedy, which Vitelli inclines to date in the earlier period of the Attie drams, before (say) s.c. 420.

Rather more interesting, because of a more nevel kind, than the foregoing is a fragment of a metrical work on the miracles of Sarapis, published, from P. Berol. 10526, by A. Aurt. The editor regards the poem as belonging to the early Hellenistic period, when the cult of Sarapis was first being propagated, its object being in fact to "boost" the new deity. A facsimile is given. I have a reference to a work by O. Watnamen which probably refers, intervalia, to this papyrus?

In an article dealing with his recent work and future plans! Grenfell publishes, from an ostracon, one of a collection given by Saxez to the Bodleian, a rather interesting epigram, put into the mouth of a hune Spartan soldier. The estrucon is of the late first cent. s.c.; the text seems to be a writing exercise.

Vol. 4 of PSL\*, which, with this exception, comsists entirely of non-literary texts, contains may liberary morsel (fourth-fifth cent.), three namble lines of a sententions character. The cilitors leave the question of the authorship open.

The following volume is also contains one literary text, a leaf from a late (much tenth cent.) vellum MS, containing a portion of the 32nd discourse of S. Gregory Nazianzen. As the works of the Fathers have hitherto been but poorly represented among Greek papyri this fragment is very welcome, late as it is.

A. BHINKMANN has published a fragment of a florilegium of yvolum from a Berlin papyrus (7426); and Schubarr publishes , with a facsimile, a rather interesting mathematical papyrus containing geometrical and stereometrical problems, probably of the school of Heron of Alexandria. The data is the second century.

- <sup>4</sup> Ana der Belagerung von Rhodos 30s v. Chr., in Stepeber, if. Klin. Presse. Akad. el. Wiss., 1918, 34-36, pp. 752-762.
  - \* Ibid., pp. 763-768, Ein griechischer Papyrus mit Noton,
  - 1 Tekmessa Phan; Nach einem Pappeus mit griechischen Noten, Liopnig, Breithopt u. Hartel, 1919, M. 1.50.
  - \* Papyrus grees d'époque byzantine, in. 1916. See below, § 1.
  - \* Trimetri Tragici, in Revue Egyptologique, N. S., 1 (1919), pp. 47-49.
  - \* Ein Bruchstick einer Sarapii-Aretologis, in Archie f. Religiouswess., 18 (1915), pp. 257-298.
  - 7 New Urkunden zur Sarapitreligion. Tühingen, Mahr, 1919 (?). M. 2 30%
  - New Papyri from Oxyrhyschus, in J. E. A., 5 (1918), pp. 16—23. For the spigram see p. 16 t.
  - Soc. Bal, p. l. r. d. Pap., Papiri Greei e Latini ev, 1917. See below, 2 8.
  - 1 Do, v. 1917. See below, § S.
  - H Litekenbüsser (25), in Rheinisches Minenm f. Phil., N. F., 71 (1916), pp. 581-584.
  - 12 Mathematische Infonties auf Pappress, in Antl. Ber. aus d. Kine. Konstanumi., 37 (1916); pp. 162-170.

In a volume of papyras texts from the Basel collection | published by E. Ranga and consisting mainly

of "documents," are included one theological and one astrological fragment.

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#### 2. REPUBLICATIONS OF LITERARY TEXTS, MONOGRAPHS, ARTICLES, ETC.

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V. Marris, whose appointment to the chair vacated by Nicota at Geneva will have been welcomed by all papyrologists as continuing the traditions established by his predecessor, has published his inaugural lecture, which deals, in a very interesting manner, with the evidence of papyri as to the soundness or otherwise of the present methods of treating the texts of ancient Classics, which he thinks are in the main justified by the new discoveries

Schuratt, in an extremely interesting and (from the point of view of Kulturgeschichte) weful article, afterwards, in the main, incorporated in his introduction to papyrology<sup>4</sup>, summarizes the sydence furnished by the finds of literary papyri as to the state of culture and the comparative popularity of various authors and styles of composition in these parts of Egypt from which papyri have come down to us<sup>3</sup>. He writes with great caution, and strongly emphasizes the danger of building any large or very degnatio conclusions on such fortuitous evidence. The warning is quite justified; but none the less there is a good deal to be learned along the lines indicated by him, and his article is a valuable guide to a subject which will offer increasing possibilities as the stock of published papyri grows.

In two separate articles dealing respectively with the Had and the Odyssey 6, G. M. Bolling examines the MS, evidence on the question of interpolated lines with a view to fixing the "minuscule vulgate" and the "papyrus vulgate" and the relation between them. This method, he concludes, helps to determine the late origin of a number of interpolations which, occurring in the minuscule but not in the papyrus vulgate, must be later than the papyrus period. The results are not entirely similar for the two posinis, but are in general agreement. W. Mülling, however, in a review pronounces strongly against Bolling's theory.

P. Collage points out that the fragments of the Iliad in P. Oxy, xr 1290 identified by the editor as from xr 526-8, 566-9, 597-602, 634-641, which therefore appear to show curious deviations from the

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1 Papyrmurkunden der Offentl, Bibl, d. Unie, an Basel. See below, 4 3,

- \* The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freet Collection, Part II: The Washington MS of the Psalme, by Henry A. Sanders. New York, Macmillan Co. 1917. Six plates. The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freet Collection, Part II: The Washington MS, of the Epictles of Paul, same editor and publisher. 1918. Three planes.
  - 2 Les manuscrits antiques des classiques prece et la methode philologique. Genève, Albert Kundig, 1919.

I See below, § 5.

- Pappronfunde und griechische Literatur, in Internationale Monateschrift f. Wiss., Kunst n. Technik, S. 10711 (1914), pp. 2—63.
- The Latest Expansions of the Illud and The Latest Expansions of the Odgress, in Am. Journ. of Philol., 37 (1916), pp. 1-30 and 452-458.

Zu den Homerpapyri, m. Beri. Phil. Woch., 36 (1916), cola, 1281—1287.

- Momère et Baschylide dans les Papyrus d'Oxyrhynchos, in Rev. de Phil., N. S., 42 (1918), pp. 42-46.
- Di un aspetto poco unto del mito di Karopa, in Studi d. se, pap.,... in Milano, 2 (1917), pp. 102-106.
- <sup>10</sup> Di due popiri di Gryrhynchus, in Mem. R. Accod. di Nopoli, 3, pp. 117—126; referred to in Rasseyan ital, di lingu. v lett. class., 1 (1918), p. 94.

me only from a reference elsewhere. The following papyras, 1359, which Grenfell and Hunt identified as also from the Catalogue, is regarded by C. Robert as part of a separate spin, which he calls Atlantis. He makes various suggestions for new readings.

Another epic fragment which may also be Hessodic, that in PSL tt 131, is the subject of an article by H. G. Everys White, who refers it to the subject of Amphiarans;

There is not a great deal to chronicle as regards the fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus since my last Report; but J. M. Epwones has continued to occupy himself with them and loss published four articles on the addicat, making umple restorations and suggestions for new readings. O. Exhaumanor has published a German verse translation, under the title "Entsagung," of Sappho's beautiful Ode in Berl. Klaudiertexte v 2, p. 4 ff.

L. BIANCHI<sup>2</sup> deals in an elaborate article with Corinna, naturally paying special attention to the Berlin fragments. In a short note on the same poetess<sup>2</sup> G[DSTAV] V[OLLUBAFF] explains the word May in the Ode on Holicon and Cithaeron, f. 27, as = encounce, the summit of Cithaeron, quoting in support two Cretan inscriptions; the word is properly Fonce.

The new Pindar fragment in P. Oxy. XIII noticed above will doubtless evoke much discussion, but in the period dealt with I have noticed but one item (except that already referred to in § 1) dealing with this poet: a rendering of some of the fragments in Italian verse by E. Royausour. These translations were prepared as part of Romagnoll's complete translation of Pindar's Odes but were published separately pending the appearance of the volume. They include translations of several recently discovered fragments.

A new Italian edition of Bacchylides by N. Fesra, with a translation, is known to me only by a review. According to the reviewer it is not a mere revision of the 1898 edition but substantially a new work. This post is the subject of an important article by A. Konte?, who deals both with his life and with his works as recovered from the papers, particularly the new fragments in P. Oxy, viii 1991 and xi 1361. He gives a new reading, from a squeeze, of the Cean List of Victors (IG. xir 5, 608). His article falls into three sections, viz.; 1. Die beische Siegerliste. 2. Die assess Fragments. 3. Die Lebenswit des Dichters (not more than two or three years différence in age between Bacchylides and Pimbar).

P. Collar also writes on P. Oxy. 1361% in an interesting section of an article divided between this and the Homer papyrus already referred to. He translates both the new scolla of Bacchylides and the extent scolla of Pindar, comparing and contrasting, very happily, the genius of the two poets, and adding some general remarks on the scolon as a literary gener. Bacchylides figures again in an article of R. Jouki, P., who, a propos of the reference to Coos and its legend in Callimachus's story of Acontins and Cydippe in the Acta (P. Oxy. vii 1011), asset he allusions to it in the first Ode of Bacchylides to cloudate the myth of Mines and Davidea; and finally, D. Arrenti has published an Italian verse translation of Ode x (or xi)<sup>12</sup>, with a brief introduction.

Apart from the article just referred to, Callimachus has received a good deal of attention. The striking Astis fragment in P. Oxy xi 1362 is discussed in a long and interesting article by I. Malten's; K. Kurer devotes an article of some importance to the story of the Cup of Balhyales's as treated in the lambi in P. Oxy, vii 1011; Sr. Wirkowski in a discussion of the Berlin Callimachus fragments published by Wilamowitz in the Sitzangsberichte of the Berlin Academy (1912, p. 524 ff., P. Berol. 13417, and 1914.

- 1 Eine spinche Atlantis, in Hermes, 52 (1917), pp. 477-9,
- 3 Note on Papari Green v Latina No. 131, in Class. Quarterly, 1917, pp. 50-51.
- The New Lyric Fragments, in Class. Beriev, 1916, pp. 97—107; The Berlin Sappho Again, ibid. pp. 129—133; The Berlin Aberdeen Alcaeus Again, ibid. 1917, pp. 33—30; The Berlin Mouras Again, ibid. pp. 9—11.
  - 4 Woch, f. klass, Philol., 33 (1916), col. 838.
  - Corinna, in Stuff Ital, di Fil. (Tass., 21 (1915), pp. 223—279.
  - Ad Corismum, in Manuscrype, N. S., 43 (1915), p. 318.
  - 2 I Fremmenti di Pimbaro tradutti, in Athenneum (Pavia), 5 (1917), pp. 263-284.
- \* Birchillde, Od) s Franssenti, Finnza, Sansoni Editors, 1916-17. Reviewed by F. R. in Atens s Roma, 21 (1918), pp. 53-55.

  \* Bacchylidea, in Hermes, 53 (1918), pp. 113-147.
  - <sup>30</sup> Homers et Bacchyide, in Rev. de Phil., 42 (1918), pp. 18-51.
- <sup>11</sup> Zu den "Aitia" der Kallimarhen und dem craten Galicht des Barchylides, in Wiener Studien, 37 (1915), pp. 142-156.
  - 13 Bucchillde x (xt), in Atome e Romm, 19 (1916), pp. 133-136.
  - 15 Kin neuve Hruchstück aus den dittin des Kallimaches, in Hecmes, 53 (1918), pp. 149-179.
  - 14 Le Récit de la Compe de Bathyelès dons les lambes de Callimaque, in Rev. d. ét. gr., 26 (1916), pp. 404-429.

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1 Papprungkunden der Offentl, Bibl. d. Univ. zu Band. Sen below, & a.

- The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection, Part II. The Washington MS, of the Poulus, by Henry A. Sanders. New York, Manuellian Co. 1917. Six plates. The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection, Part II; The Washington MS, of the Epistles of Paul, same editor and publisher. 1918. Three plates.
  - 1 Les manmorits antiques des classiques grece et la méthods philologique. Genden, Albert Enmlig, 1919,

4 See lalow, & 5.

- 4 Papprusfunds and griechische Literatur, in Internationals Manutoschrift f. Wisc., Kunit u. Technik, 8, 10/11 (1914), pp. 2—63.
- \* The Latest Expansions of the Iliad and The Latest Expansions of the Odyssey, in Am. Jones. of Philol., 37 (1916), pp. 1—30 and 452—458.

<sup>1</sup> Zu den Hamerpupperi, in Berl. Phil. Woch., 30 (1916), cols. 1281-1287,

- \* Homber et Bacchullde dans les Papprin'd Orgehynchen, in Rev. de Phil., N. S., 42 (1918), pp. 42-46.
- \* Id un aspetto peco noto del mito di Europa, in Studi d. sc. pap...in Milano, 2 (1917), pp. 108-106.
- Di dus paperi di Ozyrhynchus, in Mem. R. decad. di Napoli, 8, pp. 117—138; referred to in Rassopsa ital. di lingu, e lett. class., 1 (1918), p. 94.

me only from a reference elsewhere. The following papyrns, 1359, which Grenfell and Hunt identified as also from the Catalogue, is regarded by C. Rossav as part of a separate opic, which he calls Atlantis's. He makes various anguestions for new readings.

Another epie fragment which may also be Hesiodic, that in PSL II 131, is the subject of an article by H. G. Everxx White, who refers it to the subject of Amphiarans.

There is not a great deal to chronicle as regards the fragments of Sappho and Alexens since my last Report; but J. M. Komonos has continued to occupy himself with them and has published four articles on the subject, making ample restorations and suggestions for new readings?. O. Engetheaux has published a German verse translation, under the title "Entsagung," of Sappho's beautiful Ode in Berl. Klassikertexts v 2, p. 4 ff.

L. Branchi's deals in an elaborate article with Corinna, naturally paying special attention to the Berlin fragments. In a short note on the same postess' O[texav] V[ouldmarr] explains the word slice in the Ode on Helicon and Cithaeron, I. 27, as accommon, the samunit of Cithaeron, quoting in support two Cretan inscriptions; the word is properly Fain.

The new Pindar fragment in P. Oxy, xiii noticed above will doubtless avoke much discussion, but in the period dealt with I have noticed but one item (except that already referred to in § 1) dealing with this poet; a rendering of some of the fragments in Italian verse by E. Romanouri. These translations were prepared as part of Romagneli's complete translation of Findar's Odes but were published separately pending the appearance of the volume. They include translations of several recently discovered fragments.

A new Italian edition of Bacchylides by N. Festa, with a translation, is known to me only by a review? According to the reviewer it is not a mere revision of the 1898 edition but substantially a new work. This poet is the subject of an important article by A. Könrus, who deals both with his life and with his works as recovered from the paper, particularly the new fragments in P. Oxy. viii 1091 and xi 1361. He gives a new reading, from a squeeze, of the Cean List of Victors (IG. xii 5, 608). His article falls into three sections, vix.: 1. Die beische Singerliete. 2. Die neuen Fragmente. 3. Die Lebenseit des Dichters (not more than two or three years difference in ago between Bacchylides and Findar).

P. Collar also writes on P. Oxy. 1361 to in an interesting section of an article divided between this and the Homer papyrus already referred to. He translates both the new scolia of Esochylides and the extant scolia of Pindar, comparing and contrasting, very happily, the genins of the two poets, and adding some general remarks on the scolion as a literary gence. Bacchylides figures again in an article of R. Jocke II, who, a propos of the reference to Coos and its legend in Callimachus's story of Acontins and Cydipps in the Astro (P. Oxy. vii 1011), uses the allusions to it in the first Ode of Bacchylides to elucidate the myth of Mines and Dexithes: and finally, D. Augusta has published an Italian verse translation of Ode x (or xi)<sup>11</sup>, with a brief introduction.

Apart from the article just referred to, Callinnachus has received a good deal of attention. The striking Astis fragment in P. Oxy, xt 1362 is discussed in a long and interesting article by L. Maltrey in K. Kutern devotes an article of some importance to the story of the Cap of Bathyeles is a treated in the Innahi in P. Oxy, vn 1011; St. Wirkowaxi in a discussion of the Berlin Callinnachus fragments published by Wilamowitz in the Sitzaugsberichts of the Berlin Academy (1912, p. 524 ff., P. Berol. 13417, and 1914.

- 1 Eine epische Atlantis, in Herove, 52 (1917), pp. 177-9.
- 2 Note on Popiri Greei e Latini No. 131, in Class. Quarterly, 1917, pp. 50-51.
- <sup>2</sup> The New Lyric Fragments, in Class. Review, 1916, pp. 97—107; The Beelin Sopphis Again, ibid. pp. 129—183; The Berlin-Aberdem Alcaem Again, ibid. 1917, pp. 33—36; The Berlin Alcaem Again, ibid. pp. 9—11.
  - 4 Woch. J. klass. Philol., 83 (1916), col. 838.
  - Corimia, in Smill Ital, di Fil. Class., 21 (1915), pp. 223 278.
  - \* Ad Corinman, ja Mnomoryne, N. S., 43 (1915), p. 318.
  - 7 Fraumenti di Pindaro tradotti, in Athenneum (Tuviu), 5 (1917), pp. 263-284.
- \* Baechilide, (All e Francounti, Firenze, Samoni Editore, 1916-17. Reviewed by F. R. in Atens e Roma, 21 (1918), pp. 58-55.

  \*\*Bacchylides, in Hermes, 58 (1918), pp. 113-147.
  - 10 Homère et Bacchylide, in Rev. de Phil., 42 (1918), pp. 46-51.
- 3) Zu den "Aitia" des Kullimachos und dess errien Gelicht des Baschylides, in Wiener Studien, 37 (1915).
  pp. 142-156.
  - 12 Bucchillile z (x1), in Atene e Renne, 19 (1916), pp. 133-136.
  - 13 Ein nones Bruckstillek aus den Aitia des Kallimachus, in Hermes, 53 (1916), pp. 146-179.
  - 14 La Bloit de la Coupe de Buthyclès dans les lambes de Callinaque, in Rev. d. et. pr., 29 (1916), pp. 401-429.

p. 223 ff., P. Berol. (1629) suggests some new readings<sup>1</sup>, and Ins. Kare has published a Berlin dissertation<sup>2</sup> on the *Heads*. In this she collects and republishes, with notes, all the fragments (not only those derived from papers) of the poem, as well as the references to it in Greek, Latin and Byzantina literature. An index verborum is added, and there is a brief introduction of a general character.

Cercidus is the subject of an article (or rather perhaps a series of notes) by G. A. Gannano'l. Of the

four passages discussed only the last comes from the papyrus fragments (P. Oay, vir) 1082).

J. U. Powers, calls attention to the recent additions to the Greek Anthology\*, and H. Dramme has published a notest on the interesting esilor's song in P. Oxy. xi 1383. He deals mainly with metrical questions, but communicates two suggestions for readings by K. Fa. W. Schmitt.

R. A. MCLLIES discusses" the interesting, if poetically negligible, poem of Pancrates of Alexandria

contained in P. Oxy, viti 1085, making some suggestions for the filling in of lanune.

Under the heading Drama the first item to be mentioned is the Ichardae of Sophoeles, so which several notes or suggestions have been published; by G. V[onlerary] (readings for IL 33', 154 L and 200'), by J. M. Stand (note on Bierc, Il, 50, 168'), and by P. Groenebook (note on Il, 145-6'0). R. J. Walker has published a very elaborate edition, with translation, of the play ", which I have up to the present been smalle to see. To judge from reviews " it is by no means a satisfactory piece of work. M. Croher has published an article on the Croher of Europides, with special reference to the Berlin fragment ".

The Dessu of Rupulis is the subject of an article by CHR. JENSEN 14, who publishes a new and revised

text of the fragments, with a commentary, largely in justification of his readings.

Menander has, as usual, come in for a good deal of attention. The Samia is the theme of an important article by Williamowitz<sup>11</sup>, who studies the play somewhat minutely, sketches the plot, and assesses the merits of the pisce; he regards it as a "Jugenddrama" of the anther's, but invertibless holds that the dialogue shows complete mastery, and the character-drawing not less. The plot, rather obscure owing to the very imperfect state in which the play has come down to us, is also discussed by A. Konafi<sup>10</sup>, with reference to the question whether the hetaera Chrysis was or was not really a mother. He concludes that she was not, and that Demeas's conclusion that she was is to be regarded merely as an instance of that gentleman's tendency to be too "knowing" and regularly to infer the opposite of the truth J. J. Harreas, who is one of the scholars to whom the discoveries of Menander's plays have brought distillusionment, and who continues stoutly to "put his money on" Terence, compares Menander (with reference to the Samia) with his favourite, much to the former's disadvantage.

The Epitrepontas, the least incomplete of the plays, has been much discussed. A Leyden doctoral dissertation, which I know only from a brief review by K. Fil. W. Schmidth, has been devoted by B. Krulles to the arbitration scene in that play 10; and a lengthy article, also inaccessible to me at present, on the same scene has been published by J. W. Cohoon 20. I have seen several reviews of this, mostly short; reference need only be made to two, by C. Soukehler and G. Ammon 2 respectively. P. Fossalaro

- <sup>2</sup> Zu den neuen Berliner Kallimachovfragmenten, in Berl. Phil. Weelsenschr., 28 (1916), cols. 1190—1191.
- 1 Calli-machi Hecalue Fragmenta, Berlin, Mayer und Maller, 1915. Pp. 93.
- Cercidaea, in Wisser Studies, 37 (1915), pp. 1—26.
- Additions to the Greek Anthology, to Class. Beriev. 34 (1919), pp. 55-56.
- Polices duepois, in Work, f. kluss, Philol., 33 (1918), cals. 310-311.
- Zum Gedicht des Pankrates von Alexandem, in Berl. Phil. Work., 36 (1916), cals. 671—672.
- 3 Mecomygov, 43 (1915), p. 72.

\* Thid. 46 (1918), p. 37.

1 Hhein. Museum, 1915, p. 145.

- 14 Macmoryne, 44 (1916), p. 216.
- to The learnenine of Sopleadre. Burns and Outes, 1919. Pp. 35s +684. 23. 3s. ret.
- is H.g. in The Times Literary Supplement, Dec. 11, 1919, p. 728.
- <sup>12</sup> Les Crétide d' Euripide, in Ren. d. et. gr., 28 (1915), pp. 217—233.
- 14 Zu dan Domen des Eupolls, in Hermer, 51 (1916), pp. 321-354,
- n Die Samin des Mennudras, in Stepsher, d. Kon. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1916, 5, pp. 66-86.
- Einige Armerkungen eur Samin des Memmatron, in Wiener Studien, 39 (1917), pp. 18-25.
- 11 De Menmedro et Terencia Disputationenta, in Musmorgue, 48 (1918), pp. 127-134.
- 18 In Work, f. kluss, Phillipt., 35 (1918), note, 79 so.
- to Studio ad arbitrhon in Menandri Epitropontibus. Harlem, 1916. Pp. 96.
- = Rhetorical Studies in the Ashiteation Seem of Meanader's Epittepontes, in Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., 45, pp. 141-230.
  - 3 in Journal des Serunds, N. S., 14 (1916), pp. 280-283.
  - = In Revi. Phil. Work., 36 (1916), cols. 1129-1181.

compares the play with the Heyro of Terence', developing the view of Stavenhaden that Menander was treating a problem which specially interested him, the "feminest thesis" that a woman's conduct ought not to be subjected to a different standard from a man's; and he points out various analogies and dissimilarities between the Greek and the Latin play. Finally, in an article of a general character, the first of a series, G. Pasquatt discusses the art of Menander as exemplified in this play? The second article of the series referred to brings together Menander and Euripides to illustrate the rise of the New Comedy-Another general article on Menander by A. Todesco', discussing in a judicial tone the merits of his drama, finds to him two voices: "may vens idillica, sentimentals a arguia, a insieme use aforzo di rappresentatione realistics."

The Heros is the subject of a not very friendly note by J. J. Harrman's, who discusses the conversation between Davus and Geia; and the fragment in PSI, it 126 is dealt with by R. Herzon's, who suggests that It may be from the Epikleros.

Prof. Greefell gives me a reference to an article as P. Oxy. x 1235 by A. Kozrz, which, however, is inaccessible to me?

Sudmaus's Menandri Reliquine and Menanderstudies have been reviewed by F. G. Arlingge's, K. Fr. W. Schmidt's, C. O. Zuretti's, and B. Levagnint's.

The fragment PSI. 126 just referred to is the subject of a note by C. H. Moong 14, who calls attention to it, without adding anything to its elucidation or identification.

The comic fragments, other than Menander's, recovered from paptri have been collected into a volume, in Lietzmann's series of Khains Texts, by O. Schröders<sup>23</sup>. I know the volume only from reviews of it by C. Robert<sup>21</sup> (who reviews with it J. DeniaSchuk's Supplementum Comicum, Cracau, 1912) and K. Presentanz<sup>23</sup>. Apparently Schröder makes some new contributions of value to the subject. P. Oxy. III 413, the well-known papyrus which contains a flavor and mime, is studied by E. Rostraut in an article which appears to be of considerable importance but which is also, at present, inaccessible to me. The mime as a literary form is dealt with by F. Bernini in another inaccessible article ii, which the compilers of the Milan bibliography had likewise been mable to see. Lastly, F. Nenders, in a note on I. 75 of the faurth mime of Herondas<sup>13</sup>, explains the text by a reference to a passage of Synchias, "the sambra una reminiscenza del lungo in questione." I may add that O. Caustus has published a new (the fifth) and enlarged edition of his Herondas, which I have been unable to see it.

Turning now to press literature, we may take first the historians. Among those to be noticed in this Report, Thucydides claims first place. K. Hunz, in an article I have been unable to see , discusses the

- GII Epitrepontes di Menundro e l'Hecyra Terenziana, in Athenacum (Pavis), 3 (1915), pp. 305-318.
- Studt val drawna atrico. 1. Perch) s' intende l'arte di Menandro, in Atene « Roma, 20 (1917), pp. 177-189, 21 (1918), pp. 11-24.
  - <sup>5</sup> H. Manaratro of Enripide, 1654., 21 (1918), pp. 57-77.
  - \* Da Menundro alla communità classica Italiana, ibid., 10 (1916), pp. 56-59.
  - \* 4d Menandri Hetoen, in Musuuryno, 48 (1918), pp. 101-104.
  - Menunders Epsklerns, in Hormes, 51 (1916), pp. 315-316.
  - 7 In Bert. Phil. Work, 1918, cals. 787-791.
- \* In Class. Philol., 12 (1917), pp. 110-113.
- \* In Work, f. Mass. Phil., 33 (1916), onls. 313-322,
- <sup>10</sup> In Riv. ill Fil. v d' Istr. Closs., 43 (1915), pp. 365—309.
  <sup>11</sup> In Atens v Rosse, 21 (1918), pp. 50—53.
- 12 Some New Comic Fragments, in Class, Philology, 11 (1916), pp. 95-96.
- Norme Commiliar fragmenta in papyris reperta exceptis Menandreis (Kleine Terre, No. 135), Bonn, Marcum and Weber, 1915.
  - <sup>10</sup> In Gatt, yel. American, 180 (1918), pp. 161-197.
    <sup>10</sup> In Berl. Phil, Wash., 36 (1916), cols. 1292-1295.
- Engelynchos Papari III 413 in Overslat over det kat. Daniks Videnskabernes Selakubs Forhandlinger, 1915, pp. 63-107; no. Stad. v. Pap., 2 (1917), p. 267, no. 242. Reviewed e.g. by K. Paussennas in Berl. Phil. Woch., 36 (1916), eds. 651-656.
  - 10 Studi sal saimo, in Ann. R. Neurla Normale di Pira, 27 (1915); see Stud. se. Pap., 2 (1917), p. 267, no. 241.
  - " Ad Econda 1v. 75, |u. Ric, di Fil, e d' Istr. Class., 44 [1916), pp. 406-408.
- 4 Heromina minimumbi: Newly tragmouth adjectle ed. O. Crucius, Leipzig, 1914, Teubner. Pp. 158, M. S. Reviswed by Parasuspace, in Berl. Phil. Work., 36 (1915), cols. 651—656.
- Les pappyrus et le texte de l'haspilide, in Outript weer det 2pl. Danske Valenskab, Selik. Ferbandl., 1915, no. 6, pp. 579—585; see Stud. ec. Pap., 2 (1917), p. 270, no. 275. Baviewed by S. P. Winers, Bert. Phil. Work., 37 (1917), cois. 494-5.

papyrus fragments of this anthor, dealing especially with the most important of them, P. Oxy, xt 1378. Aristotle's Athennion Politica is the subject of two articles. G. Cours discusses the organization of the tribunals, as described in the last seven chapters!, and P. Foucaux makes a very plausible suggestion? for the omendation of the abscure passage usp, 62, 2, viz., that before the (at present) meaningless 8(see space) rideren the words on b' every have dropped out.

The Hellonica Oxychynchia, particularly the question of its authorship, continues to attract much attention. J. H. lavster, in an article on the works, rejects both Theopenipus (the ruling favourite in Germany, though not eisewhere) and Ephorus, and decides for Cratippus; and it is urster the mans of the latter that he has edited it in LIETZMANN'S series of Kleine Tarte! His edition, and Warston's Hellenian Oxyrhynchia are reviewed by K KALINEA", who also rejects Ephorns, and inclines, though with some lesitation, to Cratippus, and by M. Geleria, who rejects Cratippus and supports Walker's candidate, Ephorus. Lipsius, in a note, which he describes as a sort of appendix to his edition, replies to criticisms. by Keil (see below) and Kalinka. The new Oxyrhynchus fragment of Epinorus, which, as has been said above, tends to strengthen the case for Ephorus, will make it necessary to consider the whole question do amen; but Lipsius defends Cratippus against the evidence of the new fragment in a recount article.

In addition to the above publications, mention must be made of an article by B. KERL\* on certain questions of textual criticism and another by R. J. BONNER on the four senates of the Bocotinus. Bonner rejects the view of Grenfell and Hunt in the editio princeps of the Hell. Org. that the local senates controlled foreign relations, and upholds the account given by Thusydides.

The fragment of a history of Sieyon (P. Oxy. xt 1365) has been discussed by M. Lexchastes be Guernwaris, who reproduces the text with some new readings", and by V. Costanzi, who differs from the former in several respects 12; also by M. DENICOLAIS, in an article I have not seen.

To the sphere of biography belongs Satyrus's life of Europides (P. Oxy, tx 1176). H. Unissixwine has published a careful study of this is; and M. L. Dr. Courtex briefly discusses it in an article's largely. consisting of a translation of the greater part of it.

Turning next to philosophy, the important fragment of Antiphon Sophistes, Hapi Akabelas (P. Oxyxi 1384), has attracted much attention and evoked several articles of considerable interest. H. Divis republishes the text of, embodying supplements by Witamowitz, which the latter was prevented by the war from sending to the editors, and adding critical notes. This article has been reviewed by R. Phrapresonti, Articles on the fragment have been published by A. Chorser® and B. Barror®, the latter of whom calls special attention to its importance for the study of the development of the philosophy of law. Two other

- Les sept dernières chapitres de l'AGRNAIDN HOAITEIA (Organisation des tribonnas, à Athènes, dans la seconds supitis du IV viecle), in Rev. d. dt. gr., 20 (1917), pp. 20-87.
  - Aridote, HOAITEIA AGHNAIGN, 62, 2, in Sec. do Phil., 42 (1918), pp. 55-59.
- Der Historikes vom Oxyrhynchos, in Ber, Verh. d. Kan. Sacht, Geo. d. Wim., Phil. hist. Kl., 67, 1 (1915). pp. 1-26.
- Cratippi Hellinicorum fraquenta Osychynchia (Kl. Texts. no. 188). Bonn, Marcus and Weber [19157]. I have been unable to see this work.
  - 4 In Gatt, gel. Astrigen, 179 (1917), pp. 409- 129. A. In Berl, Phil, Works, 37 (1917), cols. 801—805.
  - 7 Zu Kratipper, ibid., cois. 1573-1576. \* In Berl. Phil. Work., Oct. 4, 1919 (Prof. Granfell's reference).
  - \* Texthelisches an den Hellenica Oxyrhynchica, in Hermes, 51 (1910), pp. 459-484.
  - to The Finer Senates of the Boenthras, in Class. Philol., 10 (1915), pp. 381-385.
- II II huivo storico di Sickone e lo dimestia degli Cringoridi, in diti d. Reals decad, di Sc. M. Torino, 51 (1915:16), pp. 950-305.
- 23 La Terunnide depii Ortagaridi alla Ince di un manno documento, in file, di Fil, e d' Intr. Gare., 44 (1916). pp. 359 \_ 378
- 2 La generaligia dei Firanci di Sicioni secondo un supere franssente storice in Atti R. dec. Torino, 1916, p. 487 fl.; see Studi sc. Pap., 3 (1917), p. 265, no. 217.
  - 11 Satgror' BIOS ETPHIJAOT, in Wiener Studien, 35 (1916), pp. 54-71.
  - is Satiste, Il Biografa di Euripole, in Atme s Rome, 18 (1915), pp. 127-137.
- m Kin names Fragment and Antiphone Ruch Uler die Wahrheit, in Stegeber, d. Kim, Provan, Ak, d. Wiss., 1916. XXXVI-XXXVIII. pp. 931-936. " In Beel, Phil, Wock., 1918 Feb. 9.
  - is Les Nouvennes Fragments of Antiphun, in Rev. d. 81, 97, 30 (1917), pp. 1-19.
- ii Natura e ligga in un francanto del cofista Antifonte, in Rand, d. R. Arcrid, d. Linces, Ser. v. 25 (1916). srp. 243-252.

articles, by E. Riancoret and Fractional temperatively, are not accessible to me. The latter, it appears, translates a great part of the text.

The Epicurean philosophical fragment in P. Oxy, it 215 has been under the subject of a new discussion by H. Disis, who, against Coursen's donial, defends the earlier view that Epicurus himself was the author? He bases this theory on grounds of the date of the MS, of style, vocabulary, and tone. Epicurus, he bolds, had a twofold public, and the treatise to which the fragment belongs was of a more popular appeal. He gives the text, with a translation, and an index of words. His article is reviewed, along with that on Antiphon, by H. Pararresox's. Diels has also published, from P. Here, 152, 157, the treatise of the Epicurean Philodennus on the gods'; this edition also is reviewed by Philippson along with the articles just referred to; and Philippson himself devotes an article to Philodennus's treatise on anger\*; this article he describes as part of a longer work on the psychology of anger in ancient philosophy.

Of the grators, Hyperides is the only one who claims attention. A new edition of the gratims and fragments by Cur. Jesses appeared in 1917? The editor describes the paper, their orthography, etc., and adds to his edition the life of Hyperides attributed to Plutarch and some other extracts relating to the orator. His volume is reviewed by Tr. Teaturing.

A fragment of an unknown romance is recognized by B. A. MÜLLER in PSI, it 151°. He prefaces his remarks on this fragment with a list of previously discovered romance fragments on papyrus, making suggestions for new readings in the Nimus romance and in P. Oxy. 117. The Nimus romance is also dealt with by him in a separate article<sup>10</sup>, in which he publishes notes on various passages and makes some suggestions for readings. The points dealt with are all concerned with military matters.

The portion of the interesting abrestomathy in P. Oxy, x 1241 which deals with the library of Alexandria is, naturally, used by A. Rosmann in an article on the librarians 11. The same writer has also published an article on the literary aspects of Philopator's court, which will be of use to students of the Ptolemaic period 13.

The very interesting invocation of Isis in P. Oxy. xi 1380 is the subject of articles by G. Larare, who republishes the text with a translation, commentery, critical study and indices, by P. Collabrii, and by F. Collabrii, who suggests that the curious title Assetue attributed to Isis in Persia (l. 104) is a corruption of Assetue (= Assetue).

An article by I. Hammer-Jensen on the two chemical papers P. Leid: x and P. Holmiensis which I have been unable to see it is reviewed by H. Diensit, who undervours to prove that the riding theory of the ancient origin of alchemy is incorrect and that these two papers have no connexion with Alexandrian chemical literature.

- <sup>1</sup> Antifonte sufleta sii il problema della sufetica nella storio del pensiero greco, in Nuova Rivista Storica, 1917, Soc Razergna ital, di ting, e lett. class. (Napoli), 1 (1918), p. 25.
  - 3 In Riv. ili Fil. (Torino), 1915, p. 173; see Stud. vc. Pap., 2 (1917), p. 260, no. 140.
  - Ein epikureinches Fragment über Gutterverehrung, in Sizgeber, d. Pr. Akad., 1916, xxxv.—xxxv.pp, 886—999.
  - 1 In Berl. Phil. Wach., 1918, Pab. 9,
- \* Philodomus iller die Gittes Drittes Buch, in Abb. d. K. Prous. Ab. d. Wise., 1915, 4 (test) and 6 (commentary); both published in 1917.
- \* Philodems Ruch über den Zorn: ein Beltrag zu seiner Wiederherstellung und Auslegung, in Rhein. Museum, N. F., 71 (1916), pp. 425—460.
- <sup>\*</sup> Hyperidis Ocalienes Ses cum externrum fraquientis post Frid. Blass Pappris denna collutis al. Chr. Jenson. Pp. sivili-192. Lipsine, B. O. Tenhnor, 1917.
  - \* In Revl. Phil. Work., 1918, March 30.
  - \* Ein neuer gruehischer Roman, in Rhein. Museum, N. F., 71 (1916), pp. 358-363.
  - in Zum Ninorroman, ibid., 72 (1918), pp. 198-216.
- Il bibliorecarii alessandrini nella crombogia della letteratura ellenistica, in Atti d. R. Acc. d. Sc. di Torino, 30 (1914-15), pp. 241-265.
  - \*\* New Dionysor: Posti e letterati alia corte di Tolomen IV Filopatore, ibid., pp. 989-1013.
  - Litanie gravque d'Isie, in Rev. de Phil., 40 (1916), pp. 55-108.
  - <sup>34</sup> L'Invocation d'Iris d'après un pappras d'Oxychynchus, in Rev. Egypt., N. S., 1 (1919), pp. 93-100.
  - 16 Dis Latina, in Rev. de Phil., 40 (1916), pp. 183-184.
- <sup>30</sup> Deux Paygras à contenu d'ordre chimique, in Oversigt over det hyl. Danske Volenchub. Selak. Forhandlinger, 1916, no. 4, pp. 279-302.
  - Doublake Literaturzeitung, 38 (1917), cole, 591-592.

Chemistry, at least of this kind, naturally suggests magic, and there are a number of Items relating to the magical papyri. The great Paris magical papyrus is the subject of notes by L. RADENHACHER ! who offers some philological observations on three passages, and by K. PREISENDANE, who for TINOC rd from in 1, 1850 suggests moc = errivaros. Pressendant also suggests, in a different note? that in P. Leid. V. col. 7, L 14, the words sard rive same do not belong to the investion but are an addition of the magician and should be bracketed. Elsewhere the same acholar acutely (and no doubt correctly) explains as a misunderstanding by the scribs of his model an apparent mention of Moses in a Berlin magical payerus first edited by Parthey and move to be re-edited in the Corpus of magical papers. Finally, reference must be made to two articles poither of which I have been able to see and for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr Tod; one by PRESENDANE of a miscellamnous characters, and one by N. Tenzagnt", suggesting a reading for P. Lond 1 46, 114.

P. Oxy, x 1242, a further specimen of the "anti-Semitle" literature of Alexandria, describing an audience by Trajan of rival Greek and Jewish emissaries, is the subject of a study by W. Weber", who concludes his article by some interesting remarks on the "process" of S. Paul. A monograph on the Acto in their relation to martyrdom literature, whether Pagan or Christian, has been published by H. Niedenhauent,

In the sphere of Christian literature the principal item is perimps an article of a general character by V. MARTIN on the character of New Testament papers and their significance for the study of the history of the text. He does not make any original contributions of importance to the subject, but his general survey of it is of both interest and utility, and he writes, as always, with freshmes and hacidity.

An important publication in this sphere is the edition, by Th. Schebman, as im 3 of the Munich Bolivitys, of a Berlin papyrus (P. Berol. 13415) previously published by C. Schmut, which contains two Christian prayers (of the first only the conclusion) M. He explains them as part of the preparation of candidates for baptism and thinks that they date from the early Christian period in Alexandria. His volume is reviewed by C. SCHMIDT<sup>11</sup>, who does not accept his theory, and by L. WOHLER<sup>12</sup>.

The uncaponical Gospe) in P. Oxy, XI 1384 is noticed by J. Moffattl and (in an article not accessible to me) A. Ourvient ".

Lastly, reference must be made here to the appearance of Part III of Mourton and Milligan a Vocabulary of the Greek Testament's (car to though), and of Part 1 of Vol. 11 of Moulton's Grammar of New-Testament Greek's, edited, after the author's lamented death, by W. F. Howann. It is a relief to hear that these valuable works will not be left unfinished owing to Moulton's death, though is appears that while he had completed Parts 1 and 2 of Vol. 11, Part 3 remains imperfect.

Since P. Oxy. XI consisted entirely of literary texts, reviews of it may appropriately be noticed at the end of this section. A long and important review has been published by K. Fn. W. Soumners, who makes many conjectures for readings, particularly in the case of the Isis text. Other reviews metical include those by Th. Reinaunts, P. Collarts, R. Periffers, M. Choisets, and G. Fraccaholis.

- Kritische Reiträge zv., in Wiener Studien, 89 (1917), pp. 78-75.
- \* TINOC TO ONOMA, 1861., pp. 291-292,
- <sup>3</sup> Kara rieu suspôr, in Rhein, Misseum, N. F., 72 (1917), pp. 159-160.
- Ein Pasuda-Mossa, in Arch. f. Religionescies., 19 (1918), pp. 195-196.
- Miszellen en den Zauberpopyri, u. in Wiener Studien, 40, p. 1 ff.
- \* Sal Pup. Lond, 48, in Rivista indo-greco-italica, 2 (1918), p. 24.
- 7 Kine Gerichtererhandlung vor Kaiser Trajan, in Hermes, 50 (1915), pp. 47-92.
- \* files antike Probakull-Literatur, Dins. Göttingun, 1918.
- Les pappress du souveau testament et l'histoire du texts, in Rev. de Théol. et de Phil., N. S., 7 (1919), pp. 43-72.
- 10 Manchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforechung, in Helt. Frühebristliche Verbereitungsgebele zur Taufe. Pp. 32. ii In Dentaho Literaturzeitung, 80 [1918], cols. 44-45. Munchun, 1917; Oskar Beck,
- is In Revi. Phil. Worth, 1918, cols. 510-511. I have not been able to see this, and owe the reference to Prof. Granfell.
  - 33 Uncanonical Gespel-fragments, to Expanitory Times, 27 (1915-16), p. 424.
- 14 Di due papiri di teryrhynchus, in Mew. R. Accad. di Napoll. 8, pp. 117-136. See Raesogue ital. di liura. e lett. class. (Napoli), 1 (1918), p. 94. <sup>16</sup> Dondon, Hodder and Stoughton, 1919.
- in A Grammas of New Testament Greek, vol. 21. Accidence and Word-Formation, Part i. General Introduction: Scands and Writing, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh (1919).
  - " in Gett, pel, Amagen, 180 (1918), pp. 91—126.
    - " In Rev. d. st. gr., 29 (1918), pp, 119-124.
  - <sup>10</sup> In Rev. Egypt., N. S., 1 (1919), pp. 115-118. <sup>30</sup> In Berl. Phil. Work., 37 (1917), cols. 1161—1163.
  - n In Journ, des Sav., N. S., 14 (1916), pp. 32-35. " In Riv. di Fil. v d' Istr. Class., 44 (1916), pp. 171-176.

#### 3. Collections of Non-Literary Texts.

The most important single volume to be noticed under this head is Part xit of the Ovychynolius Paper?, which, unlike any of its predecessors, consists untirely of non-literary texts. Many of these are of exceptional luterest and value, chief among them in general appeal being perhaps the series of documents relating to proceedings in the Seaute of Oxyrhynchus. None of these papers is complete, and numerous points have therefore to be left unsettled or to be settled only by inference; but enough remains to make a very substantial addition to our knowledge of the procedure in the senates of the neutropoleis, and it goes without saving that the editors succeed in extracting from the mutilated documents all the information that, on a first study of them, they can be made to yield. Two important texts (1451 and 1452 relate to epicrisis and contain some new evidence on this vexed subject. They are furnished by the editors with valuable introductions and commentaries, and have been used to good effect by Lesquiren in his book on the Roman army (see below, § 5). Some horoscopes (1476 and 1563-4) provide valuable evidence on the obscure chronology of the Emperors from Decina to Dioclotian. No. 1453, a diclaration of temple lamplighters, dated 30-29 n.c., is the earliest extant papyrus of the Roman period, and offers several points of interest. Of value for the study of Egyptian cult and ritual is 1449, a return of temple property; 1405 seems (though the uncertainty of reading in the critical passage makes its evidence doubtful) to throw new light on the cesse benerow; and there are many other documents adding to our knowledge on various matters of detail.

This volume has been reviewed by K. Fs. W. Schmidt? The Research, and R. Pentrens! (along with P. Oxy. XI). In addition to these reviews it has been the excession of articles by C. H. Done, who draws from it some illustrations of Pauline magnet, and by P. Johnson, who utilizes the texts relating to the Senate for an article on the Egyptian Schmidt in the third century.

Next after or along with the Oxyrhynelan volume rank PSI IV and Y7. Both these volumes consist (with two exceptions, noted above, in § 1) entirely of documents as opposed to literary texts; but in interest, at least to the papyrologist pure and simple, they surpass all their predocessors. Each is divided into two parts, the first consisting, like vols. 1 and III, of miscellaneous papyri, from various area and of various dates. In vol. Iv these include two or three from the sixth century Kom Ishgan and, e.g. 283, a rather interesting lease of land. Among other documents in this section reference may be made to 207, a request to a doctor to visit the writer, who is concerned about his health, 295, which shows that service on the public galleys was not necessarily a liturgy but might be undertaken by contract for a fixed salary, 299, a letter, described as of the late third century, which may well be from a Christian, and which also refers to the health of the writer and his family, and 311, another interesting letter albuling to Theodotus, Bishop of Lacdiens, in Syria. But the real importance of this volume, as of its successor, lies in the second part, the Zeno papyri, of the third century n.c. These are, as it is now hardly necessary to say, of quite exceptional interest, not only for the administrative and economic history and the chronology of early Ptolemaic Egypt, but even more for the light they throw on social conditions. They are full of intimate touches and of little details illustrating the everyday life of the period. Thus, in 333 we have a reference to garlands of pomegranate blossom; 340 (a rather obsourc letter, it is true) gives us a glimpse into the intrigues of the court; in 341 two weavers tout for custom; in 354 we hear of hay concealed lest the king's except should requisition it; in 356 (a very interesting economic satellight) the peasants are not willing to sell their produce for payment in kind but only for cash; 382 concerns the requir of a boat, rendered difficult by shortage of wood; 383 illustrates the process of presenting an Errenger (the Terrague itself is of interest for questions of taxation); in 388 several payments are made to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Osyrkynchus Popyri, Part xn. Edited by B. P. Grenratz and A. S. Howr. Pp. xvi+852. 2 Plates. London, Egypt Explanation Fund (1916).

In Gött, pd. Antelges, 180 (1918), pp. 126—138.

In Journ. des Sav., N. S., 15 (1917), pp. 193-205.

In Berl Phil Wach., 37 (1917), cols. 1181—1165.

Equiline Illustrations from Recently Fublished Pappyri, in Experitor, 8 Ser., 15 (1918), pp. 291-290.

<sup>\*</sup> Les floubai égyptiennes à la jeu du II le stiele après J. C. d'après la tome an des Onyrhynchus Papyri, in Rev. Égypt., N. S., 1 (1919), pp. 50—80.

<sup>\*</sup> Papiri gravi e latini ve and v. Pubbl. della Soc. Ital, per la lite, dei Papiri gr. e int. in Egitto. Firanze (1917). Pp. xiv+238 and Pp. xi+191.

respect; who may perhaps be posts; 392 is a begging letter from one who must have been an expert in the art; the writer of 400 is apparently trying to personals Zeno to do a rather alondy trick; 402 throws an interesting sidelight on the gastronomic fashions of the day; the writer of 403 was unable to read the last letter of his correspondent, a difficulty in which he will have the lively ayangathy of all papyrologists; 406 is an interesting though rather obscure letter concerning the sale of female shares; 407 is a letter from a painter (forpodes), who has been doing some work for Zeno; 423 throws light on the quarrying industry, 425 on the financial administration; in 426 we find Zeno making memorands of duties to be discharged; 433 and 434 are of interest for agriculture, 435 for the Sampis cult, as also for affairs at court; from 440 we learn that the feeders of the sacred cals were freed from liturgies; in 441 we see potters at work; and thise are but a selection even of the more interesting documents in the rolume.

Vol. v is not quite so rich in interest as iv but nevertheless contains several important or noteworthy texts, which are not confined to the Zeno paper. In 450, a collection of miscellaneous documents, are several matters of interest. 452 is a petition concerning an attempt of certain slaves to win their liberty fraudulently (εκελείνειν [τον δεσμόν] την δουλίαι); it is asked that the defense shall be required to investigate the case. 453 is yet another libellus of the Decian persecution. In 457 we have an interesting application for epicrisis. Among the Zeno paper may be mentioned 488, interesting for the subject of the rise of the Nile, 500, which throws light on the δωρεί of Apollonius, 513, a document of some importance for the methods of assigning ελήρει, 514, relating to the στεφασηφόρια, and containing the interesting phrase σουσμέτου, 531, illustrating the worship of Astarte at Memphis, 543, a text important geographically, as it specifies the stages of a journey from Pelusium to Canopus, and 546, containing an estimate of the cost of builders' work.

The earlier of these two volumes has been reviewed by Jongton!

Another important publication is vol. 111 of J. Maspeno's great catalogue of Byzantine papyri at Cairo's. Owing to the death of its brilliant editor in the French attack on Vanquois, the volume was seen through the press by Sir Gaston Masceno, who has prefixed to it a memoir of his son, with a bibliography of his publications. Memoir and catalogue combine to impress upon the reader the sense of the irreparable loss which Byzantine studies have suffered in Jean Maspero's early death.

It is a proof of the extraordinary richness of the "archives" of Dioscorus of Aphrodito that the paper published in this volume, like those in the two previous ones, come entirely, with one exception (also a Köm Ishgau document but one from the earlier find, of the Arab period), from his papers—this in addition to the numerous other documents of the same provimance in other collections. The volume, though it has naturally not quite the freshness of the first, does not yield in real value and interest to either of its predocessors. Most of the texts it contains appeal, of course, rather to the specialist than to the general reader, but no 67295, the arrappyrisol \(\lambda{\text{i}}\shallon\) \(\lambda{\text{c}}\lambda\) of the philosopher and (if one may commit a verbal amedromism) Egyptologist Horapolicu, is of general interest. Among the other documents of special importance are the appeal of the inhabitants of Aphrodito to the Empress Theodora (67283), several good official letters, two contracts of emphysicans, a lease of a wagon (67303), with many interesting points of detail, a remarkable marriage contract (67310), with novel features, a will (67312) containing a bequest "for the redemption of exprises," two orders by the process, a number of documents of surety, and the report of legal proceedings before a defensor, of some importance for the land and taxation system of Gracco-Roman Egypt. The volume has been reviewed by G. Rocheman's (along with vol. it) and H. L. Bellet.

Vol. v of the British Museum catalogue<sup>3</sup>, which also consists entirely of Byzantine texts, may naturally follow on the Cairo volume, since it consists partly of documents from Diescorne's archives. It contains, in addition to these, some well preserved paper from Syene, part of the same find as P: Mon, I, and, forther, a small number of fourth- (or late third-) century documents and a larger number of miscellaneous documents of the Late Byzantine period, mostly, but not entirely, from Hermopolis. The most interesting documents are those from Aphrodito and Syone; and though in neither case to these include

In Rev. Egypt., N. S., 1 (1919), pp. 122—124.

<sup>†</sup> Catalogue Général des Ant. Égypt, du Musée du Coire. Nos. 57279-57859. Pappras grees d'époque hypunitine. Par M. Juan Masreno. Tome III<sup>n</sup>. Le Calso. Imps. de l'Inst. Fr. d'Arch. Or., 1916. Pp. xixvi + 260. Portrait and 8 other plates.

Ja Rev. Egypt., N. S., 1 (1919), pp. 119—121.
In Rev. Egypt., N. S., 1 (1919), pp. 119—121.

<sup>\*</sup> Greek Papper in the British Massam, vol. v. Edited by H. I. Bett. London (1917). Pp. xvl+ 376.

anything so novel and impercant as the best of those in Maspero's volumes and in P. Mon. I respectively, yet they do serve very usufully to complete the material there published, and several of them are of consultantle interest. The best is probably the arbitration (1708), which is not only unusually long but contains evidence of real value on various points; and to this may be added a very notable metrological text 1718. There are some good petitions, two marriage contracts (one of them a copy of the completed document of which P. Cair. Masp. III 67310 noticed above is a draft), and a useful series of bases. A Contic deed of arbitration is unfortunately too imperfect to yield very definite results.

P. M. Mayer has published a volume of non-literary texts frawn partly from the papyri of the New Testament Seminar at Berlin and partly from the estruct of Dessetann's private collection. Though the volume contains no text of the first importance there are several which possess considerable interest. Such are the petition of colors in 1, referring to the (irregular) assignment to inilitary settlers in the second contary ac, of fortile land, the not wholly clear interestage of a strategie in 2, the papyri (5—10) referring to a family of the "6475 Fayum Greeks," several of which are intrinsically valuable apart from their connexion with that body, the soldier's letter in 20, and several of the estract. The texts are edited with the cars and claborataness of commentary characteristic of Meyer's publications. The volume has been reviewed by K. Fa. W. Schmidt, L. Wender, M. Gelzen', F. Zucker', H. Brinkmann's, and an anonymous reviewer'.

The University of Basel now possesses a small collection of Greek papyrs, and these have been edited by E. Rabell. Of the texts dealt with, twenty-three are published in full, and of three only descriptions or excerpts are given. An interesting Coptic contract concerning a water wheel is edited in a separate section by Structurana. Of the Greek texts one is theological and one astrological; these two have already born referred to in § 1 above. The remainder are con-literary. None of them is of the first importance, but several show features of intorest, especially 2, a contract concerning requisitioned (I cannels, 5, a sale of standing grass of an unusual kind, 7, the loan with hypothecation of house property previously edited by Rabell in his Verfügungsbeschrünkungen, and 16, one of the earliest—if not the earliest—Christian letters yet discovered. Rabel's very full and careful juristic commentary gives an added value to the collection. The only reviews I have seen which seem to demand notice are two by J. Kohlert and K. Fr. W. Schmidt.

The publication of the Freiburg papyr, begun by Gellzer, is continued by Paurson in a small volume of juristic texts, four in number<sup>11</sup>. Though none of them is of outstanding merit, they all have points of minust and are accompanied by a valuable juristic communitary. They are: a συγχώρησε consuming a sale of a share in slaves; a συστατεκό to a procurator becomes; an agreement for the public proclamation of the emancipation of a slave; and a position to a defense <sup>12</sup>. There are no facsimiles.

I noticed in my last Report the publication of parts 4 and 5 of PREISMAN'S Scannelbuck 13, concluding

- <sup>1</sup> Orientische Trate une Apopten. Para M. Mercen, a. Pappel des Neutesteinschillehen Sominure der Universität Berlin. in Ostraka der Samulang Delemann. 4 Plates. Berlin, Weidmann, 1916.
  - 5 In Weck, f. klam. Phil., 33 (1916), cols. 937-946.
  - In Dentsche Literaturzestung, 1917, cols. 1275-1304.

  - In Vierteljührschr. f. Sucial- n. Wietschuftigesch., 14 (1918), pp. 581—582.
  - 5 In Journ. of Hell. Stud., 37 (1917), pp. 126-127.
- \* Pappymanrkumfen der Offentlichen Ribliothek der Universität in Basel. 1. Frkunden in griechischer Spenche. E. Raun. 11. Ein kaptischer Vertreg. W. Syrnoni, mass. 2 Platen. Berlin, Weidmann (1917). (Abhandt. d. Kon. tres. d. Wiss. von Göttingen, N. F., 16, 3.)
  - In Zeitsche, f. vergl. Rechtseries., 35 (1918), pp. 408-470.
  - 10 In Iteel, Phil. Work., 1918, June 8.
- 1) Mittellungen aus der Freiburger Papprussammlung. 2. Juristische Texts der eimischen Zeit. Herausg. von Jours Paursch. Stepsler, d. Heidelberg, Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1916, 10 Ahb. Heidelberg. 1916. Carl. Winter.
- in In L. 11 of the last I venture to suggest [x]al των Δ(x]up(low); see P. Lond. v 1650, 4... In L. 10 in προσφωνίει τοῦ γρ. possible?
- is I may note here that the date "fifth century" sasigned to no. 5681, one of the new texts, is quite impossible, for the document begins with the Christian invocation (see my raview of Schubert's Kinfibrumy, J. E. A., 5, 1918, p. 208). It is to be noted that the date is by the indiction only, which, in a document of this kind (a compromission), is inexplicable (except perhaps by inadvectonce) if it was drawn up while the Imperial authority

vol. (. Part 1 of the second volume), containing the indices of sources, of materials, of classes of door ments, of provummen, of editors, of collections in which the documents are kept, and of personal names, has now appeared, and is to be followed, probably next year (1929), by part 2.

#### 4. Lesser Perlications of Non-Literary Texts.

The most noteworthy publication under this head is perhaps that of the Cairo papyri from the Zene collection, for which too above, § 3. The Gizzle Museum now possesses a considerable number of the very interesting and important documents, and C. C. Ebnan has begun to edit, in a provisional form, pending the appearance of a definitive edition, the more complete and striking texts. I believe that more than one part of the series has appeared, but I have been able to see only the first, which contains uss. 1--107. He begins his article with a brief account of Zeno. The documents published in this first instalment are: L. A contract of lean, a duplicate of PSL tv 321; 2. A letter of Apollonius to Zono, then probably out of Egypt and on the sea-exect; 20th year (of Philadelphus); 3. A sale of a slave guit, interesting because written in Palestine, at Birts in Ammon: 27th year; 4. A letter concerning an unsuccessful attempt to recover money from a Jew at Jeddu : 27th year; 5. An extremely interesting but rather difficult letter from Demetrius, an official of the mint, to Apollonius on the minting of gold: 28th year; 6. Posidemins to Apollouins on the seizure of ship iron by agents of the relieves; 28th year; 7. Zoilus to Apollonius on Sarapis (= PSI, IV 435): 28th year; 8. Amyntas to Zeno, then at Mendes but on the point of departing on a mission: 38th year; 9. List of articles for a voyage; 10. Aristons to Zeno on household payments: 28th year. While on the subject of the Zeno papyri I may mention that the British Museum has recently acquired a small collection of documents from this find and the Rylands Library sense more.

P. M. Meters has published several interesting papyri; and though one cannot but wish that he would devote himself first to the completion of his Hamburg catalogue one must recognize the utility and excellence of these preliminary publications. The largest is one of three papyri, very imperfect but of unusual logal interest, from the Hamburg collection. The first is a formula (in Latin) for a will, which Meyer regards as part of a formulary, either of wills or of various legal transactions. The second is a small strip from a Greek translation of a "Manzipationatestament," which Meyer in part conjecturally restores, and the third an equally imperfect sale of slaves, which, though in Greek, is between Roman citizens and shows Roman formulae with Greek influence. Of this too Meyer assays a restoration.

Another interesting legal document, also from the Hamburg collection (P. Hamb. Stadthild. Inv. 356), was published later by itself. It is a draft, written probably soon after a.n. 144-5, of an agreement by which a guardian, holding for his own use three arouras of land and paying taxes on them in the name of the estate for which he is trustee, guarantees his co-trustee that he will bear the sole responsibility and the expresse of any legal proceedings.

Finally, Mayer publishes, again from the Hamburg collection (Inv. No. 333), a papyrus containing an eath by four nesistae cusployed on a Nile patrol ship respecting the disposal of their prospective bag on a hunting (and probably lishing) expedition. He adds a neeful commentary.

Someware has published from time to time some very intervertity texts from the recent accessions to the Berlin collection. One of these, a document of the second century s.c., is a letter from the strategue

continued. I suggest therefore a.r., 623 as a likely data. In 1. 20 t. perhaps rejended (if) raferly ve? It is to be noted that some corrections to the volume were suggested in Grenfall's report on papers in The Year's Work, 1919, p. 30.

A Sammelbuck griechtischer Urbunden aus Agypten. Herausg...von Fn. Parrsuden. II. Hand, I Hälfte. Situssburg, Karl J. Trübner (1918). Pp. 320.

Selected Papper from the Archives of Zenon (Non. 1-10), in Annales du Service, 18 (1918), pp. 159-182. [Since this Report want to press I laive been soubled by the kindness of Prof. Grenfall to see the second part (Nos. 11-21), that., 18, pp. 223-244.]

Rhadachrechtliche Papproxurkunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek, in Zeitschr, f. vergl. Rechtswies., 35 (1918), pp. 81—104. It is wurth while to quote the following note by Koutzen: "Die Papyrologie soll künftig in der Zeitschriff mehr als bisher berücksichtigt werden."

\* Indomnitionversprochen eines Alterscormandes an eelnen Mitseemand, thid., 27 (1919), pp. 409-416.

Königerid von vier Fluttenmidaten der Nemoton Lambanannischaft uns dem Juhrs 189 zur Chr., in Klin, 15 (1918), pp. 376-381.

\* Anypnische Urkundemehreiher in der Philamberseit, in amtl. Berichte aus den Kön, Kunsteamminnien, 26 (2915), cola, 94-98.

Ptolemaeus to the headman of the villages in the papis of Heraclides, sending a list of pynapuroble calor (which appears to be equivalent to proposition, i.e. native notaries) selected and sworn as suitable persons to write Egyptian contracts. The tariff fixed is 20 drachmas for a sale and release, 10 for other contracts.

Another document, of exceptional interest for the subject of the pagan cuits, is a decree of Ptolemy Philopator communing the mysteries of Dionysus! Celebrants of the mysteries are hereby required to proceed to Alexandria and notify themselves, specifying, to the extent of three generations, from whom they have received the cult (a sort of "apostolical succession" in fact). Such at least is Schubart's explanation of the document, and he gives good grounds for it. R. Burrzzsverne, in an interesting article on the document, though he takes a slightly different view as regards details, agrees with Schubart on the main point, that the decree refers to mysteries. He cites the measures of the Roman Schute in a similar connexion shortly afterwards (Livy 29, 8, 3), and takes the king's intention to be that of registering all intending celebrants of the mysteries.

In another article Schubart publishes two noteworthy texts from the Berlin collection. The second is a well-preserved Latin letter of introduction. It possesses no features of special interest, but is valuable owing to the comparative rarity of Latin letters on papyrus. The first is more movel. It is an extracout containing a list of names, largely military—not, it will be seen, a very remarkable document in itself; but it derives a very special interest from the name in 1.8, Balonforpy Square affects. In the first word Schubart recognism the German name Walbury; and he regards the person in question as a German prophetess, perhaps the captive of some Reman soldier; Square, he thinks, is miswritten for "Semmonian." On this last point some difference of opinion is no doubt possible; but his identification of the name Walbury seems charly right, and is accepted by E. Sennöden, who, in a valuable discussion of the name, explains it as Walubury, the first part being Goth. Walus, a pilgrim's staff or magician's wand. He translates the whole entry not "Walubury, the Semnonian, secress," but "W., the Semnonian secress," Savar being an adjective.

The remaining two publications of Schubart are of letters. In the first he publishes a very interesting private letter, a translation of which (without the Greek text) had already appeared in his Jahrtansend om Vil. It is from a certain Dies to his "sister" (i.e., possibly, his wife) and describes his doings at Alexandria and in particular his experiences in some athletic contests instituted by the Emperor, in which he took part. Schubart identifies the Emperor with Caracalla, and appends to the text and translation an interesting discussion of various questions suggested. In the second he edits, firstly, a letter of the time of Trajan addressed to a certain Ptolemy six of Mekanzadam γραμματοδολασκολ(sixe), in which the writer informs his correspondent that he is "bothered" (χειμόζομα) by some geometrical problems and asks for help, adding a request for a certain χάρτης of which Ptolemy had told him; and, secondly, two Christian letters of introduction, of the fourth-fifth century.

An exceedingly useful piece of work is Marrin's edition, with an elaborate commentary, of a fragmentary Geneva papyrus from the Mendes find! These fragments are portions of a long roll containing a register of lands on which a remission or abstancest of tax was claimed, of a character very similar to P. Brux. 1 (= Wileken, Chrest, 236). The register is in itself of considerable importance, and under the able editorship of Martin it is made to yield material of the highest value for the study both of the method of registering such land and of the system of land tenures in Roman Egypt generally. Martin certainly obsars up some points and suggests lines of research towards the elucidation of others; of particular value is his treatment of the various classes of  $\gamma \bar{\gamma}$  trapersian. As an appendix he adds a much improved text of the important papyrus P. Lond. 103 recto.

S. Errage has published, with a facsimile, a document of the sale of a slave, which is of a somewhat interesting character. Wilchen explains it as "eme Eankurkunde in Brouillon," Mitten as a hitherto

- Prolomatos Philopator and Diampune, thid., 38 (1917), cois, 189-198.
- 1 Zur Religionepolitik der Ptolemäer, in Arch. f. Religionewia., 19 (1918), pp. 191-194.
- 2 1. Walhurg, die Sibylie. 2. Kin lateinischer Empfohlungsbrief, ibid., 38 (1917), cols. 128-318.
- 4 Wallurg, die Sibylle, in 1 veh. f. Religineswiss., 19 (1918), pp. 198-200;
- \* Ein Prientbrief aus Alemadreio, in Antl. Ber. Kon. Kunat., 39 (1918), cols. 141-153,
- 4 1bid., 38 (1915), cols. 205-208. Kin Pricathrief: cols. 200-210, Kin Christinher Brief.
- 7 Un document administracif du novue de Mender, in Studien zur Pal. n. Pap., 17 (1917), pp. 9-52.
- Ein Sklaumhunf um der Zeit der Autonium Pius, in Videschapsselch. Ferhandlinger im 1916, no. 2. Kristiania, J. Dybwad, 1916. 1 piate.

unknown and probably primitive type of Λαγραφή. At the end Eitrem appends an interesting expursus on the custom of whitening the feet of slaves before exposing them for sale.

PREINDER differs from Mittens's view as to the nature of this document, which he republishes in full!. He takes it as an "unselbständige Girobankbescheinigung" of an unusual form; the variation being presumably local; for the document appears, as he points out, to be from Alexandria, which fact gives it a special interest. He corrects Eitrem's readings in several places. The original publication by Eitrem is reviewed by M. Gillzen and by P. Viereck's, who makes some suggestions for new readings.

H. G. Everys White publishes 23 certains from Dakks, in Nubia, all but two of them receipts for wine, or its equivalent in money, issued to soldiers by the educator, an official hitherto known only in two of Wilcken's estraca. No. I mentions a συσλόγου. The estraca come from the same place and probably are of the same period (Severus and Caracalla) as Wilcken's estraca 1125—1148; cf. too 1220, 1223.

Calderini has published three previously inedited letters from the British Museum collection. His transcripts were made from photographs, always a rather unsatisfactory authority for badly preserved papers, however good the photographs may be, and it is not to be wondered at therefore that Calderinfle texts require a good deal of correction, which they have received at the hands of Grenerate in a review of the first two volumes of the Studie.

E. Schönnaure, to illustrate the development of the "double deed" of the Ptolemaic period, has published', from a piece of papyrus cartonnage in the Berlin collection (P. Berol. 11773, acquired in 1910), a document of this type, written at Thollthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome in a.c. 215-4. It is distinctly interesting as an example of the class at one stage in its development. It is a ban, very similar to Mittein, Chrest. 131, and, according to the editor, is probably in the same hand as P. Hamb. 26. The "inner script" has not yet degenerated into the more summary which it became later, but already the "outer script" is the more important, as the inner is written more hastily and, if the editor's view is correct, after the other. Curiously enough, the names of the witnesses are not inserted in either copy. Schönbaner accompanies the document with a somewhat elaborate commentary.

It may be mentioned here that Jons, in his article on the chromatistas mentioned below, in § 6, publishes part of a legal text in the Berlin collection, and for another new text see Pressure's article mentioned in the same section.

Greenest has published an unusually well-preserved, indeed practically perfect. Latin diptych, containing the official authorization in a.e. 198 by the prefect Q. Aemilius Saturniaus for the appointment of a tutor for a woman named Mevia Dicaysarion. Its interest lies perhaps rather in its excellent preservation, in its format, and in its palaeographical importance than is its legal aspect, since it adds little to our knowledge of the process of appointment, but it contains an abbreviated formula  $(d, s, r, s, s, h, t, s, z_s)$  which appears to be new and for which no convincing explanation has so far been found

In an article on an old collection of Egyptian antiquities F. Lt. Getrerra publishes a private letter of the first century n.c. referring to the transport of bodies for embalming?

In the course of a report on exercations Anner Ber Kamar publishes six mummy-inhels 10,

Since it is impossible for the student of tiracco-Roman Egypt to neglect altogether the texts in the native tongue, reference must be made, in concluding this section, to some publications of Demotic and Coptic texts which throw light on questions affecting papyrology proper. Spinorement has published several such texts. One<sup>11</sup> is a Demotic marriage contract of a distinctly interesting character, the trans-

- 1 Zum Popyrus Eitrem Nr. 5 feine Bankurhunde aus rhmischer Zeit), in Stander, d. Heidelb, Akad., 1916.
  - 4 In Berl. Phil. Work., 38 (1916), cols. 1594-1595.
  - In Work, f. time, Phil., 38 (1916), cols. 917—918; see also cols. 1179—1181.
  - Gracco-Roman Ostraca from Dakka, Nubla, in Class. Rev., 34 (1919), pp. 49-53;
  - 1 Faperi mediti, in Studi d. ec. paperol., 2 (1917), pp. 8-5.
  - 3 In Class, Rev., 32 (1918), pp. 112-114.
  - Zur Entwicklung des Doppel-Urbumle in ptolemäischer Zeil, in Zeitschr. Sac. St., 39 (1918), pp. 221—247.
  - A Latin-Greek Diptych of a.b. 198, in Bodl, Quart. Resord, 2 (1919), pp. 258—282.
  - \* A Tourist's Collection of Fifty Years age, in J. E. A., 3 (1916), p. 187.
- <sup>10</sup> Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déixont au Nord et Déix-el-Gamullals au Sud, in Ann. du Service, 14 (1914), pp. 63-67.
- 11 Der demotische Popyrus der Stadthibliathek Frankfurt u. M., in Zeitschr, f. sg., Spr. u. Alt., 54 (1918);
  pp. 93-98.

formation of an dypages into an Typpages yano, from a Frankfurt paperus. Pautien appends a juristic commentary. Another of his publications is that of four Demotic estrace from the British Museum containing receipts for the burial tax (τίλοι τοφων). A third is a collection of miscellaneous Demotic texts or notes on texts?, of which the following interest the Greek papyrologist: (1) Ein Bestatungsvertrag was der Zeit des Ptolomation Philadelphox, pp. 111—114. (2) Ein Schuldschein aus der Zeit des Gegenkonigs Harmachie in doppelter Ausfertigung. With hypothecation of a house. Pp. 114—116. (3) Demotische Urbunden zu der Xeyeia "tribos. Four Berlin estraca (receipts), A.D. 55/6, 58/9, 50/1, 50/60. Pp. 116—120. (6) Der Name Oceropyije. A mummy label gives this as the equivalent of Thury-rh-v="Thoth knows him for it)." Pp. 124—126. (7) Ein demotisch-griechisches Mummenschild una dem Jahre 256 a. Ch. With a curious abbreviation (Haverhise) of the names of Valerianus and Galliemus. Pp. 126—127.

A publication by G. Möller of two Demotic marriage contracts I know only from a review by K. Skynkt, who suggests in the course of it that an Typodor yans was really a marriage entered in the notarial marriage register, while an Typodor yans was one not so entered. (For this subject see also below, in § 6.) Moller has also published another marriage contract, but this time a Coptic one, with a not very clear date, which Moller after some discussion identifies as a.p. 1908.

Lastly, a brief reference should perhaps be made to two documents published by E. MEYER\*, viz.
(1) an eschatological prophecy on the history of Egypt in the Persian and Greek period, (2) laws of Darius and decree of Cambyses on temple revenues.

## 5. VOLUMES ON PAPTROLOGICAL AND ALLIED QUESTIONS.

Soveral volumes of a general character, giving a more or less complete survey of the science of papyrology, have appeared during the period covered by this Report. Of these the most important is undoubtedly
Schubant's masterly introduction to the whole subject. This work, which might at first sight be held
hardly necessary after Mitteis and Wilcken's monumental Chrestomathie, is in reality constructed on an
entirely different plan from theirs and will be quite invaluable to all students of papyri, in particular to
those training themselves or others with a view to the editing of texts. Unlike its producessor, it covers
both literary and non-literary papyri, and it deals at far greater length than Mitteis and Wilcken with the
diplomatic of the study; while in the portions of the volume which sover the same ground as the earlier
work Schubart is not only able to add from the results of recent researches a good deal of useful material
but has planned his survey on different lines. The general arrangement, sections of continuous (and
always very clear and concise) marrative, followed by hibliographical notes and references (many of which
are perfect examples of walters in purro), is excellent for a work of this kind; and that the standard
maintained is high those acquainted with Schulent's previous publications will not need to be told. The
volume has been reviewed by P. Vieneca J. I. J. and H. I. Bella D.

I noticed in my last Report a work by M. Monica on the legal side of papyrology. This volume has now been followed up by one on the political and administrative aspects of the study. Like the previous one the new volume aims less at advancing our actual knowledge than at collecting and satting forth in a handy and compendious form the results and conclusions so far arrived at; but the utility of such a work needs no emphasizing. There are good indices, including a specially useful one of Greek equivalents for latin words.

PREISIGKE has published a very handy little volume<sup>11</sup>, giving, in a summary and popular form, a general sketch of the life of Graco-Roman Egypt as revealed by the papyri. It is well reviewed by

- 1 Zur Begrabnisstener, ibid., 58 (1917), pp. 120-122.
- <sup>3</sup> Demotische Kleinigkriten, ibid., 54 (1918), p. 111 ff.
- 1 Zwei Sypptische Eheverträge aus varnattischer Zeit, in the Berlin Abhandlungen (1918), no. 3,
- 4 In Gott. gel. Anzeigen, 180 (1918), pp. 362-378.
- \* Kin koptischer Ehevererag, in Leitwar. f. 89. Spr., 55 (1918). pp. 67-74.
- Agraptinche Dokumente une der Permerzeit, in Strycher, d. K. Pr. Ak. d. Wiss., 1918, pp. 287-311.
- 1 Eingührung in die Papprusknade, von W. Schunger. Berlin, Weidmann, 1918. Up. vil + 508. 7 plates.
- 1 In Servates, N. F., 7 (1919), pp. 109-111.
- In Neue Juhrb, f. d. M. Alt., 41/42 (1918), pp. 353—355.
  in In J. E. A., 5 (1918), pp. 305—308.
- Omntribum papirologici alla ricostrucione dell' ordinamento dell' Egitto sotto il dominio greco-romano. Bonna. Athenanum, 1916.
- in Antière Leben nach den Sapptischen Pappri (Ann Natur und Geistewerlt, 565. Bdeit.), Luipzig n. Borlin, B. G. Taubner, 1916. Pp. 127. 1 plate. 8°. M. 1, 20, pbb. 1, 50.

P. Vieneck! and M. Gelzen! but not se favourably by Schunger! who says that while it is accurate and good in detail, there is no working out of a whole, no historical development; "es ist ein kulturgeschicht-liches Bilderbuch, über keine geschichtliche Darstellung."

An earlier work by O. Friedershausen, apparently a general review of papyrology for school use, is also inaccessible to use 4.

Beforence must be made to Corean's work on recent discoveries, which deals with papyri as well as with other classes of "documents." It is a useful survey of the whole field, but it cannot be said that the author has fully risen to the occasion. The work, written in a rather "spread-angle" style, is not as critical as it should be, and the author's populaintance with papyrology is somewhat superficial, so that there are many small inaccuracies and inexactitudes. An example of a more serious error is seen on p. 328, where PSL III 179, a receipt of a fairly common type for some part of a water-wheel, preceded by the usual Christian invocation, is taken as a Christian letter and, in addition, nilstranslated.

The late J. H. Mourrox published not very long before his death, in book form, five popular lectures, with a sermon, delivered in America in August, 1914, in which he dealt in a general way with the discoveries of Greek papers.

Among monographs on single subjects, the largest in scale is Lesquier's monumental work on the Roman army in Egypt'. Lesquier several years ago published an excellent and now well-known volume on the military institutions of the Lagids, and the present one is by way of a continuation of that; but it is on an even more elaborate scale. The subject is treated in the most thorough manner possible, all aspects being dealt with, rarely without new light being thrown on the mattern discussed or some new point being brought into focus. On the spicrisis, in particular, Lagquier's treatment is likely to be spechmaking; and his untiring scal in the collection of material, his abundant references, and the lists he gives of officers and soldiers mut with in inscriptions and papyri, as well as the documents, Latin and Greek, printed in the appendix, and the claborate indices, will make the volume an indispensable work of reference for many years to come. He is, as always, critical and cautious in his discussion of debated points. The volume is produced in a style which may justly be called sumptuous, and that it should have appeared at the end of the greatest war in history reflects the utmost credit alike on the author and on the Institut Français, which publishes it.

Omerat, has published his long expected book! on the liturgical system. Some of the principal conclusions arrived at by him as to the history of this system have already become matters of common knowledge, but this fact does not diminish the value of his volume, which is a mine of information on all matters affecting the liturgies. Much of it is in the form rather of a collection of immerial thun of a continuous narrative, and it is therefore hardly a book to be read currently with case; but the author's method of summing up at the end of each section the results arrived at enables a reader to obtain rapidly a general view of his conception of the liturgical system, and to fill in the details by intensive study of the single sections. Ouriel's examination of the system serves to confirm the impression of its disastrons offect on the commine condition of Egypt. The volume is reviewed at some length by M. Genzer.

A. Sens has published a volume which deals with questions, of a rather miscellaneous character, conserning the Roman government of Egypt 10. The earlier portion, devoted mainly to Octavian's conquest of the country and to its position and status in the general fabric of the Empire, affects papyrology only in part, and does not add very much that is novel to our knowledge of the subject. The most useful part of

- 1 In Soccutes, N. F., 7 (1919), pp. 104-106.
- \* In Harl, Phil, Woch., 37 (1917), cols, 815-817.
- In Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung, 38 (1917). cols. 709—711.
- \* Ergelmisse der Papprneforschung für den Gymnasinfunterricht. Leipzig, Quelle u. Mayer, 1914. M. 1.
  Review in Zeltschr. mierr. Gymn., 68, 465 ff. (Mr Tod's reference.)
- The New Archaeological Discoveries and their Rearing again the New Testament, etc. By Cantes M. Coners.-Funk and Wagnalis Co., New York and London, 1917. 2nd edition, revised, same year. Reviewed in J. E. A., 4 (1917), p. 285 t.
  - \* Prom Egyption Rubbish Hoops, London, Churles H. Kelly, 1918.
- + L'Armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Discléties. Par Jean Lesquien. (Mém., de l'inst. ée, d'arch, ordu Cules, tome 41.) Le Culre. Imprimerie de l'Institut trançais, 1918. Pp. xxxi+586. I map.
  - \* Die Litracpie. Von Fn. Ocarm. Leipzig, B. G. Teuboer, 1917. Pp. vili 452,
  - \* In Revl. Phil, Woch., 1918, June 15.
- Unterruchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Acquiptens unter ebmischer Herrichaft. Von A. Svers. Smitgart, 1915, J. B. Meizler. Pp. xi+260. M. 9.

the work is the third, in which the author deals with the language question in the Roman administration, and the first appendix on the Prefect's chancery. In a second appendix ne gives a list of Letin paper found in Egypt. This volume has been reviewed by W. Schurarri, M. Gelanni, and P. Vierkoni.

Plaumann, whose death at the front in the very last days of the war was so grievens a loss to papprology, had written an elaborate monograph on the Idioalogos, which since his death has been published with a brief memoir by Schurart and a bibliography of his publications. Though the study appeared as one of the Abhandlanger of the Prassian Academy it may more appropriately be dealt with here than in the following section. It is, as those who know Plaumann's work might expect, a very solid and excellent piece of research and very substantially adds to our knowledge of that, in many ways, perplaying department, the Idioalogos. Plaumann has used the aiready famous, if still unpublished, "Gnonon" at Borlin (which, by the way, will probably have appeared before these lines are in print\*), and of course obtains much new information from it. He concludes that the Idioalogos was not the "Hausgut" but an "Einnahmetitel der regelrechten Staatskassen"; it was in fact merely a department of the general financial administration. His discussion of the problems involved is by no means easy to read, being largely in the form of notes, but it is a very important addition to papyrological literature.

O. VIEGERANT, whose Quaestiones Epiphanianus appeared a few years ago, has published a further work on ancient metrology", which I know only from reviews by F. H. Whisshacht and W. Dörrfeld's.

R Kunner has published a small monograph on Antinoopolis's. It is only a brief popular sketch of the city's history, originally given as an address but a little altered for purposes of publication, and does

not make any original contributions to the subject.

A work of considerable importance, not for papyrology only but for Byzantine history generally, is a volume by A. Pisanion on the vexed question of the Byzantine copitation. The author's thesis is that the ingulio and the capitatio were not two distinct taxes but simply alternative aspects of one and the some tax, which was in its essence a land-tax, or rather perhaps a tax on the caput as representing the land successary to maintain the caput ("que le sugues pouvait se définir comme la portion de terre qui suffit à l'entretien d'un exput, et, en dernière analyse, que le caput est le regen incorporé"). He discusses the various ways in which the system worked, its implications and effects, and he explains the cupitatio Aumana et animalium us "une forme aberrante de la espitation normale," namely, first, a tax do the barbarians settled in the Empire (tributarii), second, in the fifth century, one on slaves not attached to the soft (not treated as coloni); it was in fact an impat mobilier. Certain of Piganiol's arguments are not altogether cogent, but his case as a whole is very strong, and accords well with certain recent papyrological evidence not known to him, into which it is impossible to enter here. If, however, his thesis be accepted, we must suppose a radical change of system later; for he is quite wrong in saying (p. 77) that the ανδρισμός of the Arabs was both a capitatio and a land-tax. It is perfectly clear from the texts in P. Lond. ty that the argumpas and the aquious you were quite distinct taxes, most often both paid by the same taxpayer and reckened, the one by capita or fractions of a caput, the other by the size of the holding; and it is unlikely, to say the least, that the Arabs were themselves responsible for this far-reaching change of system.

A monograph which, though not papyrological, it may be worth while to refer to in passing as a volume by J. Zehles on the history of the word paganus. It is reviewed by L. A. Constant. Reference should also be made to Charles's translation of John of Nikiu.

- 1 In Gitt. yel, American, 1916, pp. 355-362. 
  1 In Bert. Phil. Work., 86 (1916), cols. 929-942.
- In Socrator, N. F., 7 (1919), pp. 106—108.
- \* Der Idionlogen: Untersuchung zur Finanzverwaltung Agyptons in hellenistischer und römischer Zeil. Vom G. Plaumann. Abh. d. Pr. Ak. d. Wiss., 1918, no. 17. Puhl. 1919.
- \* It has actually appeared since this Report went to Press: Der Gnomon des Idios Logos. Von E. SECKEL U. W. SCHUBART. Ther Tell; Der Text, von W. Schubart. Weidmann, Berlin, 1919. I will deal with it more at length in my next Report.
  - Forschungen zur Metrologie des Allertums. Abh. d. Kon. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss., 34, 3 (1917).
  - In Berl. Phil. Work., 1918, Aug. 17.
    In Work, f. Kless, Phil., 25 (1918), cols. 385—389.
  - \* Antinospolis, Leipzig, A. Deinhert'sche Verlagsbuchh. Werner Schoil, 1914.
- 10 L'Impôt de Capitation sous le Bas-Empire Romain, Chambery, Libr. Perrin—M. Dardel Successeur, 1915.
  Pp. 90.
  11 Paganus, étude de terminologie historique. Fribourg, Paris, 1917. Pp. 110.
  - 11 In Journ. des Savants, N. S., 16 (1918), pp. 218-214.
- O The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikin; Translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text by R. H. Chantes. London, Williams and Norgate, 1916. Pp. xii + 216.

There is in papyre so much useful material throwing light on the structure and appurtenances of the private house in Graeco-Roman Egypt, material supplemented moreover by excavations, that it is somewhat surprising that comparatively little attention has lutherto been given to this subject. A monograph on it has at length been produced, in the form of a doctoral dissertation by LUCKHARD!. It is a useful suffection of the evidence to be found both in papyri and in archaeological sources, though Luckhard does not, perhaps, give as clear a general picture as might have been desired of the typical house, and he apparently lacks a first-hand acquaintance with the archaeological side of his subject. The volume will nevertheless prove very usoful as a work of reference.

Among works on legal matters a volume by Taunesson an oriminal law, dealing in turn with the Ptolomaic, Roman and Brantine periods, claims first place. It has been reviewed by TH. THALHEIM! and L. WENGER!

A work which deals only in part with paper is one by Phinoshein on the payment of the price in cases of purchase with bearowed money (papyrological sections, pp. 40-49, 164-168), reviewed by L. Mirrens, and Th. Thalmen; and another is a useful work on Greek wills, by Fa. Knars, beginning with those of classical Greece, passing on to the Graeco-Egyptian wills up to the Constitutio Antonina and concluding with an account of the Egyptian and extra-Egyptian wills after that date. This volume has been reviewed by WESSELY?. Another work, which seems to be of some importance, on the same subject has been published by Karlleri'; but I know it only from a casual reference, and am not even sure as to its exact title.

Paristoric has published a useful monograph on a subject not immediately connected with papyri, but our on which the papyri throw light's. This is the inscription of Scaptoparene, found in 1868 in Bulgaria, which contains, later alia, the roply of the Emperor Gordian to a petition of the villagers. This text Problegie makes the occasion for an interesting discussion of Roman chancery practice in general and of the meaning of the words Recognoss (in Greek documents dreyour) and Recognosi in particular. His first-hand knowledge of the German Civil Service enables him to illustrate his points very effectively; and he further supports his explanation by the analogy of Greek papyri. His theory as to Rescrips; and Recognori seems likely to be the true one; on some other points it is not possible to follow hun with so much confidence. He may be right; but he shows, here as elsewhere, a tendency to avanto his modern parallels and in particular to attribute to ancient officials a degree of system and exactitude which they probably did not possess.

## 6 ARTICLES, REVIEWS 17, MISCELLANDOUS.

Under this head I may notice first two articles of a general character. The first is one by O. Millions, giving a popular account of Greek papyrin, the other one by G. landikas on inscriptions and papyri together, which I have been unable to see ". According to the compilers of the bibliography in the Milan Studi (p. 251, no. 3) it contains general remarks on the importance of papyrology and epigraphy and some observations on the Bacchylides papyri in particular,

A few articles deal with the general history of Egypt. The late E. AMELISKAU published in 1915 a somewhat lengthy one on the Arab conquest 10. It is an interesting and useful review of the very obscure and

- I Das Privathaus in ptotemaischen und edmischen Aggpten. Van Fn. Lucuttum. Glessen, Otto Kindt, 1914. Fp. 114
  - Dus Strafrecht im Rechte der Puppri. Von B. Taunerswettag. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig u. Berlin, 1916.
  - \* In Berl, Phil. Woch., 37 (1917), cols. 625-629. 1 In Zeiturhe, d. Sar, St., 37 (1916), pp. 387-342.
- \* Der Kauf mit fremdem Geld (Romanistische Beiträge zur Rochtigeschichte, 1 Heft). Vom Fr. Phinnshnin. Leipzig, Volt and Co., 1916.
  - \* In Zeitsche, J. Sav. St., 37 (1916), pp. 369-378. 1 In Berl. Phil; Work, 37 (1917), cols, 375-276.
  - " Die Formeln des griechischen Testaments. Diss. Glemen, R. Nocke, Borna-Leipzig, 1915. Pp. 113.
  - In Work, f. kluss. Phil., 83 (1916), cols. 778—783.
  - W Estackatherwheliche Studies. Date and publisher unknown to me.
- 11 Die Inschrift von Skaploparene in ihrer Beziehung zur Kaiserlichen Kanzlei in Bom. Von Fn. Puntstore. (Nehriften der Wiss. Ges. in Strassburg, 30 Heft.) Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1917.
- or Reviews of publications noticed in the present Report are mentioned along with the publications to which they refer. Throughout, I have in general noted only the longer reviews or such as make some positive contribution to the subject dealt with. 11 Greek Popyri, in Expositor, 8 Sec., 15 (1918), pp. 221-233,
  - 14 Eurypeapal and warrenot, in Affine, 27 (1915), pp. 65-118.
  - 14 La Conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes, in Rerus historique, 119 (1915), pp. 273-310; 120 (1915), pp. 1-25.

difficult problems which centre round that event, but Amelinean's treatment, at least of the Greek sources, which alone I am compatent to estimate, is a little superficial and tast sufficiently critical. He identifies the Mukaukas, like Butler, with Cyrus, but regards him as, though a Bishop, not Patriarch but Governor.

H. I. BELL in an article of a popular kind, though utilizing some new material, sketches the economic and social history of Byzantine Egypt . The account given of Diocletian's financial reforms requires some

modification in view of Piganiol's work noticed in the preceding section.

M. HOLLEAUX discusses anew the problem of the authorship of the report on Energetes I's Syrian expedition in Wileken, Chrest 12. He returns to Mahaffy's view (which by the way is also uphald by Schubert) that the narrator is the king himself, and he both answers the arguments against this view and addings new ones for it. Not all his arguments are cogent but their total effect is undoubtedly strong.

WILCKES corrects a reading in BGU. 889, 21 H. The date is not ded and roo cas but ded as core as, i.e. the year 116/7. Thus the evidence for a revolt of the Jews in 136/7 vanishes, and that revolt is to be

dejeted from historical literature. A reference must be made to an article by E. Ruzcota on the village of Theadelphia though it deals

mainly with epigraphical evidence.

The complicated questions of Early Ptolemaic chronology have called forth several articles. M. RADOLLE devotes a short discussion to the date of Philopator's accession. After considering both literary and papyrus evidence (in connexion with the latter he has of course to discuss the various years used in calculations), he concludes that the reign began between the beginning of September, s.c. 221, and February 26; 220. "Nons royons qu'il y a concordance parfaite entre cette donnée et le texte de Polybe : l'animement

a bion on lien an septembre 221." A. FERRARINO discusses the chronology of the first three Ptolemies". He does not believe in a "financial" year nor in the official use of the Egyptian year. One year was official (Ptolemato), the other non-official (Egyptian). Financial and royal year were the same: Egyptians, using their own year, referred to the official one as an ai was rained because they conceived of the state per excellence as the taxing authority. The non-official year began on Thoth 1 and ended Epagon. 5. The official year did not begin on Thoth 1 but was not the Macedonian year; it was the regnal year, from the accession of the reigning king. The non-official year was reckoned only from the accession to Epag 5 next following. The Canon followed the later usage, from Thota 1, and therefore, for the first Ptolemies, is post-dated. After developing those clews Ferrabino deals with the dates of the first three Ptolemies. He gives chronological tables.

C. C. Ebuan has discussed the same subject in two successive articles, utilizing the important (though far from unambiguous) new evidence of the Zeno papyrl at Cairo. Further evidence is afforded by the Florentine pupyri of the same find, and at the end of his second article Engan makes use of this.

A. W. Dr GROOT deals with the mysterious "Ptolemy the Son," who during part of the reign of Philadelphus appears in association with that king". He identifies him with the prince who later became

king as Euergetes.

Various single officials have been made the subject of special articles. Thus, M. Exuens devotes the first of a series of articles to the exterious two quantum? This falls into three justs: (1) Engers holds the spicioles was a magnitrate of the some, (2) he rejects Zauker's view that he had judicial functions, (3) he deals with his usual functiona.

In the second article of the series Engers deals with the nomarch, mainly with the third century a.c.o. He concludes that originally the nomerch "inxta strategum...res civiles agisse at 3º adhue succulo terrant Aegypti et vectigalia administravisse, postes vero eina potestatem valde deminutam esse."

- 1 The Buzantine Servile State in Lappa, in J. E. d., 4 (1917), pp. 86-106.
- L'Anonymy du Pappens de Gourds, in Rev. d. et. mm., 18 (1916), pp. 153-165.
- Zu den judischen Anfeidmien in depypten, in Hermes, 54 (1919), pp. 111-112.
- \* Thendelfar, in Hall at I. Soc. Arch. d'Alex., N. S., 4, fasc. 2 (1918), pp. 91-118 (to be continued).
- La Date d'Avenement de Ptoténice IV Philogator, in Rev. de Phil., 42 (1918), pp. 109-121.
- La Gronologia dei primi Tolemci, in Atti d. R. Acand. d. Se. di Torino, 51 (1915-16), pp. 348-367. T On the Dailing of Early Prolomnic Pappers, in Ann. do Service, 17, 209-228; A Further Note on Early Professia Chronology, ibid., 18 (1918), pp. 58-64.
  - Pholometics der Sohn, in Rhein, Museum, N. F., 72 (1918), pp. 445—463.
- 9 Observationes ad deggeti pertinentes administrationem qualis actule L'agiderum fuit, 1, in Murousepus, S. S., 45 (1917), pp. 257-271-
  - 16 (Miservationes, atc. II. De Nemarcho, Ibid., 47, pp. 148-157.

An article on the toparch by Piotrovirch is inaccessible to me, as also to Prof. Grenfell, to whom I owe the reference; and one on the Arabarch by J. LESQUIER is dealt with in Mr Tod's forthouning bibliography, to which reference may be made.

J. Orronn collects, from P. Oxy, 311, the new particulars there to be found on the prefects of Egypt<sup>†</sup>; and A. Sters, in an article on Ser. Sulpicius Similis<sup>†</sup>, shows (1) that he was prefect, (2) that his name was above given. Thus, C. Sulpicius Similis, C. Sulpicius Similis, and Fl. Sulpicius Similis (the hest under Commodus) are all to be deleted.

J. C. Nager, in one of his series of articles on Roman law, deals with the registration of contracts, of property, etc. with census lists, and so forths.

In a note in *Philological* F. Zucker, accepting an argument of Mahaffy's, withdraws his previous interpretation of a passage in Strabo, and adds further observations on the question as to the existence of a papyrus monopoly at various periods.

W. L. Westermann, devotes three articles to the subject of irrigation and land reclamation in Egypt. In the first be discusses the part played by Aelius Galles in the reorganization of the irrigation system? He holds that Gallas was chiefly responsible for the reorganization and that from him Strabe got his clear knowledge of irrigation; also that Gallas preceded Galus Petronius as prefact. In the seconds he sketches the chronology of the reclamations in the Fayum under Philadelphus and Energetes I. He thinks that they began not later than 370 n.c. The third is a brief historical sketch of the Egyptian irrigation system in Pharmonic, Greek and Roman times (to Probus).

Among logal articles the most important is perhaps one by P. Jöns on the process of execution in cases of debt. This is a detailed and systematic treatment of the whole subject, and is especially noteworthy because Jors is able to show from an unedited Berlin papyrus (P. Berol. 11664), of which his publishes part, that the chrematistae, hitherto regarded as a purely Ptolemaic institution, continued to exercise their functions at Alexandria in the Roman period (A.D. 133). Two parts of this very important article have so far appeared, and a third is to be expected next year (1920).

The same periodical which publishes Jörs's article contains also some other important legal items.

R. TAUBENSCHLAO, in an article on the patric potestar<sup>11</sup>, deals with the rights of parents over children and, more broadly, with the whole legal relationship of parents to children both before and after the Constitutio Autonian. He shows how after that enactment the native law (Volkerscht) continued to hold its own in many details against the imperial law, while in others it was medified by it.

E. Wetss, in another action, which deals with the Dacian wax-tablets 12, refers constantly to Greek and Latin papers for illustrations, parallels or contrasts; and E. Rabel, in a lengthy discussion of the Key igniture. It touches at times on our study. J. H. Lussus replies to some of Rabel's points in a later number 14.

A. Beltrams studies the text of the Constitutio Antonian (P. Giss. 40, col. I) 15. He gives first Meyer's text as in Mittels, Chrost, then a new text suggested by G. Szoné for a new juristic monograph on the edict, and finally suggests further supplements for such lacunae as still remain.

New light is thrown on Gracco-Egyptian marriage law by certain of the newly published texts referred

- In Ess (Lamberg), 19, p. 134.
  L'Arnberchès d'Égypte, in Rev. Archéol., 8 (1917), pp. 95.—103.
- A New Particulars concerning the Prinspetti Arappti, in Ancient Egypt, 1917, pp. 122-123.
- 4 Ser, Sulpicias Similio, in Hermes, 53 (1918), pp. 422-433.
- \* (thereutiumculae de luce Romano, cvii. De Nilo Ceneltore, in Mucanayne, N. S., 44 (1916), pp. 72-87 (a continuation; the article began in vol. 43, p. 432), 239-254, 45 (1917), pp. 5-20.
- \* Zer Frage des Papyrnemenapols, in Philologus, 74 (1917), pp. 184-186. See also Berl, Phil. Weeh., 1918.
  p. 91 (Prof. Grenfell'a reference).
- 7 Active Gallus and the Reorganization of the Irrigation System of Egypt under Augustus, in Class. Phil., 12 (1917), pp. 287-243.
  - 9 Land Reclammation in the Faynes under Ptolomies Philadelphus and Energetes I, ibid., pp. 125-480.
  - \* The Irrigation System of Egypt, thid., 14 (1919), pp. 158-164.
- \*\* Krerichter und Chrematisten; Untersuchungen zum Mahn- und Vollstrechungsverfahren im grirchisch-römischen Agupten, in Z. Suc. St., 35 (1915), pp. 230-339, 39 (1918), pp. 52-118
  - 11 Die Patria Patesiar im Recht der Pappri, ibid., 37 (1916), pp. 177-230.
  - 11 Persyrinische Mauripationenkte, ibid., pp. 136-176.
  - 12 May \$500Ang und Persoundtes, Ibid., 38 (1915), pp. 840-390.
  - 14 Nochmals our Sten \$2053.92, Ibid., 39 (1918), pp. 36-51.
  - in Per il testa di Pap. Gisesen 40, Col. 1, in Riv. di Fil. e d'Istr. Cl., 45 (1917), pp. 16-28,

to above, in §§ 3 and 4. This subject is also the theme of two articles which belong to the present section. F. Manor studies PSL 1-641, and somes to the conclusion that it is a document of εχγραφος γόμος, not άγραφος, as the clithes were inclined to believe. He holds that άγραφος and εχγραφος γόμος were not two alternative kinds of marriage, but distinct stages in one and the same marriage ("l'άγρ. γ. è un matrimonio di prova che normalmente precede l'έγγρ. γ. \(^3\)). On this subject see Sethe's review of Mollen referred to above, in § 4. Sethe has occasion to deal with the supposed "marriage on trial" (Probects, sarriage d'essa) in an article on the Demotic contract published by Spiegalberg in 1900 (Zeitehr, f. iig. Spr., 46, p. 112-fl.), hitherto regarded as an example of such a marriage. This explanation Sethe now decisively rejects on the ground both of the text as originally published and in particular of some new readings he has arrived at. The wife refers to another man (husband or lover) from whom the bridegroom has separated but and to an eath she has taken about him. Sethe hitting upon a new reading of the date and thus extending the period of probation to nine months, holds that her oath is to the effect that she is not programs by this other man, and that if at the end of nine months pregnancy is not established the marriage new contracted shall become absolute: The importance of his conclusion, if it is upheld, for the history of Egypthan marriage law need not be stressed.

Besides the article just referred to Manor has published mother on some new Italian contributions to

the juristic side of papyrology4, which I have been unable to see.

An article by G. M. Califous on interpret and the dien werdsum request deals mainly with Attic law but has some references to P. Hal. I.

E. Cou, who some years ago wrote an extremely interesting article on a document of discorpress published by J. Maspero, returns to the subject, a propos of the publication of a second document of this class in Maspero's third volume (see above, § 3). In this he draws from the clearly documentary character of the new papyrus the obvious conclusions as to the old, and subjects the new one to a close examination from the juristic point of view. He adds a cornous parallel from contemporary Greece (the year 1911). H. I. Beth follows up this article by a note on the style of the carrier document, directed to showing, from affinities of diction, its notarial character. An article on the same subject by Fa. Buonamuri is not accessible to me.

1. Wexness calls attention\* to a passage in Theophilas's paraphrase of the Institutes which uses διάδοχος as symmymous with κληρονόμος and seems therefore to settle the question as to the character of the phrase κληρ, διαδ. διακάτοχου.

I referred in my last Report (J.E.A., 3 (1916), p. 136) to Castrana's legal studies in the second volume

of the Milan Study which I have since had the opportunity of examining more at leisure.

Pitriamer deals with a problem connected with the Gracco-Egyptian house, viz. what was the nature of the signes often mentioned in descriptions of house property. He decides, partly on the evidence of a Simusburg papyrus which he publishes at the beginning of his article, that it was not a "tower" in the proper sense but a sort of wing or annex, or, at times, a separate building, used as a storehouse. arrive he regards as a storely, i.e. \*point\* order\* is the first floor above the ground-floor.

Papyri are of course of immense value for the study of social life and commercial activity in Grasco-Beman Egypt; but though some general studies of this side of papyrology have been made in manuals like Wilcken's Grandsige or Schubart's Einfulcing, or in such works as Deissmann's Licht von Osten, ouriously little has hitherto been done (except in one or two directions) in the way of an intensive study of such questions. The Italians have lately devoted themselves with great enthusiasm to this work; and in Italy have appeared a number of articles, not often adding much that is new to our knowledge, but

- <sup>1</sup> Un cavatteristico documento di Lyypapos vinos per la storia del matrimonia nell' Egitto greco-romano, in Bull. d. Ist. di Livitto Romano, 28 (1916), pp. 97—130.
- <sup>3</sup> Ein acgyptischer Vertrag über den Abschluss einer Rhe auf Zeit in danotischer Schrift, in Gött, und. Nache., 1918, pp. 288—299.
  - Nusci contributi ullo stadio della papirologia giuridica, in Riv. ital. di sociologia, 21 (1917).
  - \* Existingles and the birg problemoragine, in Class. Phil., 11 (1916), pp. 365-394.
  - 1 Un second papagrus byzannin sur l'apolòrycis, in Campies Rembu de l'Acad. d. Inner., 1917, pp. 351-368.
  - Lineamonts of Apickeryris in Dynamius Egypt, in J. E. A., 5 (1918), pp. 70-72.
- <sup>3</sup> Di un mure decemente sull'apokăreriz e dei rapporti di tale istituto col diritto romano, în dun. d. Univ. Tucans, 33 (1815), parte ii, pp. 1—12; see Stud. d. sc. pop., 2, p. 275, no. 551.
  - A Zu alaporouer, biadoxes, diametroxes, in Z. Ser. St., 38 (1917), pp. 426-327.
  - Die Regryfe Höpyer und Treyg bei der Hammalage, in Hermen, 54 (1919), pp. 423-432.

collecting the available evidence and presenting it in a readable and interesting form. It is much to be hoped that more work of this kind will be done, not only in Italy but in other countries. The second volume of the Milan Study several times referred to above does a good dual in this direction, paying special attention to the private letters, so valuable for the Illustration of social life and popular psychology, Califerent opens the bell with an interesting essay on the ideas and the mental untlook of the letterwriters1; M. MONDIN: follows with one on the letters of, to, and about women, illustrating feminion characteristics and family life, and G. Guentst deals with the (mann) religious ideas which the letters reveal. It is of course difficult at times, as the writers of these essays realize, to decode how far a given phrase represents anything vital in the writer's mind and how far it as a mere formula; but, all reservations made, the value of such studies as these is great.

These assays do not, however, exhaust the material for the study of private latters which this volume contains. A particularly valuable contribution to the subject is a collection of indices to published letters. These are: I One arranged according to place of publication. ii. A chronological mater. iii and iv. An index of subjects, first by Grock, and secondly by Latin and Italian words. v. An index of place-manes.

Elsewhere M. MONDINI has published an article on the letters of soldiers?, of which she translates specimens, wholly or in part: while A. Calderini does the same service for soldiers' wills4. More recently M. C. MONDEN has written on some recently discovered private letters in an article not assessible to me.

Turning now from the private letters to subjects illustrated by documents of various classes, I may note an article, originally a discourse to the School of Papyrology at Milan for the session 1917-1918, by CALDEBING on the subject of slavery, which I have been numble to see"; another by the same, also a discourse to the same school, on ideas of death in the Greek civilization of Alexandrias, which deats with papyri, liberary sources, and inscriptions, but which is also inaccessible to me; another by the same, a lecture to the Milan assisty "Atene e Roma." on the bread supply of antiquity, drawing, inter ulia, on papyrological evidence10; another article by the same, also inaccessible to me, on the problem of supply in Egypt 11; yet another by the same on the children of antiquity 12, using the papyri among other evidence. and translating several; and finally another by the same on the public baths of Egypt !! The last named is of special importance; it deals with the baths in all their aspects, the places where their existence cars be established, their buildings and fittings, their direction and working, and their finances (both tax, etc.). An article by A. Roscio, apparently on weaving, is inaccessible to me ".

Work on these subjects is, however, not confined to Egypt. L. C. West does a neeful service in an article dealing with the cost of living in Reman Egypt is. The part of his work which will be of most general utility is his tables of values of coinage, wages, and prices; but his introductory remarks are also of great value. In view of the known difficulties of evaluating commodities and namely, be takes wheat as the standard of value. A later article he devotes to the commerce of Roman Egypt, for which he mass papyri, inscriptions, and literary sources." In this, after a brief introduction, he gives the following tables: 1. The chief Egyptian trade-routes, noting custom-houses on the Nils and in the Fayam. 2 Commercial

- Pensiero e sentimento nelle lettera private grecho del papiri, in Studi d. ve. pap., 2 (1917), 10. 9-28.
- a Lastere femminili ner papiri gramagizi, ilid., pp. 29-50.
- bi alcum elemente religiori paggari nelle epistole private pecche dei pagiri, thil., pp. 51-70.
- \* Reperturio per lo studio delle lettere persate dell' Egitto greco-romano, ibid., pp. 100-245.
- Lettere dl soldati, in Alens e Roma, 18 (1915), pp. 241-258. 5 Testumqua di soidati, shid., pp. 259-266.
- \* Lettere private dell' Egitto romano recentemente acoperte, ibid., 21 (1918), 238. (Referred to by D. Bassi in Ric. di Fil., 47 (1919), p. 292, note.)
- . Libert's whiter and mondo des papers. Milano, "Fight della Provvidenza," 1918. Pp. 30. Rev. by D. Bissr in Ric. di Fil., 46 (1919), pp. 287-288.
- \* tampini ed cold della morte nella civiltà preca di Alemendria, Same publishers, 1916. Pp. 26. (Sec Athenneur, Pavia, 1917, p. 194,
- to Passen necessary quatidianum (La greetione del pass nell' antichite). Pubbl. dell' Aiene e Roma, G. B. Paravin,
- is Lie politica dei communi secondo i pupiei perso-quizi, in Ric. di Ital., 1918, pp. 318-327. (Bov. by Busst in fin, di Fil., 17 (1919), pp. 292-298.)
  - is thembini dell' autichità, in Aleur e Roma, 20 (1917), pp. 91-109,
  - in Raymi pubblici will Egitta prixo-romano, in Rend, R. Int. Lomb, et. Sc. v Lett., 52 (1919), pp. 297-2011,
- 11 Lana v telai nell' Egitto greco comuno, in Atome v Rosen, 21 (1918), 240, See Bir. of Fil., 47 (1919). " The Cost of Living in Roman Egypt, in Class. Phil., 13 (1916); pp. 291-314.
  - Dance of Commercial Life in Roman Egypt, in Joura, of Rom, Stad., 7 (1917), pp. 45-58.

imports, arranged in classes and by countries. 3. Foreigners living in Egypt (excluding those in military or government service). 4. Egyptions living abroad.

W. Schuhaur has published a very interesting review of the papyrological evidence for the life of women in Gracco-Roman Egypt?; and also un article colling attention to the value of W. Wreszinski's Atlas zur altity. Kulturgesch. for a knowledge of Egyptian life, so useful to a papyrologist?.

P. Jocquer utilizes the new evidence of P. RyL ir in an article correcting and supplementing his Pie

municipale?

R. Grosse has published a useful article on the military grades in the army of the fourth-sixth centuries, dealing with the various offices more or less in order of rank\*; and J. Lesquien deals with the question to what extent and from what date marriage was permitted to Roman soldiers. The concludes that from a.B. 197 the full civil marriage was allowed for all citizen soldiers.

In the sphere of religion, the most important single article is an elaborate discussion by Wilexen of the Greek monuments of the Dromos at Memphis\*. This study, undertaken in connexion with his collection of Ptolemnic papyra, is mainly archaeological, but helps to reinforce the Basery that Sarapis was not an importation from abroad but "oine inflamistische Umbikhing des Osicis-Apis von Memphis."

C. F. LEHMANN-HAUFT, on the other hand, in an article published before Wileken's, holds to the theory of Babylonian origin.

Spiroterence, from a text in Preisigke's S.-R. (5827), which mentions a shrine of Vorence (="the two brothers"), explains the lephe Aée 'Adràphe (xic) in P. Oxy. If 254, 3 as a shrine, not of the Dioscuri, as Granfell and Hunt suggested, but of this Egyptian Footnet. G. Méauris holds that the Graceo-Egyptians identified the Nile with Oceanus, and explains the exclamation 'Oxeas' as an invection of the river "on sa qualité de bienfaltour, de neurricier et de père." In an article mainly archaeological but using the evidence of papyri Th. Schreiber deals with the Egyptian elements in the Alexandrian cult of the dead in

G. PENTSCHRIFTER has published an article on the churches and monasteries of Oxyrhynchusti; and

J. OFFORD has a note on the libelli12.

Quastions of currency are dealt with in two articles by J. G. Milkel. In one, on the Alexandrian coinage of the eighth year of Galifenia D, he notes types and inscriptions and statistics of come for various members of the Imperial House in five heards, and from this evidence deduces the following conclusions: There was a complete break in the scheme of work of the Alexandrian mint in the eighth year. Alexandria was lest by Gallismus by the beginning of October, 260, recovered a few months later, before the minth year began, i.e. Aug. 29, 261. The Fayum was perhaps held for Macrianus and Quietns till the antinna of 261. The Thebaid was either never conquered by them or reverted to Gallismus earlier. The second article is on the complicated question of the Alexandrian mint in the reign of Dischetian<sup>14</sup>. J. C. Nauen, in an article on methods of land measurement D, has some allusions to papyri.

- The Frau im griechisch-römischen Agypten, in Internat. Monotosche, f. Wins., Kunst u. Techn., 10, pp. 1503—
   1588.
- <sup>3</sup> Altäyyptinches Amchaumgaunisrial jur die Urkunden priechtich-romischer Zehl, in Orient, Lücesturzritung, 19 (1916), cols. 1—9.
- \* Sur les mésorpides égyptismus à la fin du m'aiècle après d. C. d'après les Papyrus Rylands, in Rev. d. 61. gr., 30 (1917), pp. 294-328.
  - \* Die Rongordnung der römischen stemm des 1.-6. Jahrhunderts, in Klie, 15 (1917), pp. 122-161.
  - \* Le maringe des soldais romains, in Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. d. Juser., 1917, pp. 227-220.
- <sup>8</sup> Die griechischen Denkmiller vom Dromon des Serapenms von Memphis, in Jahrh. d. kain, dentsch. Arch. Inst., 92 (1917), pp. 149-203.
  - 1 Gesichertes and Strittiges, III. 4. Zum Sarapin " Problem," in Kito, 14 (1914).
  - Dan Heiligtum der zwei Bruder in Oxyrkynehus, in Zeitwhr, f. Ag. Spr., 1918, p. 140.
  - \* OKEANE, in Rev. de Phil., 40 (1916), pp. 51-54.
- Die äggptlischen Elemente der Alexandrinischen Totenpylege, in Bull. d. I. Soc. Arch. d'Alex., N. S., 4 (1914-5), pp. 3-24.
  - 11 Oxychyuchos, Scine Kirchen u. Klister. And Grand der Papyronfunden, in Fessgabe A. Knopper, pp. 248-284.

    = The Libellus or Certificate of Pagan Sucrifice Demanded by the Edict of Declas, in Ancient Egypt, 1917.
- pp. 149—151...
  - is The Alexandrian Colongs of the Eighth Year of Gallienns, in Ancient Enget, 1917, pp. 152-161.
  - 14 The Organisation of the Alexandrian Mint in the Beign of Dissistion, in J. R. A., 8 (1916), pp. 207-217.
- Observationes de Juse Romano, exc. La monsurae generièue, in Macmospae, S. S., 46 (1918), pp. 115-126 (to be continued).

K. Fr. W. Schunzt, in a series of studies on Preisigke's S.-R. 13, deals with the personal names there occurring, making various proposals for revised readings. Calebratza discusses again the verad question of the correct form of the name of the non-commissioned officer Abimacua<sup>3</sup>. He concludes that Kenyon was right in holding it to be Abinaticus, and suggests that some of the deviations from this form may be due to the influence of the name 'Apiveria.

Gradenwitz suggests a new reading for P. Giss. 40, it 3—42; and Radermacher proposes for a latter among the Petrie paper the supplement r[quelocurror]\*, citing in support of his suggestion a passage in the Hist. Lausinea. He may be right; but it is somewhat dangerous to infer to an early Ptolemaio text from the Greek of the Byzantino period, whose penchant for the resuscitation of old or poetic forms is well-known.

Wassers points out that the view of Anton Chatris that Ptolemaios Chemos was not a more swindler finds some support in a point of linguistic detail illustrated by papyrus usage. He also explains the word "Carpathiam films" in Amm. Marcellinus by the collecting the instances of its occurrence in the various forms both in literary works and in papyri, and seeking to obtain from these far from explicit sources of information some idea as to the shape and character of the article of clothing so designated P. Figure discusses the word syyaprice and its derivatives as used in Habrow and Aramaio sourcess.

In a study undertaken "chintywith a view to getting light on the New Testament use of the article"," F. EAKIN illustrates the usage in the papers of the first and second century; and in another", which was originally intended as a footnote to the proceeding but grew into a separate article, C. W. E. Milliag, using P. Greaf. 1, Amb. 11, Org. 1, 11, points out, what Deissmann and Moulton overlooked, that the article (agreeing of course with the name of the son) before the father's name occurs only when the son's name is in the genitive. He gives examples and statistics, including exceptions.

M. LENGHANTIN DE GUBERNATIS, with reference to P. Oxy. viii 1090 and PSI, 1 21, discusses the pronunciation of Latin at Oxychynchus in the fifth century, as indicated in these paperist.

THE REINACH calls attention to two documents in P. Oxy. xii illustrating the commonness of illiteracy in Egypt 12.

V. Gardynavsen has published two interesting articles on the notaries of Egypt. In the first p, on the notarial subscriptions of Byzantine papyri, there is little that is new, but it is a useful conspectus of the subject. Gardthausen, however, seems to have studied the documents rather seperficially, and his article is not free from errors and misconceptions; in particular it is maleading to class the subscriptions of public and private officials and collectors on receipts (e.g. p. 6) with the notarial subscriptions to contracts. They were, doubtless, in the matter of form, modelled on the latter; but there is surely a very essential difference between the signature added by the recipient of a payment in money or kind to his receipt and the subscription by which a notary certifies a contract drawn up in his office.

There is greater novelty in his other article<sup>11</sup>, in which he collects evidence as to the use by notaries of marks and of shorthand as an additional precaution against forgery, and explains opposite as usually having reference "and emon Wechsel der Schrift, and den Übergang von den ppaquers zu den opposit."

This explanation is by no means beyond challenge, but it is at least an interesting one, which calls for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Zu griechischen Urhanden aus Agypten, 1, in Berl. Phil. Woch., 1918, May 18 (cols. 477—180), Sept. 21, Nov. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Ahimmann-AMENNETY, in Athenaeum (Pavin), 5 (1917), pp. 44-50.

In Z. Sov. St., 36 (1915), p. 425.

<sup>4</sup> Zum Beirf Flinders Petris 1 30, 1 = Wirminwigh, Epietulae pricatus graceas 1, in Rhein, Museum, N. F., 71 (1916), p. 151.

b Odyssens-Uris, Stud. v. Pal, u. Pap., 17 (1917), p. 8.
Zu Ammirans Marcellians 29, 1, Bid., p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> MACOPTHE, in Shah d. sc. pop., 2 [1917], pp. 95—102.

Ayyapeto, in Zeitschr. J. d. sessiest. Wiss., 18 (1917), pp. 64-72.

The Greek Article in First and Second Century Papyri, in Am. Journ. of Phil., 37 (1918), pp. 331-340.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Note on the Use of the Article before the Genitive of the Father's Name in Greek Papper, ibid., pp. 341-348.

<sup>11</sup> La Permancia del Latino ad Omirineo nel Secolo V. in Riv. di Fil., 43 (1915), pp. 448-459.

ii à propos de la question de l'Envaignement Primaire dans l'Empire Romain, in Rev. d. ét. anc., 10 (1917), p. 32.
 Di com des dayptischen Notare: Ein Beitrag zur Urkuntenleher, in Stud. z. Pal. n. Pap., 17 (1917), pp. 1—8.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Die griechischen Hamitzeichen, ihld. autogr. 1-12.

further investigation; and Gardthausen has done a uneful service in pointing out the need for circer attention to such minutiae than has been given by most editors of papyrus texts. These articles are reviewed by W. WEINBERGER (very brief) and F. Zucker.

H. I. Bull, calls attention to the importance, for the difficult problem of the reading of Byzantibe protocols, of a comparatively legible specimen contained in the third volume of Jean Maspan's catalogue, making some suggestions for readings and drawing certain general conclusions.

The New Palaeographical Society has published facsimiles of these Oxychynchus paperi's, ciz. An ampublished and unnumbered Ms. of Odyssey M (second century), P. Oxy. 1408, and P. Oxy. 1414.

GRENKELL contributed to The Fear's Work in Classical Studies for 1917 the report on papers for 1916. In the first number of the revived Recue Egyptologique reviews of English and of Italian papyrology respectively during the war are given by H. I. Benn's and P. De Francisco. A bibliography of Ancient History for 1918, dealing specially with the Ancient East but with some references useful to the papyrologist is that by N. H. Baynes for the Historical Association's Bulletin.

GRESTELL, in an interesting article, deals with the future prospects of Graco-Roman work in Egypt<sup>1</sup>, and Calmerist, in one which I have not been able to see, discusses the future of papyrology in Italy<sup>10</sup>, Calderni has also published an article of a popular kind <sup>11</sup> pleading the cause of papyrological studies in Italy, with special reference to the Milan school and its publications. Lestly, reference must be made here to the projected publication at Milan, under the direction of Calmerist, of a new Egyptological

Turning now to those reviews not already referred to above, it will be best to take first those of publications of texts. P. Rgl. it has been reviewed by Mitters<sup>13</sup>, Lesquien<sup>13</sup>, and P. Collaret<sup>13</sup>, P. Mon. I by Mitters<sup>13</sup>; P. Hal. I (the Dikaiomata) by th Gloven<sup>13</sup>; P. Ooy, x by K. Fa. W. Schmidt<sup>13</sup>, G. Fracca-noll<sup>3</sup>, and J. Sitzleri<sup>3</sup>; PSI, in by P. Viereck<sup>33</sup> and Wessery<sup>33</sup>; P. Lond, iv by K. Fa. W. Schmidt<sup>33</sup>; P. Gradenwitz (Paulmann) by M. Gieleri<sup>3</sup>; Preisigke's S.-B. III and iv by P. Viereck<sup>33</sup>; and Minns's edition of the two parchiment deeds from Automain referred to in my last Report (J. E. A., 3, 1916, p. 135) by Mitters<sup>33</sup>. Preisigke's Fachworter is reviewed by M. Gieleri<sup>33</sup>; the volume dest dom Werkstort dee Hornals (see J. E. A., 3, p. 136) by P. Viereck<sup>32</sup> and Wessely<sup>33</sup>; Sar Nicolò's Vermannessen ii 1 by F. Poland<sup>33</sup>; Egon Weiss's Studien in don romischen Rechtsqualles (a work which I have not previously referred to but which, as it uses papyrological evidense, may be noticed here<sup>30</sup>) by San Nicolò's; Cam-

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In Berl. Phil. Work., 1918, Nov. 9.
In Work, f. kl. Phil., 36 (1919), cols. 101—102.
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The Greek Papyrus Protocol, in Journ, of Hell, Stud., 1917, pp. 56-58.

<sup>\*</sup> New Pul. Soc., Series II, pis. 76-78. 

Year's Work, 1917, pp. 25-33.

English Papyrology during the War, R. L., 1 (1919), pp. 103-105.

I Les Études papyrologiques en Ralle pendant la querre, ibid., pp. 105-108.

<sup>3</sup> In Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature, 8 (1919), pp. 8-8.

The Future of Gracev-Roman Work in Egypt, in J. E. J., 4 (1917), up. 4-10.

Per Parcenire della papirologia in Italia ja discourse to the Scunda Papir, for 1918—1919). Milano, "Figii della Provvidenza," 1919. Pp. 19. Rev. by D. Bassi in Bir. di Fil., 47 (1919), pp. 292—293.

u Papiri grees e libri italiani, in Nuova Antologia. 53 (1918), pp. 57-63.

<sup>#</sup> In Z. Sur. St., 37 (1916), pp. 317-324. 

13 In Journ. d. Ser., N. S., 14 (1916), pp. 506-513.

<sup>11</sup> In Rev. Egypt., N. S., 1 (1919), pp. 125-128. " In Z. Nav.-Nt., 33 (1914), pp. 347-349.

to Le Droit Mesquelen, in Journ. d. Ser., N. S., 14 (1916), pp. 21-33 (this is rather a study of the document than a review proper).

<sup>15</sup> In Gott, gel. Anacigen, 178 (1916), pp. 390-411. 15 In Rice, di Fil., 45 (1915), pp. 333-354.

<sup>18</sup> In Berl, Phil. Work., 36 (1916), cols. 65—69.
8 Hild., 37 (1917), cols. 591—592.

<sup>#</sup> In Zeitzehr, Satzer, Gymn., 68, p. 59 ff. (Mr Tod's reference; the raview is not accessible to mus)

<sup>=</sup> In Woch, f. klass. Phil., 83 (1916), cals, 305-512, 579-587.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> In Berl, Phil. Woch., 36 (1916), cals. 9—11
<sup>34</sup> Hild., cols, 181—182.

<sup># 15</sup> Z. Sas. St., 35 (1915), pp. 425-429. 

In Berl. Phil. Wooh., 85 (1916), cols. 241 - 342.

<sup>22</sup> Thid, cols, 1424-1427.

<sup>\*</sup> In Deutsche Literaruereit., 37 (1916), cols, 1942-1943.

In Berl, Phil. Works, 56 (1918), col., 45—49.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Laipzig, Meiner, 1914. Pp. viii - 155. Mk. 5.

at In Krit, Fleetelfuhrauche, f. Ges. u. Rechtme., 18, pp. 313-317.

tarelli's Série des prefetté de Eguto in by S. Maspero's Org. malitaire by M. Besniera'; Van Hossen's Roman Curvier Writing by M. Prou's; v. Druffel's Pappy. Studies by Mitters'; and Stein-wenter's Versiumnisverfahren by P. Koscharer.

Some personal notes have been contributed to this Journal from time to take during the war, but it may now be noted again that Williams has left Munich for Berlin, his place at Munich being taken by Office Konnemann has gene to Breslau, Zeuken to Tathingen, C. H. Breken to Berlin, Paramora and Spirgerarms to Heidelberg. The death roll, chiefly in direct consequence of the war, is a heavy med Mahaffy, J. Maspero, Plaumann, Strack, O Crasius, B. Kiel, A. Sather, F. Blumenthal, K. Fitzler, G. Fraccarolt, G. Gentilli, A. Cosattini—it is a lamontable list, and papyrology will be the poorer for the loss of so much talent and high promise.

I cannot conclude without expressing a thought which occurs naturally to the compiler or the reader of such a record as this. It is impossible to survey the list of references given above without realizing mew the international character of science, the immense gain that comes from co-operation, the impossibility of a nationalist policy in the region of knowledge. To talk, as some have talked, of boycotts and exclusions is to threaten the very principle of science, and this at a time when, in a world turning feverishly to the lask of material reconstruction, the disinterested pursuit of knowledge is likely even more than of old to be suspect and open to challenge. If into the spheres of art and science, those uties of refuge built by the mind of man for comfort and defence in a troubled world, a world new more than ever lopoless and imquiet, we import the fonds and petry animosities of practical life, we shall indeed give proof that we know not the things which belong unto our peace.

1 In Rev. d. ét. gr., 28 (1915), pp. 62-65.

5 In Journ, d. Sav., N. S., 14 (1916), pp. 324-325.

\* In.Z. Sov. Sc., 37 (1916), pp. 375-377.

\* Ibid., pp. 91-93.

\* Ibid., 26 (1915), pp. 444-447.

Optober, 1919.

### NOTES AND NEWS

The reorganization of our Society, so far as its British Branch is concerned, is now an accomplished fact. The old Egypt Exploration Fund has become the Egypt Exploration Society, and all persons who belong to it now stand on an equal footing as Members. The Extraordinary General Meetings called in December to approve and confirm the necessary alterations in the Articles of Association revealed but little difference of opinion, our supporters being unanimous in their verdict that the proposed changes were rendered necessary by the new conditions arising out of the war. To reiterate once again the main points: membership involves the payment of an annual subscription of two guiness, with an entrance fee of one guines, in return for which the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology is given gratis, together with full rights of voting, attendance at lectures and use of the Library; and members are also entitled to purchase one copy of every new publication at 33 per cent, discount. The sole objection raised at the Extraordinary Meetings was with reference to the Old Graeco-Roman Branch, certain subscribers to this having intimated that they were mainly interested in the admirable memoirs published by Professors Grenfell and Hunt, and that they would hardly be served by the substitution of the Journal. To meet the very legitimate claims of such persons it was arranged that members who so desired and who should intimate their preference beforehand could receive any Graeco-Raman Memoir issued during the year in question in lieu of the Journal. It need scarcely be said that the Committee of the Society regard its Graeco-Roman work as of equal importance with its other activities, and have every desire to promote the interests of this field. Indeed, it is intended that the Journal should be the organ of our researches in this domain as much as of those whose studies lie in the older periods. No small part of the present issue is devoted to Mr. H. I. Bell's admirable Bibliography, and the July number will contain a highly important essay by Professor Rostovtzeff on the Foundations of Social and Economic Life in Egypt in Hellenistic times.

All members of our Society will be pleased to hear of the appointment of our late Honorary Secretary, Mr H. R. Hall, to be Assistant-Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. Mr Hall had been absent from the Museum for several years engaged in military duties. In January 1916 he was transferred from the Military Information Section of the Press Bureau, where he had worked for a year with Professor Oman, to the Army as a Subaltern in the Intelligence Department. Mr Hall acted as an Intelligence Officer at G.H.Q., Home Forces and at the War Office until November 1918, being mentioned in despatches and promoted to be Captain in that year. He then left for the East on an archaeological mission for the British Museum, being attached as Captain to the Political Service in Mesopotamia. Until May 1919 he acted as adviser to the Mesopotamian administration in archaeological matters, and carried out excavations for the British Museum at Tell el-Mukayyar (Ur " of the Chaldees"), Tell Abu Shahrein (Eridu), and Tell el-Ma'abed or Tell el-Obeid (as it is vulgarly called), a small site near Ur, previously unknown, which has yielded antiquities of the early Sumerian (Ur-Nim) period that are of great archaeological and artistic interest, but unhappily in a very bad state of preservation. These were described by Mr Hall in papers read to the Society of Antiquaries on December 4 last and to the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society on January 15. On Mr Hall's return to England in August last, after an archaeological visit to Egypt (Der el-Bahri) and Palestine during the summer, he resumed his duties as an official of the British Museum, and has recently rejoined the Executive Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society.

We have to congratulate Mr T. Eric Peet on his election to the Brunner Professorship of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool. His predecessor, Professor Newberry, on resigning the post, has accepted the title of Reader in Egyptian Art at the same University.

There is but little archaeological news of interest from Egypt. Professor Petrie and his party are excavating at Illahûn, where they are reported to have found cometeries of the Second and Third Dynasties, as well as valuable antiquities of the later periods. At Thebes, Mr Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon are continuing their work in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, but without much result hutherto. Mr and Mrs N. de G. Davies have resumed their exceedingly valuable copying work in the private tombs, the former on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and the latter for the Theban Tombs Series published under the anspices of our Society. Captain Engelbach has been appointed Inspector-General of Antiquities at Luxor.

It is with much pleasure that we welcome the reappearance of the Revae Egyptologique, now edited jointly by MM. Alexandre Moret and Pierre Jougnet. The first part (fascicules 1—2) of the new series contains over 120 pages and a number of good colletype plates; MM. Moret. Sottas, Lefébvre and others contribute articles on the older periods, while the Graeco-Roman branch is represented by important articles due to MM. Jougnet, Vitelli, Roussel and Collart. The next volume of the Recueil de Travaux, henceforth to be edited by M. Chassinat, is being awaited with much interest. It is apparently to be printed in Cairo henceforth, while the Revue Egyptologique remains in the hands of E. Bertrand, at Chalon-sur-Saone:

The lectures of the Society continue to attract large and enthusiastic andiences. On December 12 Professor Newberry discoursed on the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, while on January 23 Professor Peat treated the subject of El-Amarna, the City of the Heretic King, and on February 20 Mr H. I. Bell read a paper on the Historical Value of Greek Papyri. Our next lecturer will be M. Capart, of the Musée du Cinquantennaire at Brussels, whose address, on March 19, will deal with the Study of Egyptian Art. On April 23 we hope to hear Professor Peet again.

The Asiatic Review, which is the new title of the old Asiatic Quarterly, now devotes considerable space to a section on archaeological work. Our Hon, Treasurer, Mr W. R. Dawson, has printed there a general account of the work of our Society, and has also given admirable résumés of the lectures on the Origin of the Alphabet and on the Tombs of the Kings of Thebes.

### NOTICE OF RECENT PUBLICATION

Die Annalen und die zeitliche Feulegung des Alten Reiches der Ägsptischen Geschichte. By Lutwug Bouchander. Berlin: Behrund & Co., 1917. Pp. 64. Eight plates und 10 figures in the text.

This is a publication of the first importance to the Egyptologist, for, if Bornhardt's premises and the soundness of his method be granted, the chronology of the Old Kingdom is fixed once and for all. The author believes that the Palermo Stone and the new Cairo fragments of the same or similar annals contain entries which enable us not only to date within very close limits the early Dynastics, but also to reconstruct the form and arrangement of the complete stone or stones.

He begins by showing, so conclusively that it will probably never be questioned, that the year-apaces on the stones represent not regnal but calendar years. His next step is to examine the position of the entries of the height of the Nile in those calcular years in which there was a change of reign. Now in each of such years, of which there are two on the resto and two on the respo, the engraver has recorded for us the number of months and days of that calendar year during which the old king reigned and the number of months and days which his successor reigned. In three cases out of the four, two year-spaces of the ordinary size appear to have been allotted to this divided year and the number of months and days reigned by the two kings respectively recorded in the two spaces. In the fourth case (recto, Register 5) a single year space has been divided into two by a vertical line and the expected month and day entry in the second half is omitted. Now in each of these four cases the Nile height is given undermutti the second of the two spaces into which the one year is divided. Borchardt concludes that in each case the moment of high Nile, at which of course the measurement was taken, fell in the second, i.e. the new king's portion of the year. Taking now the particular case of the charge of reign on 18790, Register 4, it would fallow that in this year the Nile reached its height during the last 2 months and 7 days of the Egyptian calendar year. Now we know by modern observations the limits within which the date of high Nile varies, and, by combining this with our knowledge of the shift of the Egyptian civil calendar as against the Sothie year, Borchardt finds the actual date of the year in question, which is the incomplete first year of the reign of Neferirkers', to lie between the inner limits 3120 and 3460 B.c., or, supposing the high Nile to have been abnormally early or late, between the outer limits 3020 and 3550 a.c. The other three years of regoal change are less suitable for Berchardt's purpose. They give similar but much wider limits for three earlier reigns, the sole value of which is that they do not contradict the dates obtained for the accession of Neferirkeres.

This sort of mathematical reasoning is very attractive, especially perhaps to those who are least mathematical. But there are at least two criticisms to be made. In the first place Borchardt's high Nile dates are based on no more than 32 observations, all lying between 1736 and 1888. In these 32 years the earliest high Nile fell on Ang. 25th (Gregorian) and the latest on Oct. 27th. Is it not a little dangerous to infer from as few data taken from a single century that the high Nile of a particular year five thousand years previously must have fallen within the same limits! The year in question might have been extremely abnormal, or the dates of high Nile may vary in large cycles of which, owing to lack of sufficient observations, we have no idea.

In the second place, is Borchardt justified in assuming that because the Nile entry is placed under the second or later parties of the broken year therefore the day of high Nile actually fell within that second portion? Is it not perhaps more than a coincidence that in each of the four cases before us the entry is placed in the second half of the year? In other words, may there not have been special reasons which led to the recording of the Nile height in the second parties of the year-space irrespective of the date of high Nile? Let us examine the four cases in detail in the light of this possibility. In Register 2 of the rest there is great should, as Borchardt himself sees, with regard to the manner in which the broken year is treated. The months and days in the two spaces do not add up to a whole year, and if we suppose a kingless period between, which was not recorded, may we not imagine that if the high Nile fell in this (which doubtless for political reasons was omitted) the entry of its height was pushed on into the new

king's portion of the space! In Register 5 of the rests, where the change of reign is abnormally treated, and where the old king's space is very much restricted, is it not a possibility that mere considerations of space may have distated the entering of the Nils height under the second part of the year! The case of Register 1 of the serve must again give us pause. The earlier (i.e. the old king's) portion of the divided year is apparently cupty except for the entry "[4 months] 24 days." As no events are recorded for this last incomplete year of the old king, would it be strange if, even though the high Nile fell within his reign, the cutry of its height were pushed forward into his successor's portion ! "I'm fourth case, that of Register 4 of the serse, is also suspect. Here the entry "0 months 25 days" is crowded into the space allotted to the "Year of the sixth (!) time of numbering" in such a way that it overflows into the space usually reserved for Nile heights. It may well be that these 9 months and 28 days are not a part of the year of the sixth time of numbering at all but represent the old king's portion of the following year, which the engraver had omitted in laying out the fields and laid to insert in this clums; way 1. If this is the case compilerations of space alone would suffice to push on the Nile entry into the following field, the first incomplete year of Neferirkere. I do not insist on this; I am only concerned to show on what an unstable basis Borchardt's assumption rests. What is in any case clear is that great uncertainty exists regarding the annalist's method of arranging these years of regnal change, and that there are certain considerations which may in particular cases have suggested or even compelled the reservation of the Nile height for the second portion of the year, even though the high Nile fell in the first ! Note above all that in three cases at least no events whatever are recorded in the first part of the year, even when this is the longer portion. From this we might infer that the broken year was much more closely connected in the Egyptian mind with the new king, and in this case what more natural than that the Nile entry should be made under his partion, even though the high Nile was already over when he accorded the throns ! The four changes of reign which seem to be recorded on the large Cairo fragment would probably enable this point to be settled one way or the other, but it is impossible to decide details of this nature until the fragment in adequately published. However this may be, in the light of the very various treatment given to the years of change of rule on both fragments, Borchardt's assumption, on which, be it noted, the whole of his dating is based, is a temeracious one, and must remain no more than an assumption.

Having fixed the date of the accession of Neferirkers' the author proceeds to recken back to the date of Menes. To do this he must establish the length of the Dynasties preceding the Fifth, and this he does by attempting a reconstruction of the whole stone or stones. His method is as follows. In the five uppermost horizontal registers of the Palermo fragment the vertical year-fields in each register are virtually of constant breadth, so that if we lay an accurate drawing of the fragment in the middle of a long strip of drawing paper we can go on theoretically producing the fields of these five registers in both directions. If each register was, on the stone, evenly divided from and to end there will come a point at each end of our drawing where the vertical lines separating the fields in each register will lie all five in the same vertical straight line. These two vertical lines, one at each end, will mark the limits of the atone, or, to be more exact, of the entries on it. This process Borohardt has, with every conceivable precaution to ensure accuracy of drawing, applied to the Palermo fragment. As his point of departure he takes a sero vertical line roughly down the middle of the fragment and he finds that the desired coincidences occur on the right at a point which is 50 year-nolds of Register I distant from the zero-line and on the left at a point 61 year-holds distant from the zero-line. This gives for Begister 1 a total of 146 year-holds, for Register 2 112 year-fields and so on. In other words it determines the length of the stone and enables for reaching conclusions to be drawn with regard to lengths of raigns and Dynasties both on the rest and the eerso.

In theory this is admirable, and no one who reads Borchardt's volume will doubt that the carrying out of the drawing left nothing to be desired from the point of view of accuracy. But instead of allowing correlves to be carried away by the ingenuity of the process and the meticulous accuracy of the performance we must ask ourselves seriously whether its lasts is sound. In other words, are the assumptions made justifiable and is the necessary accuracy obtainable?

Firstly as regards the assumptions made. They are three, first that the fields remain of constant breadth throughout each horizontal register, secondly that each register can the whole length of the stone.

I I am well assure that on this hypothesis we should expect to find a Nils entry ander the year of the sixth numbering. Unfertimately we cannot test the point, for the entry, if it existed, would have lain too the right to have been preserved as the fragment. The two vertical strokes shown in Schaler's copy in the Nils space are accidental.

and thirdly that the first and last fields in such register were complete ones. The first assumption may be considered very reasonable, but at the same time it remains an assumption, and if it be true that the Palermo and Cairo fragments belong to one and the same stone it is obviously incorrect, for the fields in Register 1 on the two fragments differ smallly.

The second assumption Borchardt attempts to justify in a very ingenious manner. He points out that given five registers, the breadths of their respective fields, and the position of at least our field in each register, the probability of a coincidence of two vertical lines such as that described above is extremely small, and the chance of two such coincidences, one on each able of the original fragment, still smaller. He therefore argues that if our drawing gives a "unique solution" for these points of coincidence it will prove the correctness of the assumption that all the registers were of the same length and ran the whole length of the stone, it being inconceivable that coincidences so improbable should occur otherwise than by design. Now in the realm of pure mathematics this argument would be cogent. It is obvious that if any one of the five fixed field-breadths is incommensurate with any other there is no solution, and the chance of a coincidence is nil. But unfortunately for this reasoning we happen to be here in the very empirical world of drawing based on quite uncertain data. What Borcharit's drawings give us are not exact coincidences but only roughly approximate ones, the chance of which occurring within the very generous limits allowed to humself by Borchardt, so far from being infinitely small, is very considerable.

In any case the drawing does not give a unique solution. Eight fields of Register 1 from the right of the zero line in the reconstruction of the Palermo fragment occurs a coincidence of the five lines which is decidedly closer than either of these at the ends of the registers. A glance at the title-tand of Register 3 will show that the amne did not end at the point in question, and Borchardt therefore dismisses the coincidence with the remark that it is an error due to inaccuracy of material. But surely he must either accept the evidence of his drawing in all cases or clea in none. He is not at liberty to accept it when it mits his purpose and reject it when it does not. In any case is not an admission of an error of this nature fatal to the whole fabric of his system;

Since then the comeidences, being not exact but merely approximate, are in no way improbable, and since the solution given by the drawing is not unique, we cannot regard as justified the original assumption that the registers were all of the same length. This assumption is particularly dangerous in the case of Register I, which contains, as far as we know, merely king-names. It is by no means impossible that these did not extend the whole length of the stone, or that some irregularity occurred in this confused catalogue of Kings of Upper Egypt, Kings of Lower Egypt and Kings of United Egypt.

As for the third assumption it seems not impossible that, supposing (as Borchanit does) that the end of each register marked the end of a reign, the incomplete last year was given a narrower space, just as Borchardt himself is compelled to admit for the revo. To sum up it may be said that to assume the complete regularity of a monument of which we possess not more than a tenth (on Barchardt's hypothesis), and that tenth showing great diversity in the treatment of critical years, and to base the chronology of long periods on this assumption, is anscientific.

And now to discuss the question of accuracy. Borchardt's drawing has for its basis a photolithographic reproduction of a squeeze of the Palerno fragment made is 1865. Those who are in the habit of using squeezes will have remarked the very objectionable habit which even the best squeeze paper has of shrinking unaverally in the drying. Dr Gardinar and myself met with some astomshing examples of this when dealing with the Sinai squeezes in the British Museum and comparing them with trainings and photographs of the originals. I do not believe that a squeeze can over be a reliable basis for a piece of delicately accurate mathematical drawing, still less a photographic reproduction of a squeeze, where the alightest error of parallelism in the planes of original and camera would produce faults immedicable to the maked eye but considerable enough, when multiplied as in Borchardt's process, to cause disaster. Moraover Borchardt himself admits that the breadth of field adopted in the drawing is only an average given by adding the slightly varying breadths of the surviving fields in any register and dividing by their mumber. Here there seems to be a possibility of very considerable error. Admitting the skill of the Egyptian in measurement, admitting that he laid out his year fields by subdividing whole registers at a time, I cannot agree that the average of 14 fields is certain to give a sufficiently accurate figure to work on in a register of 163 fields, as is assumed in the case of Register 4.

The author next proceeds to apply the same method to the largest Cairs fragment, which, he believes, belongs to a different stone from the Palermo fragment. This stone he finds to have contained 184 fields

in Register 1, 112 in Register 2 (the same number as in the Palermo stone) and so on. Here again the same assumptions are made. The materials used are purhaps less open to criticism, Gauthier's plates, which are photographic reproductions from the original, liaving been employed. The possibility of lack of parallelism between surface and camera might again be a source of error, though Borchards claims that he can see no sign of this. As in the previous case the field breadthe taken in the drawing are averages from the surviving fields as measured on the reproduction. But our behef in these receives a rude shock when we test with the dividers the neids of Register 2, and when we examine in the footnote to page 24 the measurements of Register 1 given by Daressy and seen by Borchardt after his work was completed; in this register there are 12 holds of breadth 147 mm. and 2 of 149 mm. If variations such as these are passible then almost anything is possible except the attainment of accurate results.

It has already been unted that Borchardt denies that the Palarmo and the bargest Cairo fragments belong to the same stone. It is obviously vital to him to do so in view of the facts that the field-breadths in the topmost register are different and that his drawing process gives different results in every register of the two stones except the second. In view of the fact that several writers who admit the existence of more than one table of annals consider the Palermo and the largest of the Cairo Iragments to be part of a single tablet (see especially Cauthier in his publication of the new fragment, Gardiner in this Journal, III. pp. 143 ff., and Petric in Assist Egypt, 1916, pp. 114 ff.) it is interesting to see what reasons Borchardt. addnoss for his beliaf, apart from the results of his calculations. In the first place the thickness of the largest Cairo fragment is given by Canthier as 90-62 mm., while that of the Palermo fragment is quoted by Pellegrini as 65 mm. As the two pieces on Gauthier's even admission by no further than 240 mm. apart Berchardt finds it hard to believe that such a variation could occur in a single stone. Surely this is indecisive. The variation of Gauthier's figure, whatever it may mean, shows that the Cairo fragment is in Itself of considerable Irregularity, and it is obvious that a stone which can vary in thickness 2 tam. in a maximum length of 200 might vary another 3 mm, in the next 240. In any case more numerous and very accurate measurements will have to be taken on both stones before the argument from their thickness can be used one way or the other. The same applies to Borchardt's comparisons of the distances apart of the horizontal divisions on the two stones. These distances we do indeed expect to find fairly constant throughout the tablet, but I confess that the small differences shown by Berchardt's table seem to me by no means incompatible with the theory that the two fragments belong to a single tablest. The breadths of the fields in corresponding registers of the two fragments coincide very closely in three registers, but differ slightly in Register 4 (where we have already seen traces of irregularity) and considerably in Register 1. These differences in field-breadth seem to me to prove nothing for him who approaches the question with an open mind, but naturally for the author whose whole theory is based on the existence of serupulous regularity in the vertical spacing they can only indicate the existence of two separate shows, With regard to the differences of drawing indicated by Borchardt between the two fragments I can only say that any attempt to reproduce the exact forms of signs from the plates of Cauthier's publication seems to me waste of time.

But we must now follow Bornburdt in his attempt to fix the date of Mones from his reconstruction of the Annals. Assuming that on both stones the first two Dynasties occupied the whole of Registers 2-5. he obtains a length of 544 years on both stones for the two Dynastics combined. Here we are still in the realm of mathematics. But now we are suddenly transported to the region of the wildest guesswork. For the lengths of the Third and Fourth Dynastics Manetho's figures of 214 and 274 (variant 277) years respectively are first taken. It is then suggested that the length of the Fourth Dynasty can be roughly gauged by comparing the amount of masoury contained in its pyramids with that known to have been laid by Sahuro' in his pyramid at Abusir in between 10 and 15 years, and the result obtained is that the Dynasty can hardly have lasted much less than 300 years. Readers must form their own conclusions as

the value of this kind of reasoning. It loads Borchardt to declare Manetho's figures for the Third and Fourth Dynasties not improbable, but before accepting them he reduces them in the same proportion in which Manatho's figures for the first two Dynastics must be reduced in order to agree with the 544 years of the reconstructed annals, the result for the two later Dynasties combined being \$78 years. We now have a total of 1622 years for the first four Dynasties, and, adding on 25 years for the reign of Userkaf, we reach the grand total of roughly 1050 years from Menea to the accession of Neferirkers, a date already

In the case of the Care tragment these vary quite considerably within the limits of the fragment itself, as can be demonstrated by the use of the dividers on Gauthler's plates,

found by Borchardt to lie between 2020 and 3550 n.c. or, adopting the inner limits, between 3520 and 3460 a.c. This gives for Menes the outer limits 4070 to 4600 with inner limits 4170 to 4510.

Here the author finds himself confronted with a serious difficulty. He requires over 1000 years for his first five Dynastics. Yet a well-known passage in the Turin Papyrus of Kings (Fragments 43-17 and 61-63) has been interpreted by Eduard Moyer (and his interpretation has been accepted by many to mean that from Menes to the end of the VIIIth Dynasty represents a period of only 953 years. In order to escape from this difficulty Borchardt attempts to show that Meyer has misinterpreted the passage, and that in effect the 555 years do not refer to this period at all. Both Berchardt's transcription of the hieratic (p. 43) and his rendering of the passage as transcribed seem to me to be open to serious criticism. In line 2 of his text the sign before the numeral 187 does not in his tracing of the hieratic look like and despite his footnote "Sicher night Rest von rup-t" one is inclined to suspect that what was meant was, after all, room for the years which on Borchardt's supposition must have stood there. Note moreover that the sign (a) is generally (not invariably) rubricised in this papyrus, while the sign before 181 is black. In line 5 there is still more certainly an error, with the correction of which Borchardt's whole theory of the passage falls to the ground. At the beginning of the line, as Gardiner points out to me in a latter, the sign transcribed by Borchardt as \_\_\_ with a footnote "Nicht Rest von dmd" can on the evidence of Borolardt's own tracing hardly be anything but dind; there seems no objection on the grounds of form, for since the hieratic form of an in this papyras is identical with that of coexcept for the addition of a dot which the tearing of the papyrus has here removed we are just as much entitled to result of as Berchardt is to read, as he actually does, and the fact that the sign is rubricised is quite sufficient to turn the balance in our favour.

Having thus with very doubtful success combated the difficulties to his system raised by the Turin Papyrus, Eorobardt returns to the chronology of the first Dynasties. He notes that the Palerma fragment

records in the 8th or 8th year of Zer-Ity a "first occasion of the festival of ." The name of this

festival he renders first "Ewigksitsfest" and later, following Sethe. "Zeitordnung." Now a second occasion of this festival occurs in resto, Register 3 of the same fragment in a year which in Borchardt's resonstruction is exactly 120 years later than the first. Further, in verso, Register 4 occurs the entry, in a year which his reconstruction fixes 280 years after the first occasion mentioned above, of a festival called

Borchardt argues that the festival of was celebrated on each occasion when the shift of the Egyptian civil year as against the Sothic year amounted to a month, i.e. every 120 years. The first celebration would therefore fall just 120 years after the establishment of the Egyptian calendar, which we know to have fallen in about 4240 n.c. (Borchardt gives reasons for supposing the exact year to have been 4242 n.c.). Thus this 8th or 9th year of Zer was 4236 n.c., and reckoning back in the reconstructed annuls to the beginning of the register we get 4186, with a possible error of 2 years, for the

accession of Menos. The festival of \_ \_ \_ \_ falling 400 years after the establishment of the calendar, would celebrate the fact that the civil year had now shifted 100 days.

It would be urgracious to make here the numerous criticisms which at once suggest themesty's in connection with the detail of this argument, for the author himself has stated them most candidly, though he overrides them. His readers must judge for themselves. It is certainly an old coincidence that in his reconstruction these three festivals fall at intervals which can be so easily connected with the periods of shift in the calendar. The names of the festivals appear to me to form a very weak support to the anthor's theory. If here has its later sense of "etermity" it is hard to see why such a name should be given to a festival marking a shift of a month in the calendar; on the other hand the rendering "Zeitardnung" is, as Sethe himself would probably admit, quite hypothetical. Still further, to give the name 2 3 1 2 "Richtigwerden der Zeitordnung der Göttin Nekhlet" to a festival celebrating

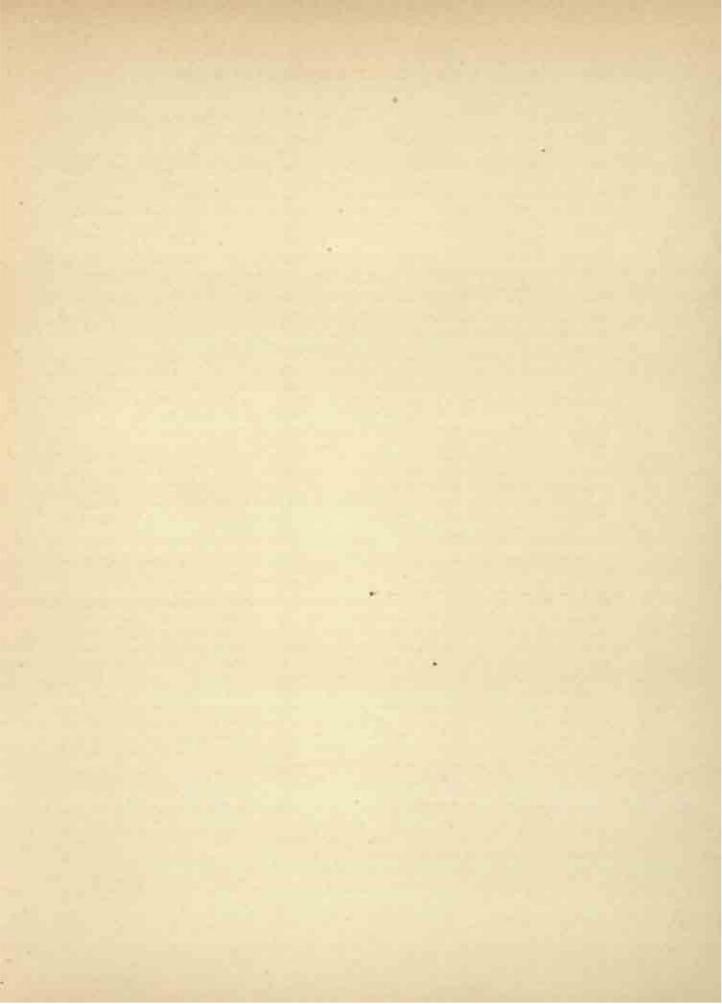
the fact that the calendar, so far from having become "richtig" had become wrong to the extent of so less than 100 days is nothing but a delightful lacus a non luceado.

In the above an attempt has been made to limit discussion to the main lines of Borchardt's treatment. of his subject and to show how wenk some of these are and how unstable are the foundations on which he rests the whole of early Egyptian shrunology. At the same time there are many other points in the detail of the work which invite criticism. For instance Plate 3 is a production which must be repagnant to any scientific mind. It combines in a single recursization two fragments which the author himself ments belong to separate stones with registers slightly differently arranged. The result is that the Palermo fragment is here shown with its year-fields incorrectly placed. In the same Plate a single title-band is in several cases drawn in over the centre of the total space occupied in the reconstruction, by pairs of kings whose reigns the author is unable to separate. This gives a very incorrect idea of the arrangement of the stone and would have been better omitted. In the third Register of the Cairo fragment in this Plate the complete reign of between 8 and 5 years is given without query to Semerkhet. This is based morely on Maspen's statement that the damaged Horns-name consisted of three restical signs which Borchardt would read IFT. Cardiner has already disproved this reading by pointing out that at this date the sign co-cannot be written vertically. It is difficult to trace any vestige of the sign which both Borchardt and Petric claim to see in the cartouche? This error alone would throw out the reconstruction of Register 3. Is it, moreover, certain that the First Dynasty ended at the end of Register 3 / La it not averbold to suppose that Zer had only one predecessor in the Plynasty ! And in any case does a detailed year by-year reconstruction such as that of Plate 3, which in the present state of our knowledge must be almost pure guesswork, serve any useful purpose! Similarly in Plates 1 and 2 is there any value in a reconstruction of the core based my tim assumption of constant year-fields within each register, in view of the fact that widely variable fields are already found in the Fourth Dynasty records of the recto !

It is too early as yet to say what verifiet scholars in general are likely to pass on Borelardt's ingenious and admirably handled study. Regarding it from the purely mathematical point of view one can only regret that the author should have erected so immense an edifice without waiting at least until measurements of the necessary accuracy could be taken on both fragments of the stone or stones, their material compared, and an adequate philological study of the Cairo fragment made.

T. Emu Pert.

On p. 52, if I understand him rightly. Borelards wishes to take 💢 as a determinative of time (cf. his translation "Reliandrung"). If this is so the 2 2 1 1 has no hestiral disterminative (we expect the boat) and may be an event and not a feetival at all. Laws and Couthier both falled to find it on the stone itself. See Gauthier, p. 42.





1



2

1. PENDANT OF GLASS MOSAIC FOUND AT DAHSHÜR
(Twice the size of the original)

2. GLASS VASE OF TUTHMOSIS III IN THE MUNICH ANTIQUARIUM
From water-colour drawings

## A GLASS CHALICE OF TUTHMOSIS III

### By PERCY E. NEWBERRY, M.A.

The glass chalice bearing the prenomen of Tuthmosis III figured Plate XVI, below's, was bought about the year 1825 by an English archaeologist, Edward Dodwell, F.S.A., who was then living in Rome and forming the well-known collection of Egyptian, Greek and Etruscan antiquities which, some years after his death in 1832, passed into the possession of Manich and is now preserved in the Antiquarium of that city. In a catalogue' of the collection printed at Rome in 1837, the chalice is thus described: "Calice di smalto turchino" chiaro con ornamenti gialli e turchinoscari; sul corpo v' e il cartello del Thutmose IV [sic] della dinastia XVIII (a.0.4 e un quart dia.0.3)." It will be noticed that the chalice is here called "smalto" (chamel), and in the last "Guide" to the Antiquarium it is said to be of "faience." It is, however, of glass, and glass of a kind that was much prized in Upper Egypt from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Dynasty.

About fifty perfect, or nearly perfect, examples of this type of glass are known, and I have seen and noted fragments of at least two hundred and fifty broken ones. A certain number of specimens are dated by the names of the kings for whom they were made being worked into, or cut on, the glass. Besides the Dodwell chalice mentioned above there is a bottle in the British Museum' of opaque turquoise blue glass with ornamentation in yellow, which bears the prenomen of Tuthmosis III. A dozen pieces bear the names of Amenophis III, Amenophis III, and Akhenaton. The date of other specimens or fragments can be determined from their provenance. In the tomb of Maherpre, which dates from the reign of Tuthmosis III, was found a bottle' of dark blue glass with ornamentation in green.

Notice sur le masés Dodaes II et cutalogue rationné des objets qu'il contient, Renne, 1837. This ratalogue was written by Dr Brann and contains an introduction by Bunsen.

4 Christ-Dynory, Phiroc durch das Antiquarium, p. 117, no. 630.

The Plate is reproduced from a drawing made by Dodwell in 1826 or 1826. This drawing is preserved among the Dodwell Papers in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum (Add. MS, 33,958, f. 43).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Vox Rissino (Rev. Arch., Vol. XI, p. 213) says that it is of "verditre" glass and that the decoration was in "james et noirs," but the chalice is discoloured. The body glass was originally blue and the ornamentation yellow and dark blue, as it is correctly described in the catalogue of 1837. The shallow is figured in colour by Roszukusi, Mos. Civili, Pl. LXIIIb and a photograph of it is given by Krsa, Day (Havim, 1908, Vol. t, p. 17.

Figured in Wilkinson, Monners and Customs of the Aucient Egyptians (ed. Bincut), Vol. 11, p. 140, no. 382.

Some of these pieces are figured by Darrsst, Forillis de la vallée des Rois, in the Cat. gés. of tim Cairo Museum, nos. 24753, 24794 ami 24804. Other examples nos. 24798, 24800-2 and 24816 are described in the Catalogon. I secured at Tholes two pieces, probably from the tomb of the king, with the pre-nomes of Amenophis II worked into the glass.

From notes of fragments in dealer's hands.

<sup>\*</sup> Pirrate, Tell of Amaron, Pl XIII.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Danesst, op. cit., no. 24059.

white and yellow. Fragments of a large number of vases of different forms, and of cups, dishes and bracelets of similar glass were discovered in the tombs of Amenophis II<sup>2</sup> and Tuthmosis IV<sup>2</sup>. Pieces of at least a hundred vases and scores of amulets, car-rings and broken bracelets have been brought to light among the ruins of the palace of Amenophis III at Thebes<sup>1</sup>; and near by was discovered the earliest known glass factory, in which were found small crucibles containing dark blue glass and a quantity of different coloured rods of the same material. Three or four similar factories of the time of Akhenaton were found at El-Amarna<sup>3</sup>, and hundreds of fagments of vases, bracelets, car-rings and amulets have been collected in the ruins of Akhetaton<sup>3</sup>. A perfect bottle of the time of Amenophis III<sup>3</sup>, another bottle that can be dated to the reign of Tutankhamun<sup>3</sup>, and a bowl and several bottles of the reign of Ramesses II<sup>3</sup>, have all been found in tombs at Gurob. At Light<sup>3</sup> there were extensive factories of this glass dating from the Twentieth Dynasty, and the site of another factory of about the same date was shown to me by Arabs on the east bank of the Nile a short distance south of Menshiyeh<sup>3</sup>. To the Twenty-first Dynasty belong the famous cups of Nesikhonsu in the Cairo Museum<sup>3</sup>.

A considerable number of similar glass vases have also been found outside Egypt, in Cyprus and other places of the Mediterraneau. Fine examples were obtained from the tombs of Enkomi and Curium, and these are undoubtedly the work of Egyptian cruftsmen of the period between 1450 and 1200 a.c. A very remarkable cup is recorded from Curium (tomb No. 89). This is figured in Murray, Excavations in Cyprus, p. 69, fig. 99. It has a high tapering bowl and foot, and is decorated in a calvx-pattern of alternating blue and yellow opaque glass with dark brown vandyke pattern round the top. The pomegranate-shaped vases from Enkouni (op. cit., p. 34, No. 1218 and p. 35, Nos. 1052, 1053, 1056) are precisely similar to specimens found in Egypt that appear to be not later than the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the tomb where these pomegranate-shaped vases were found were also uncarthed a green faience bowl of Egyptian manufacture and an arragonite (1) vase (op. cit.,

<sup>1</sup> Diggssy, op cit., no. 24753-24838. A glass vase is figured in the tomb of Ref at Thebes (no. 72 of Garpixen and Weioutt, Topographical Catalogue), see Lars., Denkar., Part III, PL 62.

CARTER and Newment, Touch of Thomaskin IV, pp. 125-142, with Pl. XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> A small series of frequents is in the Virtoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Larger series are in the Amberst and my own collection. In Havis and Newmenn's Tomb of Ioniya and Tomyon, Pl. XXVII, are agared two dummy vasce found in the tumb of the parents of Queen Thyi; these are made of wood and are painted to represent glass. One represents a dark blue glass with yellow wave lines; the other also represents dark blue glass and has yellow wave lines and resortes.

1 Notes made by me in 1902-3, when Mr Tytus and 1 were digging at this site.

PETRIE, Tell et Asservan, pp. 25-27, Pl. XIII, where are figured the fritting-pane, glass rods etc., used in the manufacture of the glass.

Some of these pieces are preserved at University College, London, and others are in the Amherst Collection. I also possess a few typical pieces from this site.

7 J. E. Quinner, Annales du Service des Antiquités, Vol. 11, Pl. 1, with p. 4.

\* PETRIE, Richan, Kahas and Ourob, Pl. XVII.

\* Op. cit., Pl XVIII.

m A. C. Macr. The Murch Collection, in the Supplement to the Balletin of the Metropoliters Museum of Act, January 1911, pp. 24—26.

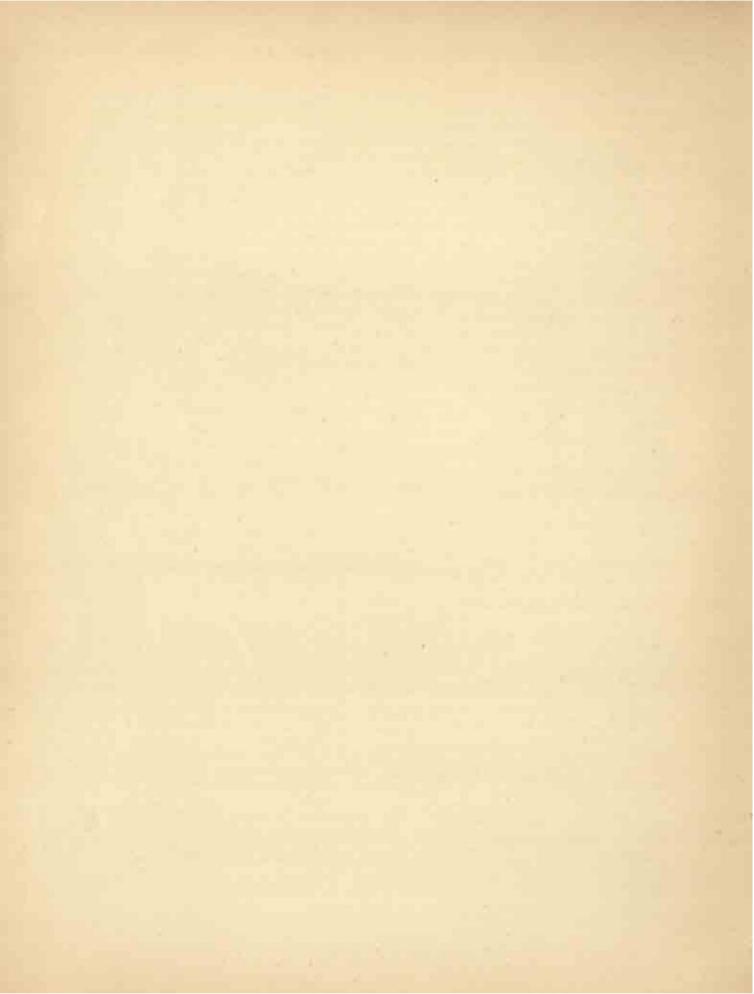
Of This had already been completely plandered when I was taken there in 1911. I picked up some glass sing and a few reds of coloured glass and was told by the natives that several cases from the site had been sold thirting the provious season to hazar dealers. Some of these wases were bought by the late.

Mr Theodore Davis.

is Mastero, Les monnes royales de Déir et Bularci, Pl. XXII, A.



TURQUOISE-BLUE GLASS BOWL IN THE COLLECTION OF THE EARL OF CARNARVON



p. 35, fig. 1048) of the same form as the glass bowl in Lord Carmarvan's collection which is figured in Plate XVII. This latter bowl was found in Upper Egypt in 18561; it is of brilliant turquoise blue translucent glass, and is certainly the most beautiful example of a self-coloured Egyptian glass vase that has yet been found. I should be inclined to date it to the raign of Amenophis III, but it may possibly be a little earlier.

The shapes of these vases are nearly all derived from well-known alabaster or pottery forms. In size they range from 14 inches to 16 inches in height. The colours employed are very varied and all appear to be due to metallic oxides. For the body-colour, blue is the commonest; it occurs in all shades from pale turquoise to deep lapis-lazuli and violet. Pale or dark plant colour comes next, then opaque white, green, yellow, and black; red and brown are very rarely found as a body-colour. Four vases are known of a pale greeny-white, but not a single example is known of anything approaching clear transparent colourless glass. The ornamentation usually consists of wavy or riggarg lines of a colour different from the body glass. Thus on a dark blue ground white, turquoise blue, yellow, green or red is used; on a turquoise blue ground, dark blue, yellow or white. Sometimes the body glass is ornamented with circular dises\*, or with bosses\*, of glass of different colours. In one specimen\* are sprays of foliage round the bowl and coat-of-mail pattern round the neck. Sometimes rosettes\* of different colours are employed, or bands of flattened rods\* of different colours, or plain crosses\*.

The process of manufacture of these vases can be made out from an examination of the contents of the factories that have been found and by a study of the fragments that we possess. It was a very elaborate process, which necessitated constant annealing of the glass and the exercise of the greatest care to prevent the farnace attaining a temperature at which the glass would run. Whother the glass itself was made at any of the factories in Upper Egypt is doubtful; it is more probable that it was brought in the form of ingets from glass works in the north-western Delta, where the necessary materials for glass-making are to be found. These ingets were broken up into small fragments and put into crucibles or fritting-pans that were placed on inverted cups in the glass-worker's oven. The glass

- Arragonite bowls of this shape are well known from Egypt. One was figured in a recent number of this Journal (vol. v, Pl. XXVI, pp. 167—168).
  - 2 It was brought to England in that year by the late Mr Hood of Neithelann Hall, Lincoln.
  - Fragment from the palace of Amenophis III in my own collection.
  - A dark blue class bottle in the Liverpool Museum.
  - . This is the Tuthmosis III bottle in the British Museum.
- See for example Danessy, op. cit., Pl. XLIII, no. 24761 and another form of resette is figured in Davis and Newhenex, Tomb of Jourge and Tourges, Pl. XXVII.
  - Fragment from the tomb of Amenophis II in my own collection.
  - DARESSY, op. cit., no. 24761.
- I discussed this subject in 1910 with Mr William Burton of Messrs Pilkington's works near Manchester, and he agreed with the method of manufacture as here described. Much the same method of procedure is given by Petris in Tell of America, pp. 25—27, and in the Catalogue of the Berlington Fine Arts Club. Exhibition of the Art of Americas Egypt, London, 1895, p. xxv. Mr H. J. Powell of the White-friend Class Works, with whom I had earlier discussed the subject, believed that all the Egyptian rases were blown t see his article on "Class" in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopacdia Britishnica, 1910.
- In I have seen four of these ingots; one of a beautiful turquouse blue colour is in Lord Carnaryon's collection at Highelere Castle, and another of a similar colour is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York. The other two specimens I saw in an antiquity dealer's hands in Cairo in 1904; these were of red colour.

U. See below, pp. 149-60.

was then fired, and when sufficiently soft the viscid glass was picked out by means of metal pincers and rolled into thin rods or tubes!. These rods were then annealed and coiled round a sandy clay cores into which a metal rod had been inserted, the metal rod being the handle by which the glass-worker held the vase. When a sufficient number of rods had been wound round the core for the bowl, and the metal rod for the neck, to make the glass coat or "body" of the required thickness, the whole was put into the oven and fired up to a heat sufficient to coalesce the rods but not great enough to cause the glass to ran. The foot was modelled by a metal tool out of a separate piece of glass and attached to the bowl while the glass was still soft. The vase was then annealed again to enable the worker to wind round it rods of different coloured glass to form the ornamentation. When the rods had been placed in position on the surface, the vase was again placed in the oven until the whole of the glass was soft enough to allow of the rods being rolled into the body. It should be noted here that these coloured rods are always embedded in the body of the glass and never go through it as in mosaic or cane glass. Metal pins were then placed at intervals around the vase to hold the rods in place, while the surface between the pins was rapidly thagged up or down in such a way as to produce wavy or zigzag patterns. The hieroglyphs, resettes, crosses, and other forms of decoration were placed on the surface and embedded in the same way. When the ornamentation was completed the arriace was rubbed down with emery, or some other cutting material, to remove any surface imperfections. The vase was finally put into the oven for just sufficient time to make its surface vitreous! and allow of the rims around the nock, feet and the handle or handles to be added. The vase and metal rod by which it had been held during the process of building up were then set aside to cool, and when quite cold the metal rod, which would then have contracted free of the glass, was removed. The final process was scraping away the sandy core from the inside, and the result was the finished glass vase.

The technique displayed in the manufacture of these vases is so elaborate, the quality of the glass so fine, and the colours so brilliant, that it is certain the craftsmen who made them had long passed the primitive or experimental stage of glass-making. They reveal the art in a high state of proficiency; they must be the outcome of a long series of experiments. Very little, however, is known about the early history of glass. The earliest factory that has been found in Egypt is one dating from the reign of Amenophis III at Thebes, but, as we have seen, some specimens of the kind of glass that we have been discussing date from three reigns earlier than Amenophis III and the earlier specimens are of perfect workmanship. It has been suggested that, although these glass vessels were made in Egypt, they were the handiwork of foreign craftsmen and that the industry originated in Syria, not Egypt. But there is no real evidence to support this theory. No specimen of glass has been found in Syria that can be attributed to so early a date as Tuthmosis III.

PETRICE, Op. cit., Pl. XIII.

Every fragment shows the rough inner surface with sand adhering. The necks have invariably the marks of the metal rods. It is, I believe, only by this method of coiling that a uniform thickness for the "Lady" glass can be obtained. At Tell el-Amarma the usual method of bead-making was by winding a thin thread of drawn glass around a thin red of metal, and these metal reds were actually found with the threads still stock on them. See Petrin, Tell of Amarna, Pl XIII, 59-61.

I have even a few specimens in which traces of these metal pins can still be seen.

Mr Howard Carter pointed out to me that on the surface of some of the vases tiny air-bubbles often appear which have been cut across. This is obvious from many specimens.

On the other hand no trace of more primitive forms of this particular kind of glass have been found in Egypt. It is true that this style of glass descended into Greek times and was largely used throughout the Mediterranean; it is generally termed " Phoenician Glass," but Phoenicia was the adopted, not the native, country of glass-making. All the se-called "Phoenician" specimens are very much coarser and possess more of the brilliancy and vitreous surface that mark the earlier products. That glass-making was a very ancient industry in Egypt is beyond question; its history can indeed be traced back to prehistoric times, for glass beads have been found in prehistoric graves. Pieces of somi-transparent blue glass used for inlaying on wood and dating from the First Dynasty were found by Amélinean' at Abydos, and among the jewels of King Zer's queen occur plaques of turquoise blue glass' of excellent quality. From the Twelfth Dynasty we have two well-authenticated pieces of glass mosaic. One of these is a circular disc in the centre of which is a figure of a white ox with black spots; this is set in a ground of pale blue and surrounded by a band of red and white rectangles, outside which is a border of pale blue. It is covered with a thin disc of fluor-spar and mounted in a circular frame of gramulated gold work. This exquisite pendant was found by de Morgan' at Dahshur among the jewels of one of Amenemmes II's princesses. It is described by de Morgan as being made of different coloured stones, but I examined it some years ago with a magnifying glass and am convinced that it is made of glass. The late Mr Harold Jones, who made a water-colour drawing of it for me (see Plate XVI, at top), was of the same conviction, and Sir Gaston Maspero in one of his last works' definitely describes it as " glass mosaic." The second piece of glass mosaic dating from the Twelfth Dynasty is a rod in the Berlin Museum\* which gives the cartouches of Amenemmes III in white on a black ground. That it is contemporary with the king whose name it bears appears to me certain. Von Bissing' attributed it to the Roman age because he was not aware of any early mosaic glass. In my own collection I have several pieces from the palace of Amenophis III, and we cannot doubt that this kind of glass was well known in Egypt at the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The Egyptians were also expert cutters and engravers of glass as early as the Intermediate period between the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasties. There is a small piece of opaque blue glass which has a lion's head cut on one side of it and on the other side is engraved the prenomen of Intef Nubkheperre. This specimen is in the Slade Collection of the British Museum\*. Many specimens of engraved glass are known from the Eighteenth Dynasty.

I have remarked above that the earliest known glass factory in Egypt is not older than the reign of Amenophis III, but that the history of the industry goes back to very much earlier times. Egyptian glass is a time soda silicate and all the materials for making it are to be found in the north-western Delta. It was here in later times that most of the

PERROT and CHIPTEZ, Hist. do l'Art dans l'antiquité, Vol. 111, Phoenico Chypre, pp. 732 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

<sup>\*</sup> E. Vernieu, La Bijouterie et la Jouillerie Égyptiennes, p. 84, n. 2, cf. p. 26.

J. DE MORGAN, Fouilles à Dahchour, Vol. II, Pl. XII, no. 62, p. 67

<sup>\*</sup> Art in Egypt (Ars Una Sories), 1912, p. 120.

<sup>\*</sup> Amilieka Berichie aus den Kgl. Kunstammdungen, Nov. 1907, pp. 53-54.

<sup>4</sup> Arch. Rec., Vol. XI, p. 211.

<sup>\*</sup> A. NESETT, Glass (S. K. Mus. Art Handbook), p. 10.

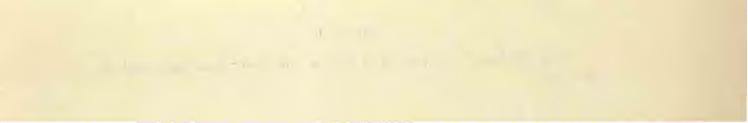
<sup>\*</sup> Several engraved pieces were found in the tomb of Amenophis II, in the palace of Amenophis III and at Tell el-Amarna.

glass exported from Egypt to Rome! was made. There are remains of extensive glass works in the Wady Natrin and to the south and south-west of Lake Marcotis. Hadrian, in a letter addressed to the consul Servianus, mentions glass-making as one of the chief industrial occupations of the people of Alexandria. Strabo\* tells us that he heard from Alexandrian glass-workers that there is in Egypt a kind of vitrifiable earth, without which expensive works in glass of various colours could not be executed. The Egyptian name of glass is very significant in this connection. It is thin-t. Just as we use the word thin-t "china" for a kind of porcelain which first came to us from China, so the Egyptians called glass thin-t after the country (thin-m) of the north-western Delta from which we may pressume they derived it.

Cicero, pro Rob. Post., 14. Alexandria sustained its reputation for its glass for many centuries. Martial x1, 11: x11, 74: x19, 115. Vapisc., Auct., 45.

WILKINSON, Modern Egypt and Thebes, 1843, Vol. 1, pp. 384, 394 and see note 8 to Rawlinson's Herodotus, 11, 44. I have myself noted the sites of two factories to the south and south-west of Lake Marcotis.

\* Simbo, xvi, 11, 25



ERRATUM

Page 160, lines 7-8; read "Just as we use the word "china" for a kind of

porcelain..."

## THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN EGYPT IN HELLENISTIC TIMES

### By PROFESSOR M. ROSTOVTZEFF

MANY years of close study of the history of the ancient world have convinced me that one of the most important epochs in the evolution of the world is the Hellenistic period, i.e. the three centuries after Alexander the Great. I am sure that, if we desire to understand the peculiarities of Greek genins and the subsequent history of civilization, this epoch is quite as important as the flourishing period of Greek politics and the time of the Roman world empire. I will not repeat well-known truths, but I must emphasize two cardinal points which even in such a brilliant home of classical learning as Oxford are apt to be insufficiently considered.

First of all an idea of the Greek world based only on a knowledge of the Athens and Greece of the VIth to the IVth century Rc. is both incomplete and to a great extent misleading. One of the most important features of Hellenism is not worthilly represented in this picture of the Greek world, i.e. the universalism of Greek genius and its accessibility to mankind in general. This feature is most characteristic of the Hellanistic epoch. Let us not forget that this age created the world-wide Greek language—the καινή It also produced writers of genius who were as near to the Greeks themselves as to the Hellenized and Romanized Βάρβαροι. They were equally read by the fellaheen of Egypt, by Hellenized Syrians, by citizens of the world capital—Rome—and by Romanized Ganls, Britons and Berbers. I would cite, for example, the name of Menander-the father of contemporary drama so far as this drama has developed on classical lines. The Hellenistic period first put the idea of a "cultured world," οίκουμένη, οίκουμενικός, into general currency. For this cultured, i.e. Greek, world it created a world philosophy as represented by the schools of the Stoics and the Epicureaus; the world learning, as represented by the works of the followers of Aristotle, the Alexandrian, Pergamene and afterwards Roman scholars; the world history as we find it in the great works of Ephorus and Polybius, Pintarch ami the great Roman historians; finally the world literature. It is not fully realized that the greatest works of classical Greek literature obtained world-wide importance and a worldwide andience only through the great creative forces of the Helbenistic period. Due credit must be attributed to the creative power of that epoch which succeeded in spreading throughout the world the language, the habit of thought, and the culture of the Greeks. Such an epoch cannot be designated a period of decline. I take the liberty of affirming that people who know Athens and who are not thoroughly acquainted with Alexandria, Pergemon and Antioch do not know Greece. They cannot fully realize the exceptional work of Greek genius Athens moulded everlasting specimens of beauty and thought. The Greeks of the Hellenistic period, continuing the work of the Atheniana, made these specimens accessible to millions. They have handed them down to us and made it possible for us to establish on them, as a base, the foundations first of European, and now of our world culture.

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My second point is that without a proper conception of the great results achieved by the Hellenistic age in the domain of politics, economics and law we shall never adequately realize how the world empire of Rome developed. Without this knowledge we can never understand how the Roman Empire acquired the strength to enable it to exist throughout a series of centuries, and how it could afterwards provide modern European nations with a basis on which to found their political life. The Hellenistic age was the first to attempt to solve a fundamental problem of ancient political life, a problem which still remains unsolved two thousand years after the death of Alexander the Great.

The ancient world produced two types of state—the great monarchical and bureaucratic organization of the Orient, and the free, autonomous and democratic organization of the Greek city state. The Eastern state seemed to be quite incompatible with that of the Greek. The foundations of the Eastern state were a strong central power, an army of appointed, responsible officials, the blind obedience of the population, a tendency to make private property serve the interests of the State, and a desire to socialize and nationalize production. All these points seem to be incompatible with the economic and political bases of the Greek constitution, which comprised an annually elected central power remaining under the control of the people, an administrative organization on the basis of elective self-administration, an almost unlimited freedom of private initiative in economic life, and private property as the chief economic principle. It is well known that the Greek wolkies was powerless to unite the whole Greek nation into one concrete state. It was therefore obliged to submit to the old monarchical state system of the East, and to adapt the fundamental principles of its life to the bureaucratic organization of the Orient. The whole history of the Hellemstie period consists of slow and varied processes of fusion between the two principal forms of ancient political, economic, and social life. The Greek city states were gradually incorporated in the big monarchies of the East, infusing new forces into decrepit bureaucratic organizations. First of all, Greek genius supplied much constructive power in the building up of the Eastern political and economic system. It evolved a strictly thought out and carefully regulated bureaucratic system of a Greek monarchic state on an Eastern basis. The corner-stone of this system was the submission of the individual to the State in all spheres of his activity. This was the case in Ptolemaic Egypt. In other countries, such as Macedonia, Asia Minor and Syria, this same Greek genius tried to create a compromise between the Eastern mountaby and Greek polity. It started to build up a monarchic state as a conglomeration of Greek city states which preserved the basis of their economic and social life. They lost, however, their economic self-sufficiency (airápseta) and their political autonomy (autoropia). This gigantic, strenuous and exciting work was carried out in an atmosphere of continuous internal unrest and endless wars between the different Hellenistic states,

Rome inherited this work, and the Roman Empire attempted to unite its various threads and bring it to completion. An attempt by Rome to construct its world state by means of an alliance of various Italic city states in the IIIrd and IInd centuries a.c. brought forth no good results. A second attempt by Rome to revive the Athenian world power—to organize a world state founded upon a monarchical hegemony of the Roman citizens—mot with the same fate. This second attempt resulted in endless civil wars, bloody revolutions and finally in the consolidation of a monarchical regime. This regime eventually was obliged to follow the example of the Hellemistic monarchies, and to continue, not without much tra-pidation and deviation; the work of combining the principles of the

Greek city state and the Eastern bureaucratic monarchy. Rome, however, as we are aware, did not bring this work to completion, nor has it been completed up to the present time. I do not know which elements prevail in our contemporary state—the elements of the Greek city state or of the Eastern bureaucracy. I can however, affirm that the various stages of development in these processes in the ancient world are not as well known to us as they should be. This is certainly not due to lack of material, but more to the absence of systematic thought and study of this question. The specialists in Oriental history have applied all their powers to the reading and translating of Eastern documents and afterwards to the reconstruction of the political and dynastic history of the different Eastern states. Little attention has been paid to social and economic history. The specialists in the history of the Hellenistic period, in which nobody before Niebuhr and Droysen was interested, had also first of all to make known and explain the raw material, i.e. inscriptions and papyri-Afterwards they began to elucidate the fundamental problems of political history, to frame a satisfactory chronology, and to find their way through the chaes of fragments of lost historical works on the evolution of the Hellenistic world. They had no time to study the social and economic questions. Nevertheless in the history of the Hellenistic age, thanks to the efforts of the papyrologists, something has been accomplished. The economic, social and political structure of Ptolemaic Egypt has become more and more clear.

I have devoted the greater part of my life as a student to the elucidation of these questions; and have endeavoured to portray not only one hand and one spoch, but to demonstrate on the one hand the dependence of Hellenistic culture on Greek institutions, and on the other the enormous influence of Hellenistic activity on the Roman Empire. It is impossible to give the outlines of my work in a short paper, but I would like to throw some light on a small part of the picture. Through the kindness of Prof. B. P. Grenfell I have been enabled to acquaint myself with the contents of a most valuable document which supplies much new evidence for the history of Ptolemaic Egypt. This consists of instructions from a minister of finance of (probably) King Ptolemy Energetes I to one of the important financial officials of Egypt—the financial chief of one of the Egyptian rough. This document is unique of its kind; it is Greek in both language and thought, but purely Egyptian in character and contents, corresponding closely to the famous instruction of Tuthmosis III to his Grand Vizier Rekhmerec. This document has been read and restored in Grenfell's masterly style. In dealing with it I have examined again all the principal questions relative to the economic and social life of Egypt in the HIrd century BC, and have come to some new conclusions. Let me give you some idea of the way in which I arrived at them. You will see that the picture of Egypt during that period is not only interesting in itself but also very modern.

The economic life of Egypt is entirely built up on the exploitation of the productive forces of the Egyptian soil. It was only rendered possible by means of a skilful regulation of the water supply in combination with the annual inundation of the Nile. The products of the Egyptian soil watered by the Nile were always the most important source of Egyptian wealth. The foodstuffs consisting mainly of cereals and oils, were consumed by the population, while millions of cattle both for work and slaughter, as well as domestic fawls, were fed in the rich pastures of the country. Linea and wool were used in the manufacture of clothes for rich and poor, for living and dead. All supplies over and above the needs of the population were exported. Egypt bought little abroad; what she lacked included wood for ship-building and metals, especially iron. She always attempted from the sarliest times to hold Syria, and, beginning with the Ptolemaic dynasty, Asia Minor, in

order to provide herself with these products. In comparison with the products of the Egyptian soil other products play but little part in Egyptian economic life. Besides bread, meat and oil, the fish of the Nile occupied a very secondary position. Tracing and hunting expeditions to Central Africa and Arabia brought home ivery, precious stones, gold, valuable and rare woods, and various perfumes, all of which supplied the raw materials for the different branches of industry and art in the large towns of Egypt, especially Alexandria. The abundant growth of papyrus in the Nile Delta supplied the important paper factories, while both coloured and uncoloured glass were produced in great quantities.

Such were the material resources of Egypt. How were they utilized? In direct opposition to the structure of economic life in Greece and Italy, the whole economic organization of Egypt was built up on the principle of centralization and control by the Government, as well as the nationalization of all production in agricultural and industrial life. Everything was for the State and through the State, nothing for the individual, except the mere possibility of a grey existence which saved the worker from starvation. Nowhere in the whole evolution of mankind can be found so far-reaching and so systematic limitations as those which applied to private property in Ptolemaic Egypt. I do not know how far this state of affairs existed in Pharaonic Egypt, but it is clear that the system reached its logical completion under the Ptolemies. They gave it the finishing touches by causing it to be claborated by the Greek genius and Greek systematic and logical thought.

There is no evidence for the supposition that the national economy of pre-Greek Egypt was constructed on the basis of one clearly thought-out legal idea. Political conditions, religious ideas and administrative practice created a varied and changing picture. Its most important feature was a more or less far-reaching concession by the State of the rights of sovereignty to various influential corporations and persons, chiefly to the temples and powerful officials of a fendal type. This feature gives to the structure of pre-Ptolemaic Egypt a more or less clearly defined feudal character, which was more strongly marked in times when the central authority was weak, and less clearly defined during the rule of strong monarchs and dynasties. From the beginning of their rule in Egypt the Prolemies adopted a decisive line of policy in combating the elements which weakened and disintegrated the central authority. They appropriated a politico-religious principle which had ever been the basis of the Egyptian state. The substance of this principle was that the king alone held absolute power and unlimited rights of disposal over the material resources of the country as a whole, and the wealth of individuals in particular. On this system of "divine right" the Ptolemies founded their administrative, social, and economic policy. They elaborated it in detail and constrained the feudal element in Egypt, especially the temples and the priesthood, to obey it. We are not aware to what extent they adopted the old system, or how many new elements they introduced into it, nor do we know the extent of the changes brought about by the Greeks in Egyptian theory and practice. But it is certain that the Ptolomaic system had as its core not Greek but Egyptian ideas not Greek but Egyptian practice. The task of the Greeks in Egypt was to formulate Egyptian ideas clearly, to think them out and to adapt the Egyptian practice to the aims of the Ptolemaic state. Not less important was the task of making the Egyptian system acceptable to the new Greek population of the country.

The basis of the economic organisation of the Ptolemaic state was the principle of

supreme management by the Government. This principle sunbodies at the outset the idea that the king was the proprietor of the whole territory of Egypt and could dispose of its resources, including mines, lakes and rivers. Further it established the king's right to make use of civil labour if the needs of the State demanded it. The whole practice of Ptolemaic administration was built up on these two principles. I have no grounds for disbelieving that these were purely theoretical principles. I feel sure that they formed the basis of the whole economic policy of the Ptolemies. Deviation from them was both possible and natural, but it in no wise alters them in substance. In the majority of cases such deviations were survivals or new formations arising out of Greek influences.

The fullest expression of these principles was to be found in the agricultural life of the country. All the arable land in Egypt was meticulously registered, and was under the strictest control of the Government. One part of it was under the direct management of the State (yn Basilien, crown land), while different corporations and private individuals were granted possession of the other part (y is a pert). In this case, however, the State granted concessions only in order to serve its own purposes. In order to provide the temples with means wherewith to maintain the cult of the gods and the king, the State allowed the priesthood to dispose of the income derived from certain lands (yn ispa, sacred land). Land was also granted by the Government to Greek gymnasia to finance education for Greek youths. Soldiers and officials were given land in order to ensure the defince of the country and its good administration (γη κληρουχική, γη έν συντάξει). Large concessions of territory were assigned to officials of importance, and to friends of the sovereign (γη έν δωρεά). A separate category was formed by land granted to individuals for continuous or sometimes perpetual use, the reasons being that this was the only method of getting such land cultivated, and it was necessary for the holders to lay out some capital on it, and to expend a certain amount of initiative and intensive personal labour on it. From the Greek point of view such land most nearly corresponded to the Greek idea of private landed property (yn ibioxryros). I include in the same category gardens and vineyards, as well as sites for building purposes. The Greeks in Egypt regarded such land as private property (eriqua). It is possible that in other parts of Egypt (our ovidence is mainly based on documents found in Fayûm) medifications existed in regard to the right of land-tenure which were more or less consonant with the Greek idea of private property. But these do not materially affect the substance of the question.

Statistics do not assist us in determining the respective dimensions of crown and private land in Egypt, but in the Fayûm, without doubt, crown lands predominated. If we add the sacred land and the land is doped to that of the crown (as the principle of the management of both was identical), we may deduce with comparative certitude that in the Fayûm private land was the exception. I am of opinion that the same conditions provailed in other parts of Egypt, especially in the extremely fertile Delta—the granary of the whole country. It is possible that the order of things in the district of Thebais was different. Here the sacred lands may have predominated, and it is credible that the exploitation of them was in some measure dissimilar to existing conditions in the north.

In general the mode of exploitation of crown lands was typical of Egypt. These methods set the tone and defined the social and economic status of the majority of the agricultural population. It is highly interesting to note that the Ptolemies, by means of a series of measures both administrative and legal, fixed the relationship between the

State and the grown-farmers in a strictly regulated semi-Ureok form, and this without any departure from the old customs which prevailed among the agricultural population.

The chief features of this system were:

- (1) From a legal standpoint the relations between the State and the agriculturist were regulated by the laws which applied to leasehold property, which might be hold for a definite short period or for an indefinite long one.
- (2) De facto, however, the position of the farmer was complicated in two ways:
  (a) he was bound to remain at his place of registration (iδia), and was obliged to cultivate and sow his land, to gather, transport and thresh his corn, and (b) the State was not do facto bound by its contract with the farmer; it could at any time dismiss one farmer and replace him by another.
- (3) The State recognized as private property of the farmer both his residence and agricultural implements. De facto, however, in contradiction to this principle, the State sometimes sold all such property for arrears of rent and taxes.
- (4) Cattle were not absolute private property, since they could be requisitioned in case of need by the State,
- (5) Compulsory services were demanded from the farmer not only for the execution of his regular agricultural work, but also for the regulation of the economic life of the country at large, e.g. for keeping in repair canals and banks, for transporting Government property, etc.

If we take all this into consideration, we must admit that the farmers, while de jure free, were de facta bound to the soil; for while they were theoretically leaseholders, they were actually precarious possessors. This state of seridium is shown more clearly by the following facts. In his domestic economy the farmer was not by any means free; he could not make his plans in accordance with his own desires. He received an annual order as to how much of his land he should sow and with what seed. He had no rights in the disposal of the fruits of his labour. The corn he grew was only his after the State had received its quota, i.e the rent and the various taxes calculated in money or in produce. The State only released him from further liabilities, and allowed him to dispose of the residue of his produce, after payment of the full amount demanded of him and the transportation of such produce as was owned by the State to the Government granaries. But even this freedom of possession was not unlimited. The State still claimed the right to purchase a certain amount of corn at a fixed rate. The same rule applied not only to crown-farmers but also to the holders of private land. No freedom at all was permitted to agriculturists in disposing of products of special kinds; for instance, all the crops yielding oil fell into the hands of the State at a fixed price, and the same procedure was adopted with flax and perhaps hemp, and possibly with wool also. The agriculturist could not make use of green food for his cattle as he wished (such green fodder was sown after the harvest had been gathered, as is the case in Egypt to-day). He could only feed his own draught-cattle with this green fodder on condition of payment of certain taxes to the Government, which secured such payment by means of pledges. The remaining grass was claimed by the State, which was also the proprieter of all uncultivated pasture-land and meadows. Under these conditions every farmer, whether he owned some hundred head of cattle or only a few sheep and goats, was completely dependent on the State, and was obliged to pay heavy taxes in order to feed his live-stock. The Government was careful to register all animals

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and in this way was subsequently able to regulate the development of cattle-breeding in the same manner as it controlled agriculture.

Compulsory labour constituted a leavy burden for the agricultural population, who year by year worked on the canals in order to keep them in repair. This labour devolved upon the crown-farmers chiefly, but legally all the other categories of the agricultural and non-agricultural population were liable to take part in its execution. Of course, in view of their high social standing, soldiers, officials and Greeks in general did not perform such labour personally but had to pay an equivalent tax. Obligatory work on the canals consisted not only in digging, but also in the provision of timber for their banks. Timber is scarce in Egypt, and the Government displayed great foresight in planting the banks with trees noted for their rapid growth. The obligation to plant, fell, and prepare this timber devolved upon the agricultural population. From time to time the Government had recourse to compulsory labour for cultivating and sowing the fields and for gathering the harvest. This happened when, from some cause or other, land had been left insown or the harvest had not been gathered. In such cases the Government never differentiated

It can therefore be clearly seen how far-reaching was the compulsory system, and to what extent freedom and independence in agricultural labour were curtailed. We are not dealing with haphazard methods, but with an elaborated and fully thought-out system.

The chief points of this system were as follows:

between the social grades of agricultural labour.

- (1) The binding of a great part of the agricultural population to their work at their place of residence.
  - (2) Control of the domestic economy of all individual members of the State.
  - (3) The State's claim to the largest share in production.
  - (4) Utilization to the fullest extent of manual and animal labour for the State.
- (5) A tendency to limit the rights of the agricultural population over its private property.

The same system was adopted by the Ptolemaic state for the control of all branches of industrial and commercial activity, and for the organization of taxation. Time does not allow of my dealing as fully with this subject as I have done with Egyptian agriculture. I must confine myself to a few remarks of a general character, which are based on a long and careful examination of Greek papyri.

- I. The whole of industry, internal commerce, and organized taxation was always either under the control of the State or under its direct management. Here again the Government abolished independence and freedom of action among the priesthood and feudal lords.
- II. The Ptolemies were the first to elaborate a universal and well thought-out statesystem for the organization of industry, internal trade and taxation. The most characteristic features of this system are as follows:
  - (a) Industry and trades were placed under strict control and accurate registration.
- (b) The most important branches of industry, such as the production of oils, textiles and paper, the working of mines and quarries, were regulated with particular minuteness. For some of these branches the Ptolemies created a monopoly in production and trade,

while for others they devised milder measures for the maintenance of control and the concentration of trade in the hands of the State.

- (c) The less important branches of industry were more independent; but they were all heavily taxed and raw materials could not be purchased freely, since practically all of them were owned by the State. The right of sale was also limited.
- (d) In the most important industries, we discover the same system of compulsory labour as has been described in my remarks on the conditions applying to agricultural life.
- (e) Inspection of trades, industries, and taxes did not belong exclusively to officials and the police, as was the case in agricultural life. This task was divided between officials and tax-farmers. The Greek form of free state tax-farming was fully subordinated by the Ptolomies to the State. Being in Greece a free commercial operation, tax-farming became under the Ptolomies a form of state-control of industry and taxation. The tax-farmers, together with civil servants, formed a second line of people who were answerable to the State, and in the event of their not rendering its dues were liable to have their private property and the property of their sureties confiscated.
- (f) The greater part of Egyptian trade was not managed by free merchants, but by agents appointed by the State who sold the goods at fixed prices, and these agents were responsible to the Government in the same way as the tax-farmers. Like the latter, they received only a percentage of the revenue.
- (g) We are mable to find any traces of independent trading in Egypt. Most of the commodities were provided by the State and were sold at fixed prices. In some cases fixed rates were not used, but the State created a few inspectors—generally tax-farmers who levied a certain percentage on trade returns.
- (h) A very important innovation by the Ptolemics was the abolition of the system of natural economy and bartering, and the introduction of money payments into the domain of trade, industry, and taxation. It is not necessary to point out that the coinage was an exclusive monopoly of the king, as well as the trade in precious metals, gold and silver.

All the foregoing points involved the Government in the task of setting up elaborate funchinery for securing the fulfilment of the duties of the population towards the State. First of all it became necessary to create a large number of police officials. They were the so-called guards (φύλακες), who probably totalled many thousands, part of them being an organized military force, while the majority were drawn from the local population and compelled to serve. As their duties involved material responsibilities, they were taken from the ranks of the wealthier portion of the population, and in order to scoure respect for their authority they were generally selected from the senior ranks of the community. As their duties were detested and frequently brought men to financial ruin, every one tried to avoid this service. The Government was therefore obliged to make this service compulsory. Indeed, compulsory service was a characteristic feature of the Ptolemnic system. In the earlier periods of its existence this compulsory service was confined to the lower ranks of the police officials but it is obvious that such a system was necessarily rapidly extended. The compulsory service of these officials was sometimes termed by the Egyptian Greeks Astroupyia; but with the classical Greek term, which implied a voluntary sacrifice of a man's property and labour for the good of the State, the Ptolenuic " liturgy" had nothing in common. It originated in the purely Oriental idea of seridom (corece): only the word

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was borrowed from Greece by the Ptolemies. In substance it was a form of compulsory labour largely used by the Ptolemies.

Above this local police there was a formidable army of officials; but this is not the place to enter into a discussion of these functionaries. I would only refer to two conspicuous

facts.

Firstly, the Ptolemies were the originators of an elaborate official system. They created a graduated scale of lower and higher ranks all appointed by the king or his delegates and responsible to the king exclusively. This system was thought out in minute detail. The idea of this salaried "official" army had its birth in the Orient, but the Greeks, and especially those of Egypt, were the first to elaborate it.

The second point is that the Ptolemies were the first to demand securities from their officials. The officials whose duties were to collect produce and money taxes and to control the tax-farmers were obliged to pay the State, if arrears were not fully exacted by them from the tax-farmers and tax-payers. In case of insolvency their estates and the guarantees of their sureties were confiscated. This innovation was very important, for it showed future generations how to divert the private property of the tax-farmers and officials into the State treasury.

These officials, together with the tax-farmers, formed of course a priviloged class. Sometimes they became very rich, and by bribing the higher officials they steered their course through a sea of official correspondence with some degree of safety. One false manoeuvre, however, and their vessel was wrecked. As has already been pointed out, all officials were responsible to the Treasury, and for them to keep their affairs in absolutely correct order was practically unthinkable. So it is easily imagined that side by side with the lucky few there were many unfortunates. Besides those who enriched themselves there were many who became beggars. It is worthy of note that in the ranks of this red-tape army very few honest men were to be found. And these belonged almost exclusively to the category of "unlucky" ones.

If it is asked how many of the population, either civil or official, were out of reach of the State's economic control, the answer presents no difficulties. They were not to be discovered among the agricultural population, mor were they to be found in the industrial and commercial classes. Furthermore they were absent in the ranks of the army, may, officials, and tax-farmers. There remained three categories—two economic, i.e. the dealers occupied (1) in external trade and (2) in transport; and one political—the citizens of the Greek towas Naucratis, Alexandria and Ptolemais.

Let us examine the last category. Their political freedom and autonomy were mere shadows. What were the limits of their economic freedom is unknown; but I am of the opinion that, if we take into consideration the direct connection of their economic life with that of the remainder of Egypt, we have no grounds for the supposition that they occupied an exceptional position as regards the State.

Very little evidence is available as to the organization of external commerce. The fact that the Alexandrian traders (ξμποροι and ἐγδοχεῖς) were to be found in all harbours and ports of the world supplies no evidence as to their relation to the State. But taking into consideration the fact that the organization of external trade was more an international than an internal matter, we may conjecture that the Ptolemies conceded more independence and initiative to those engaged in the expert and import operations of the country. It is, however, hardly possible that they enjoyed the same freedom of action in the interior.

The whole organization of Egyptian economic life points to the fact that they mostly exported goods which were owned by the State and imported goods for it.

The foregoing applies with equal force to the supply of transport within the country. Although it was managed by private dealers, the greater part of it was obliged to serve the needs of the State, the requirements of private individuals being subsidiary. The position, therefore, of the dealers in transport both on land, by means of donkeys, camels, and horses, and on the river  $(vain \lambda \eta \rho m)$  was practically the same as that of the tax-farmers who worked for the State or of the owners of small textile factories.

If my conclusions are correct, we may avolve a very instructive general picture of the oconomic and social condition of Ptolemaic Egypt. For the first time we meet with a broad and systematic plan for the nationalization of the whole economic life of a country. What were the results of this experiment ! The State, of course, became greatly enriched by this system. Egypt, as compared with the other Hellenistic States, or even with Rome. was always the most opulent. The Ptolemies were the world's bankers, and they were well able to use their financial power. But this power was only one-sided. Money could purchase an array or a fleet, it could build up a beautiful capital with luxurious buildings and gardens, with money the Ptolemies could organize splendid ceremonies and festivals; but money alone could not create lasting power. The spirit of the nation was one of indifference—the dull obedience of serfs who possessed no initiative, no animation, and no patriotism, whose thoughts were wholly concentrated on the problems of their daily bread and economic interests. To this mood of the masses, who were conquered by the Greeks, the Ptolemies brought little by little the Greek conquerors themselves. Greek soldiers who had become semi-independent agriculturists were already losing their energy in the second generation, and were gradually and unconsciously assuming the spirit of those whom they had vanquished. The Greek officials became submerged in a mire of bureaucracy and bribery. Soun-stoical circulars, fall of mild persuasions or even open threats, were by no means effective in causing these officials to discharge their duties to the State in a disinterested manner. The Greek traders and dealers found no room for private initiative, and eventually became officials and assumed the official habit of mind. Serfdom lay heavy upon the people but protests were seldom heard. Dissatisfaction assumed a form typical among serfs. When they found that conditions were no longer tolerable, groups of men, agriculturists, workmen, sailors, or officials, said "We can bear no more" and fled to the temples to claim the protection of the gods, or disappeared in the swamps of the Delta. From the commencement of the IIIrd century B.C. these strikes were of common occurrence. They were a constant terror to the officials, since force was useless in dealing with a psychology born of dull despair. The government was rich in money, but the country was poor in spirit, and hardly knew happiness. True, the country occasionally revolted, under the banners of the old gods and temples or under the influence of national feeling. But these insurrections invariably ended in massacres, and only when the energetic elements in them had been destroyed was an amnesty granted to the survivora-

Nevertheless, the achievements of the Ptolemies in Egypt had very great influence on the future. By Greek thought and Greek talent for organization they systematized the shapeless foundations of the Eastern, and especially the Egyptian, state. The structure which they built up furnished valuable data for all those who afterwards sought for suitable methods to create a rich and powerful state in a milieu where no competition existed and where autocratic government was supreme. The Ptolemnic system was at first continued

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by the Roman Emperers. As time went on, however, they adapted this system to the great organization of the Roman Empire; although not without some waverings and deviations. "All for the State and by means of the State" became their maxim also; and we see how some of the peculiarities of the political, social, and economic organizations of Egypt were organizally developed in Rome. Where there had formerly existed free landowners, there gradually appeared "coloni." Free craftsmen and tradesmen were changed into corporations serving the State, and transport was centralized in the hands of State-organized marcleri. For powerful publicani were substituted strongly controlled tax-farmers of the Ptolemaic kind. The administration of the free cities was given over to groups of decariones responsible for the payment of tribute and taxes by the population. The citizen army was replaced by a hired army which was gradually bound to the land, etc., etc.

We know that all these processes were on the one hand the cause and on the other the symptom of the steady decline which Roman civilization experienced in its vital powers and in its creative energy. But we also know that these processes connected with Egypt form only one side of the picture; not everywhere has Hellenistic influence displayed the same features as it did in Egypt. It was multiform and complex, and other forms of Hellenistic influence affected the Roman world just as strongly as this Egyptian form; and these other forms prevented downfall and decay.

The ideas of the ancient world penetrated the new European nations which were the descendants of the Roman provinces. Ancient culture was the prototype of the new European culture, and some centuries afterwards the same questions which the ancient world had proved incapable of deciding were again propounded: "does the individual exist for the State, or does the State exist to assure for the individual the free development of his creative powers?"

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

Few modern historians have attempted to give a general picture of social and economic life in Egypt during the three centuries of the rule of the Ptolemies. But these attempts are mostly insufficient for different reasons. One of the best works on the economic and social structure of Ptolemiae Egypt—the well-known Rechardar sur Teconomic politique, etc. of Lumbross—was published at a time when but little papyridegical material was available. The last attempts to summarize the data of the papyri—the mest valuable book of Bouche Leelereq, History des Lagides, vals in and iv, and the Introductions to Papyrelogy by H. Wilcken (Grandwige der Papyrusiande, 1912) and W. Schubart (Einfahrung in die Papyrusiande, 1918)—important as they are, have treated the economic question as one of many problems presented by the papyri, and have not committated their attention on the leading ideas of the Ptolemies).

Valuable work has been done to elucidate different special points. I refer to the works of Lumbross, J. Maspero, Jouquet, Lesquier, Martin, P. Meyer, W. Otto, Oeriel, Fitzler, Roil, Chwostoff and to the introductions and commentaries in the recent publications of paperi, first of all to the masterly clucidations of different problems by Grenfoll, Flunt, Johnson, Jouquet, Lesquier, Wiloken, Schubart, P. Meyer, Vitelli, Comparetti, etc. Some of the commentaries by Grenfoll (s.g. to the Resonant Local of Ptolony Philodelphia and to the volumes of Tebtyurs and Hibeh paper) represent an archamative treatment of different economic problems and have as much importance as many of the above-raised special works. I myself have emissioned to deal with many different points in the domain of the scommes of Greek and Roman Egypt, e.g. with the tax-farming, agriculture, transport, corn-supply, etc. But I have never before

The same must be said about the sketches by Beloch (Grisch, Gesch, v. 111), Cavalgase (Hist. de Pantiquité, v. 111), A. Reimeh and P. Jongtiet, L'heliénisation du Monde autrque (Paris 1914), pp. 212 foil, and pp. 309 foil. Better and fuller is the treatment of the subject by W. Scott Férguson, Greek Imperiation (1913), pp. 149 foil.

attempted to express my general views on the social and cooncome evolution of Egypt during the period of Greek and Roman rule.

That is the reason why I have tried in the text of my article to sketch the general background of Egyptian economic and social life in the time of the Ptolimies. I am fully aware that the attempt is liable to be obsolete a few months after its publication. It is to be expected that now peace is with us, the pulyrologists will give us one important publication of new papyri after another. A new solition of the older publications of Ptolemaic papyri was expected before the war from H. Wileken, and it is to be happed that his work did not casse during the war. Everyone knows how full of sound sleas and new suggestions all the publications of Wileken are. Nevertheless the task which I undertook second to me not useless. My generalizations may be perhaps too far-reaching, my picture too definite and too precise, my explanations of the frequentary materials partly wrong, but doubtless every attempt to outline the general features of a complex special, if based on a careful first hand study of the whole available materials, has its value. It clears the semetimes confirmed ideas of special inquirers and editors of fresh materials, evokes contractors, and brings many questions of detail to reasonable solution

In these few notes and references I do not endeavour to give the full evidence for every point and question. A long emmeration of numbers and titles would be mostly useless, since the principal references under each head may be found without difficulty in the works of Bouchi-Leeberrq. Wileken and Schubart mentioned above. I will discuss only a few points giving the fundamental evidence. The points which I have chosen are either those in which my viewe radically differ from the generally accepted ones, or these which are based on new evidence not available to the above-mentioned scholars. Where my statements are based on the new Tubtym's papyrus I shall not give the text of the papyrus and the parallels to it, but only refer to the papyrus in general. The text of the papyrus and the whole material to explain it will soon be published in vol. III of the Tebtynia papyrus

1. The first point is the question as to the general nine of the Ptolemies in their work in Egypt, Wileken considered, and Schubart agreed with him, that the Ptolemies pursued a world-policy, that for them the Mediterranean was the chief point and Egypt was only a base supplying the economic foundation of their Mediterranean policy. I must confess that my point of view is diametrically opposed to that of Wilekon. The difference between the Ptolemies and the Sciencids lies to my mind just in their attitude towards the idea of a world-state. The Piolemies never did pursue the idea of creating a world-state based on Egypt. Their leading like was to create a powerful Egyptian state, rich and strong enough to be independent and secure from every attempt to conquer it from the outside. In order to guarantee the safety of Egypt the first condition was to hold the sea, to command the sea-routes approaching Egypt The task was complicated and difficult. In the times of the Old, Middle and New Empire in Egypt the presession of the Syrian coast was mough to give the needed guarantees. But beginning with the first millennium at the growth of Asia Minor and the steadily developing sea-power of the Greeks induced the rulers of Egypt to extend the sphere of their political influence to the whole Mediterranean region, not in order to conquer and rule Greece and Asia Minor, but with the object of watching carefully the rival sempowers and checking their efforts to cut Egypt off from the main sem-routes leading to her morth and cast coasts. This command of the sex-routes was ambinimable without a strong fixet, and a strong flact could not be built and maintained by the natural resources of Egypt. Wood and metals had to be imported from outside, and the best way to scenze a safe supply of those was to hold some countries which were rich in forests and mines. That is why Egypt held firmly on to Simu, Syria, and Cyprus, and tried to accupy some districts in Asia Minor, chiefly in Lycia.

On the other hand the strength and wealth of the Egyptian state depended entirely upon regular foreign commerce. To hire armies and to maintain a strong fleet great stores of money were recoded. The only way to obtain large quantities of gold and silver was through an extensive foreign trade. And to carry on this trade it was necessary to command the trade-routes.

The complicated task of defending the safety and independence of Egypt, which rendered ascessory a permanent army and a strong fleet, hal directly to the internal economic policy of the Piolemies. It was impossible to transform Egypt into a Greek country with free and autonomous arises and at the same time to maintain the strength of Egypt as a united state. The only course was to uphold the old system of administration and the old social conditions, but at the same time to open Egypt to the newcomers and to macrypterate the new energies in the old system. That was what the Piolemies achieved in the way of systematicing and perfecting the old Egyptian administrative and consonin system. It would be

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inquest to affirm that the chief aim of the Ptolemies was to enrich themselves and to rob the population of the whole amount of what they produced. The Ptolemies wanted to have a rich and strong state, and they sacrificed the interests of the individuals to this principle. They did not want to be unjust and to make their subjects unimpey. It would be a very interesting task to analyse all that the Ptolemies themselves and the officials who repeated their ethoristician expressed in their edicts and ordinances as to their aims and principles. I am some that such an analysis would show how far reaching was the influence of Stole and Crois ideas on the rulers of Egypt, quite as extensive as the influence of these ideas on Anti-gonos Ganatas. The view that the ruler was the servant of his subjects was quite familiar to the Ptolemies, and the teaching of Horace in his Roman odes concerning the duties of honest officials in the new state created by Augustus differ but little from the instructions of the Ptolemies to local officials, affich inculcated homesty, postice, punctuality and energy. See Plot Apophi, reg. 1860. Δημίγρως & Φαλφονίν Πτολεραίος τη βασιλεία καρήσεις το περί βασιλείας και ψερονίας βιλλία κτάσθαι και δετριγγώσεται. "Α γάρ of φίλει τοῦ βασιλεία και διαργγώσεται" του τοῦ βαβλίας γέγραπται," and εf. Lumbrose, Bull, de le Sec. Ατολ. «"Aisc., 14, 151 foll.", Turn, Antiquaes Ganatas, 254 foll. It is to be noted that the treatises about βασιλεία were generally Stole or Cynic in tendency.

I have but little doubt that the first results achieved by the Ptolemies were splended, and believe firmly in the population of Egypa. But the system as such was very dangerous, and led directly to the results that I have explained in the text of my article.

- \*\*Advances\*\*, Leipzig, 1910. The main points of my account of the agrarian relations between the State and private individuals are generally accepted. New papyrological evidence, as s.g. an important papyros in the British Museum which will seem be published by Greafell, shows that the treatment of granted land in the Thebais, to which the papyros belongs, and in the Fayam presents no important differences, and that crown land in the Thebais formed a large part of the territory of that region. But the question in general is very complicated and difficult, and a definitive statement would be possible only in the case of another discovery like that of Tebtynia, i.e. the discovery of a large number of dominants describing the agrarian state of the Delta', Middle Egypt, or the Thebais. The practice of giving up state land and assigning it to different holders is older than the Ptolemies, being found constantly under the old Egyptian kingship. The Ptolemies resumed this practice chiefly in order to bind to themselves the foreign elements in the country. But grainally they relapsed into the damperous methods of the Pharsons, and came back to conditions which seemed to have been totally destroyed by the first Ptolemies. By granting land to the temples and to some animent efficials they restored the power of the priests and of local fendal chiefs. But this development was checked by the strong hand of Augustus.
- 3. Cauts. The division into γη βασιλική and γη ès adicos (crowns and granted-land) is typical for the whole condition of contemic life in Egypt. In every branch of agricultural life we see the State or the king as the greatest coupleyer and as owner of the most important concerns. Private minutes was only subsidiary. So e.g. in the treatment of the cattle, the State was owner of large bords of different kinds of cattle. It was anabled to hold these by the ownership of the whole pasture-land—come. This ownership is shown by the payment of a tax (eromos) for the use of repair; see lately f. Ryl it, pp. 314 folf. How the State managed these bords is not quite clear and requires a special inquiry which cannot be undertaken here. But I must point out that special attention was paid by the Ptolemies to cattle and other animals needed by the State for administrative, military, and religious purposes. To feed the court and the officials large flocks of gress and swine were kept. The χηραβωσειά and δοφορβεί who took care of these some in the position of βασιλικό γεωργοί and workmen in the state-factories (έποτολείτ); are Tebt. 5, 128, and of P. Petr. 11, 10, 1 a m, 32 a , 107 c , 112 a m, 5 c , 12 ; d m ft a verso 26 ; g m, 24 ; PSL m, 370 ; v, 534 ; Wileken, Grante 248 ; Oertel, Lineyie, 25.—I cannot agree with Wileken, who thinks that

Very important documents from Mondes in the Delta have been published lately by V. Martin, Un decument naturalistically dis near de Mondés, in C. Wessly. Studies for Palaraprophic and Papprochande, vir (1917). Though belonging to the Hird cent. e.g., this document (auminoration of the unwatered land, ya disexve), which preserves the old terminology, gives valuable evidence on the conditions of land-tenure in the Prolomain period. It is to be noted, however, that no general conclusions may be drawn from this document as regards the general distribution of land in the Delta. Though the document enumerates only parcels of private land chiefly held tormerly by soldiers, it may be supposed that this exclusiveness is caused by the fact that each land only was registered in this document, other satesories being booked separately.

guestions of were farmers of goese belonging to the State. Octted did not understand their position at all ; to speak about requisitions from the xyrestor cal is entirely inappropriate. Another large commen of the State was horse-breeding, chiefly for military purposes. Horses were always acreen in Egypt, where asses, bulls, cows, and camels were used for the transport and for agricultural work. Large lawer adda belonged exclusively to the State, and were administered by is morphylos, whose position can be defined only by a special inquiry, but who seem to be nearer to officials than to irrevaler: see P. Hib. 162 and 118; PSL 1v, 405; P. Petr, 12, 62 c. Very complicated also is the question about moryorcoon, which are often combined with in worpidam. No doubt they also belonged to the State and were dustined to provide calves for sacrifices. Fresh exidence about the maximodes and Invertedan in provided by the new Tebtynia papyra where the whole evidence will be discussed. But it would be arong to affirm that the State claimed a monopoly in the ownership of geese, awine, horses, and calves as well as been which were very important since honey was the only authitude for sugar), for private owners of them are very often mentioned. Most attention was paid by the State to draught-cattle indispensable for agricultural work. A special inquiry only can ascertain how this matter was treated by the State. But it is certain that the draughtcattle were most carefully registered (see P. Petrie, III, 98; of, 94b and o; 101), and elaborate measures were taken to distribute the whole amount of suitle owned by the Basilacci yeepyor during the season of work on the land, especially at the time of ploughing and gathering of the harvest. To supply the necessary draught-cattle in places where they were particularly needed state-owned cattle were first of all available. Large herds of built were entirely owned by the State; we ag. Petrie, III, 624. At oritical moments the whole amount of cattle in the country was mobilised and distributed, the cattle of the Barcheol yeapyol as well as that of private land-holders (P. Paris, 63, 173 foll.). But in ordinary times the problem was to distribute rationally the available cattle belonging to the Surnker'd propper; see the correspondence of Zenou, P. Hamb. 27, 13; PSL IV, 429, 25; 422 /a very important document); V, 497, 182; P. Lelle, 8; cr. P. Alex. I (Wilcken, Chrest. 198 and 241) and P. Tebt. 5, 178, where officials are forbidden to requisition cattle for their private use. Another important problem was to combine the requirements of agricultural work with the needs of State-transport of corn to the landing places where the form was leaded on ships to be carried to Alexandria, Mamphis, Thebes and other places. Preference was generally given to agricultural needs; see P. Tela. 705; cf. 750, 753, 757. The technical term for cattle employed in agriculture is yeapped array, for cattle used for the transport - woone,

4. Hay and green food. In close connection with the distribution of draught-cuttle for agricultural work, which was in fact a pure negation of the right of the agriculturists to dispose freely of their own cattle, stand the strong minisures taken by the State to guarantee for the state-outtle and the yearpycoic ergen of the Sarchaesi yespyol the necessary amount of green-stuffs. I have mentioned already the ownership of the State over the whole assown pasture-land (ropes). There is no available avidence to show whether, besides the State, private persons in the Ptolemais spech owned or disposed of large tracks of pasture-land. But very full evidence exists about pasture-land owned by the State. Under this head was included all unsown land, whether swamps or mosdows or fallow-land. It was used chiefly for the large flocks of slicep and goats which were owned partly by the State, partly by zomers (large employers, disposing sometimes of many hundreds of cattle); see the careful study by Johnson and Martin already mentioned, P. Ryl. II, 314 foll. For the right of pasture a tax was paid upon each head of cattle (resource)); so that the whole amount of cattle in the country had to be carefully registered. Besides the ereques, the wattle-owners had to pay special faxes for each head of cattle of every kind; see P. Hib. 33; P. Petrie, III, 72 b, 73 d (registration); that 100 (mote on p. 274); P. Amh. D, 83; PSI rv, 308, 386; v, 500 (crripme) combined with deductorie; the tax was farmed, and the farmers or the State had to provide a large number of guards paid out of the proceeds of the hax); PSI IV, 351, 361, 380 (the practice of distribution of the report

The state-owned cattle and the proposed string were feel partly on these copal, partly by given staff—the so-called place. After the harvest, large tracts of land were sown with different kinds of green-shufts. The disposal of these was not free to agriculturists. They had the right to feed with it agricultural cattle only, and this only after having given securities (dechalam) for payment to the Government of an explanamility replacement of the excipator. Since the payment had to be effected generally in money or in comparation of the crops (arraying a place) preceded the parmission to give the green-state to the cattle as to bring it have; see P. Tebt. 27, 54 foll.; P. Hib. 51—53 and 75; P. Gradenwitz's; cf. Pintrovicz, Ess. 1913, 11 foll and P. Petra, 11; 21 (everingers place). Now evidence is found in PSI, II 372 and dec.; cf. v.

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310, 7 and P. Teht, 714, 715. It is to be noted that the rules for the use of χλωμό or έπίστημα were obligatory for both the γη βασιλική and the γη ἐν ἀφέστα, and that persons breaking the rule were liable to have their cattle confiscated (ἐπλ ατέμηστε ἄγεσθια); see P. Tobt. 27, 54 foll. and 70 foll.

The treatment of the cattle council by private persons is typical of the policy of control adopted everywhere by the State in Egypt. It is hardly possible to effirm that in practice them were really private owners of cattle in Egypt at all. We must remember that besides the above mentioned restrictions, the State appealed to cattle-holders to carry out the already mentioned transport of state goods, demanded private cattle to organize the maintenance of canals and embandments, requestioned from private owners page and lowis to feed the Court and the officials, and calves for sacrifices, and finally reserved probably for itself the right to lary the whole amount of weel produced by sheep and goats.

5. Control of weeps. I cannot give here the evidence to show how state-control worked in other branches of agracultural economy, but I shall produce in my commentary to P. Tobt. 703 the evidence for the state-control of yearly crops; see meanwhile Pauly-Wissowa, Real. Enc. vii, 134 and 161. I have no doubt that the State prescribed to the agriculturists how much land was to be sown with sorn, how much with oil-plants, etc. Though it is not clear whether these regulations referred to the Samkred yearpe only or to the holders of the year of decree too. I am rather inclined to believe that certain restrictions were imposed upon the second category of land-holders.

A few words may be said also on two points which have not yet been fully illustrated in previous discussions of the agricultural life of Egypt. I mean the compulsory sale of rorn to the State, and the rules about tree-planting and tree-cutting.

- 6. Σίτοι άγοραστάς. This is well known to all papyrologists. Besides the exposus and the texts paid in corn, agriculturists had to sell a certain amount of their corn at fixed prices; see Wilsken, Grand. 307. I should suggest that this obligation by chiefly on, not the βασιλικοί γεωργοί, but the holders of γη ir άφέσει, especially the ελημούχου. It was a kind of substitute for their immunity from έκφόρει, a kind of supplementary taxation in a milder form. Besides the papyri queted by Wilcken, I should refer to Tebt. 5, 178 foll, esp. 184: μεδί είνει | ή ειτικά γενόμοτα έπρίστειν τορή: cf. 194, where it is forbidden to demand more than used for sale from the agriculturists. See also P. Hib. 40; 47, 14 foll, and Edgar, doubles do Serv. des Astiq., xvin (1918), 1, μ. 162, where I understand the βασιλικόν σύνει to be, not corn given by the State to the soldier as allowance, but corn bought by the State from the ελημούχου.
- 7. Tree-planting. The evidence about tree-planting will be discussed in any communitary to Tobi. 703. I would like here to draw attention to a passage in Tobi. 3 which has not been rightly interpreted—II. 200 foll: ôμοίος δέ και τοὺς βα(σελικούς) γεω(ργοίς) και τοὺς Ιερείς] και τοὺς (ἄλλους) | τοὺς τὸς ἐν ἀφέστε γῆν ἔχιστας καὶ] μὰ | καταπτής (τὸς και τὰς καθη κιαίστες ψυτίτιας)] | ἐως τοὺ κα (ἔτως) τὰς ἔμικολουθούστων προστέμων | την hɨ φυτείαν πωτάθαι ἀπό τοὺ κβ (ἔτους), και τοὺς κεκοφώτας τῶν ἰδίων ξίλα στοὺ (τὰ) ἐκ(κ)κὶμενα | προστέμωνα.

It is clear from the context that the planting mentioned in the text quoted above refers not to some crops, but to trees, and that consequently the holders of γi Santhasi and γi is define were obliged to plant some land with trees. On the other hand, we see that even the trees growing on their own land could not be cut by the owners without certain formalities ordered in special προστόγματα. One of these προστόγματα is preserved in an inscription of the H-1 cent. a.c.; see Preisigke, S. B. 4626. Though fragmentary, the contents of this προστόγμα are clear. It contained an order concerning planting trees in the embankments, and a prohibition to cut tress already growing on them. More details are given by Tebt. 703; cf. PSL 17, 382. I think that the often-numbioned ξελωσσείο belongs in more cases to the cutting off of transhes of state-trees growing on the embankments, and used generally for the unbankments themselves; see ε.g. P. Petrie, 11, 39; 43, 2 and 17, 10; 18, 4. The land planted with trees is parhaps the ξελίτιε γi; cf. P. Petrie, 11, 39; 43, 2 and 17, 10; 18, 4. The land planted with trees is parhaps the ξελίτιε γi; cf. P. Petrie, 11, 39; 40, and P. Lulie, b, 24; for Homan times see Wileken, Grande, 253; 4rebie, 1, 127; cf. P. Oxy, 1112, 1185 and 1421.

S. Industry. No comprehensive work on industry and trade in the Hellenistic period exists. The book of Reil (Beitrage for Kronton des Gererber) is more a useful inventory of facts than a full happing into the subject. The article on Greek industry and trade in one of the last volumes of Pauly-Wissonna-Kroll, Red. Enc. is disappointing. The author, Francotte, gives a careful study of the industry and trade of the Greek polic, but does not deal at all with industry and trade in the Hellenistic memorphies. With regard

to from an industry, Gummerus in his excellent article on industry and trade in Italy and the Western provinces in the above namifoned Encyclopaedia and in some articles in the Johrbuch of the German Arch. Institute, has paid but little attention to Egypt and to the Hellenistic world in Roman times. Paperologists, however, have produced many valuable special studies on the subject, references to which will be found in the above-mentioned Introductions by Wilcken and Schubart, who have themselves supplied good general aketches an industry and trade in Greek and Roman Egypt. To the list of special works on the subject given by them, I would join a reference to the recently published book of M. Chwostoff (in Russian) on the textile industry in Egypt (M. Chwostoff, Skitches on the organization of undustry and trade in Greek and Roman Egypt. The textile industry in Greek and Roman Egypt. Karan, 1914).

My attempt to give a classification of the different methods of organizing industry and trade is based partly on the above-mentioned studies, partly on fresh evidence. Though the lines of demarcation which I have drawn are rather rough and approximative, the future will perhaps render it possible to draw them more definitely, and to subdivide my types into more classes and integeries. But I hope that my bading principle in defining the entryories may be useful to future students of the subject. To illustrate my classification by a few examples, I add some short more on the bast-known and most typical branches of industry.

A classic example of the first category—the full monopoly—is the state-monopoly of oils, thorouguly studied by Granfell in his commentary to the remark relative of Ptolemy Philadelphins. We meet here all the poculiarities of a modern monopolized branch of industry: nationalization of raw products, distribution of these among state-factories, nationalization of all the factories, compulsery labour in them, nationalization of products obtained in the factories, and full monopoly of trade with strong measures taken against illight traders; finally, heavy taxes on imported oils and restriction of trade in them.

A nailles form of organization was found in the surife industry. The documents concerning it are not so full as those dealing with the oil menopoly, but we can affirm with certainty that no full menopoly was introduced into the toxille industry. It must be noted to begin with that in the textile industry we cannot trace any big factories, the single booms being scattered through the country in towns, villages and temples. Some of them stood in close relations to temples (Resetta Stone, Dittenberger, Or. Gr. Insec. 90, 17 and 29; P. Taht, b. 245 foil.), others to big land-owners (PSI, IV, 341), but that seems to have had no industries on the organization of this branch of Industry by the State. Priests and estate owners played apparently the same part as the farmers of ôbscapol, receiving a part of the product and being responsible for the payment of the weavers.

The main outlines of the organization of the weaving industry were as follows. Possibly raw materials were dealt with by the State in the same way as in the oil monopoly (Rev. Lean, col. 86 full); but the weavers looms were not nationalized and remained the property of the weavers - property of course within limits, because the owners were not permitted to dispose freely of it, e.g. to sell the loans, or to make any repairs in them, without a special permit (P. Tebr. 5, 241 f.; P. Magd. 3%=Chr.) Neverthehas the testile workshops were not owned by the State like the oil factories. They remained in the hands of the textile-workers, and the replements belonging to there were treated by the Stare on the same lines as the agricultural implements of the Serviced yespyol (P. Tala. 5). Though the textile-workers were in no sense free arrivants, working for thomselves and disposing freely of the products of their work, they were in a better position than the workers in oil factories. They obtained of course new materials from the State, they were bound (by contracts I) to deliver a fixed amount of clothes of prescribed kinds, they were responsible for arrears in the delivery, and were not allowed to go away from their homes; but, on the other hand, they were not obliged to make use of all their looms, and we have no ovidence of compulsary work exacted from them. They worked as much as they liked within the limits of the above-mentioned commet, and were remunerated for the clothes which they delivered in money at a prescribed rate fixed by the State (P. Hiis, 68, 69), It is not quite clear whether they had to deliver all that they produced, or processed the right to manufacture—in addition to what they were ordered—clothes for their own meor for sale. It is possible that the State did not carry the idea of nationalization to extremes, and allowed the owners of textile implements to work not only for the State but also for themselves. But I am inclined to think that they did not have the right of free sale in regard to their work. The exclusive right of sale belonged probably to local dealers, who were allowed to deal with the state-products, and were treated by the State like tax farmers (Rev. Laws, ed. 51). More details about the textile industry may be found in my commentary to Teht, 703, which supplies new and valuable information on the subject.

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A clear and typical instance of a branch of hubstry controlled, but not at any rate manopolized, by the State may be seen in the management of husting and fishing. I cannot deal with the matter at length; but briefly the organization was as follows. Hunting was not free in Egypt. The State farmed out the right of luming both on the Nile and in the desert. The farmers were allowed to extain a part of the produce. This involved the necessity of conferring these rights chiefly upon special bodies of hunters (surgest), who were in my opinion another kind of exercises. Sometimes hunting was permitted to soldiers on an expedition, but always under the condition of paying the prescribed rate to the lax-farmers; every P. Moyer, Klio., IN (1918), 376; P. Ryl. II, 98; PSL v. 458; cf. for Roman times F. Ryl. II, 98 a and App. p. 423, and concerning the bodies of energys the inscriptions on the cliffs near Panopolis N. B. 235–291 and 293, 294.

Fishing was organized on the same lines. The tax was fixed at 25% of the produce levied by tax-farmers. Possibly the right of tax-farmers to receive the fourth of the produce did not alter certain right of temples and villages to fish and to hum at different spots on the Nile and on the lakes. I do not believe that the whole produce of nating had to be delivered to the farmers and was sold by dealers appointed by the State (Grenfell-Hunt, Tebr. 1, p. 19); but I am sure that trade in fish was controlled by the State, and the dealers had to pay a special tax; the ribor area@has dhiear, Wileken, Our. 1, 136, § 6. The most important document on fishing is Wileken, Chr. 167 (13) mc.); cf. Grundz 353; Outr. 1, 137. There is also much new evidence in Tobt. III.

The organization of fishing and hunting, as sketched above, affords a good illustration of State-control over every branch of trade and industry. Every party of hunters or fishermen was followed by agents of the tax-farmers, and every piece of game or fish caught was carefully registered by this tax-spy.

It is important to point out that the state-regulation of industrial life in Egypt steed in close commetion with similar regulation of creds. I cannot deal with this point at length; but I can affirm that the whole internal trade of Egypt was under close control by the State. Most of the products of Egypt were sold at fixed prices by dealers appointed by the State; in some branches of commerce prices were not fixed, but the State matched carefully over these branches, asked the produces and dealers to fix the prices by themselves, and then levied for the State a part of their profits. Details on this subject will be given in my commentary to Teta 703, which provides important evidence on the subject. A very good instance is PSI, iv, 425, where the existence of careful regulations for the corn-trade must be supposed, these being very similar to those for the wine-trade. Apparently the State gave to some dealers the exclusive right to sell corn belonging to the State. Possibly the corn deals with was the dyspacerox error; see above p. 176.

B. Idministrative system. No good comprehensive work on the administrative system of Ptolemnic Egypt exists. The outlines are fixed, e.g. by Bouché-Lechercq, but many questions remain unsettled. One of the most important in that concerning the functions of also appear. The recent work by Stemer (Ber Finles der Ptolemner, 1914) has confused the matter instead of abundating it. No help is to be obtained from the recent irrestigations of Principles' and Occurs (see further below. The excell investigation of the Zeno-correspondence (the whole find is divided between Italy, Cairo, England and Germany) combined with a renewed staids of the Toleynia, Hilboh, Fetric and Paria paper will containly three fresh light on the duties of the absorption. Though Zeno in the second period of his life was certainly and the algorithm of the Arsimotte nome, he had in his quality of chief manager of the big estate of the discostee Apollonies very often to deal with different local officials, especially with the ofcreeder.

It is a pity that the careful study of Ocetel (Die Leurge, 1917), useful as it refor the Roman times, does not clear up the question of the so-called liturgy in Ptolemain Egypt. He falls to recognize that the Greek liturgy closely connected with the city state has nothing to do with the compulsory labour of Eastern monarchies. What is new in the Ptolemain system is the canadanation of compulsory work with administrative duties, which is noticeable first of all in the case of the different kinds of guards. This combination is pseudiar to Egypt, and developed widely in Roman times. The municipalization of Egypt in the HIPs cent. of the Christian are first brought together the Greek numicipal Biturgy and the compulsory administrative work of Ptolemain and Roman Egypt.

Compulsory tax farming is different. It has nothing to do with the Greek liturgy, and is due to the fact that tax farming and administrative service approached nearer and nearer to each other as time went on. In the Roman period it is semantimes difficult to discover where the tax-farmer ends and the official begins.

F. Problegko, "Die Pelex Josephine Gerraka" (Schr. der Wissenschaftlichen Geschiehaft in Steusdary, 19), Strussburg, 1914, pp. 52 fell.

Entirely apart from the foregoing stand the different categories of compulsory manual work for the State. In dealing with this matter it is necessary to avoid the word littingy sometimes used by the Greeks in Egypt to design compulsory work in general. The similarity of this compulsory work to the compulsory work of citizens demanded sometimes by the city is only superficial; for the two institutions are based on quite different foundations

10. The spirit of the aution. The most difficult task in historical investigations is always that of characterizing the spirit of an epoch, the mood of a nation. It is always a piece of guess work and therefore subjective. My characterization of the psychology of an average Egyptian is based primarily on the contents of ordinary letters written by one hellenized Egyptian to another, mostly family letters. The matters dealt with in these are chiefly economic or of a family character. But I must acknowledge that this foundation for my deductions is rather weak. It is not cartain what would be the result if we were to analyse in the same way some hundreds of letters mostly written by country-people and local officials of our time.

To correlate toy statement we have, however, some very characteristic facts. First of all the etriker. To show discontent through strikes was always customary in Egypt among a population working under constraint. It is the usual protest of an auslayed population. The fact that the regime of the Ptolomies did not put an end to this form of protest, but that under these strikes became quite regular, shows that the most of the population did not change and the general conditions were analtered. It is to be noted that our evidence about strikes is not comfined to the later Helicuistic times. To judge by the available evidence strikes were as usual in the III'd cent a.c. as in the second and first. We find from the beginning on elaborate tochurcal language used by the strikers and the officials dealing with them therew open expresses the mood of the workmen showing that they were ready to strike; are xupric or dreddings eneto leave work and to look for a rafuge—is the technical expression for the strike itself, etc. Different classes of the population go on strike: Sacritical yeapyoi (Tabt. 28, 18 and 41, 14; PSL v. 502) -- workmen in quarries haropae: Hib, 71, 65, guards of different categories (yesquaropidanes, governobidance, etc.; PSL 47, 421; v. 490; Telst 24, 34 and 52; 731), retail-dealers in wine (Tebt. 725, etc.) I will quote one characteristic passage to show how common strikes were, and how ready even the officials were to use this wenpon against the State, -PSI, iv, 421, 6 is a | desput adjois fore so per bibois hair (supply sadies έστιν: τί δε μη, εποδραμούμεθα' οδ γάρ Ισχύομεν.

In times of unrest and open revolt, and especially after the suppression of a revolt, the plight of the population was general, and assessed decrees were bound first of all to call upon the dear groups of a count to go back to their bones and work; see Tebt. 5, 6 foll. (Energetes II); P. Par. 63, col. 13, 1, 2—4 (Philometer); Dittenberger, Or, Gr. Inser. 116; ct. Holicaux, Arch. f. Pap. vt., p. 10 B and p. 17 n. 1.

The growth of the number of deveryappears of square is shown by the increasing number of sanctuaries which presented the right of devide during the lattent a.c. The State was too weak to repel the claims of devide presented by bodies of priests or influential officials. One decayed sanctuary after another was restored by priests or private persons, and received from the king the right to halo the strikers and exploit their labour for their own purposes. The old fendal principle arcse again, and the foundations of the "patrocimum" of private landlards and churches in the late Roman period were laid. Not less than accommoscriptions, all of the latteent mea, give as evidence about this right of devide granted to different small sanctuaries, while for the l'Hrd and IVth centuries we have no examples. See & B. 620 (Athribus 97.6 a.c.); S. B. 1(a) (Theadelphia, 58/7 a.c.); Breeca, Bull. de la Sec. Arch. (Ader. 15 (1914—1915) (Theadelphia, 70/69 a.c.); S. B. 5210 (Eubonomia, 69/8 a.c.); S. B. 5827 (Eubonomia, 69 a.c.); S. B. 3926 (Pholomaia Bermin, 76/75 a.c.); Jougnet, C. R. de f Acad. d. Inver. 1902, 359 (Magdola).

# THE TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN HATTUSILI, KING OF THE HITTITES, AND THE PHARAOH RAMESSES II OF EGYPT

By PROFESSOR S. LANGDON, M.A., AND ALAN H. GARDINER, D.LITT.

The publication in Germany, during the war, of the Hittite archives discovered at Boghazkoi by Hugo Winckler makes it at last possible to compare in detail the hieroglyphic and conciform versions of the famous treaty concluded by the Hittite king Hattušili with Ramesses II of Egypt. Archaeology has no more romantic coincidence to show than the recovery in the heart of Asia Minor, a thousand miles away across the Mediterranean, of those two clay tablets reproducing in Babylonian language and writing the self-same treaty that Ramesses II had commemorated upon hieroglyphic stelae in his Theban temples. The full details of the story are doubtless unknown to many readers of the Journal; we may therefore be permitted to narrate them briefly by way of preface to our more technical investigations.

In the course of the expedition to Egypt, wherein Champollion sought to turn to practical account his decipherment of the hieroglyphs, his attention was especially attracted to the sculptures and inscriptions recording the wars between Ramesses II and a people whose name he read as Scheto. The sequel to those wars was a treaty of alliance of which the full terms were set forth in a hieroglyphic version upon great stellae in the temples of Karnak and the Ramesseum respectively. Champellion copied both the more complete example at Karnak and the fragmentary one in the Ramesseum, but his tentative rendering of some lines in the Notices Descriptives, as well as a reference in his published letters, shows that he did not yet divine the exact purport. This was, however, quite clearly recognized by his pupil Resellini, the first scholar to attempt a complete translation. Since those early days many translations and editions of the text have seen the light, but it must be confessed with some shame that Egyptologists have not yet provided themselves with quite definitive copies of this all-important historical document. The best edition available is one published by the late W. Max Müller in 1902, and it would be doing him an injustice to suggest that there is very much amiss with it; but a collation made by Professor Sethe, which, thanks to his kindness, we have been permitted to use for the present article (see Pl. XVIII); shows that in points of detail Max Müller's copy left a good deal to be desired; and a comparison of the first lines with the photograph of Béato pointed to the same conclusion. When will our scholars realize that the accurate copying of the monuments above ground is a task of far greater argency than the exploitation of new sites?

Champollion was inclined to equate the people whose name he read as Schéto with

Vol. n. pp. 185 foll.

<sup>1</sup> Lettres écriter de l'Egypte, p. 126,

Monumenti Storici, Vol. 111, Part II, pp. 263-382.

Der Bundmisvertrag Ramses' II und der Chetiterkinign im Mitteilungen der Vordermistischen Geneltschaft, 1902, 3. W. Peiser, Berlin. A valuable translation, with good hibliography, is given in Bazastra, Ancient Records, Vol. III, 8§ 367-391. For a hibliography of previous translations, see Masteno, Histoire Ancienne, Vol. II, p. 401, n. 2.

the Scythians, and it was not until 1858 that their identity with the Hittites of the Old Testament was conjectured by Brugsch, almost simultaneously with De Rougé and Bunsen! What at first was a mere guess has been gradually converted into a certainty. Little by little the monuments of the Hittites themselves have come to light both in Northern Syria and in Asia Minor; the El-Amarna letters have revealed the existence of a great Hittite kingdom whose warlike rulers were pressing southward towards Phoenicia and Palestine in the times of Amenophis III and his successor; and finally, in 1906, Hugo Winekler discovered the capital of the Hittites themselves, the extensive city of Hatti, in the great fortified ruins of Boghazkoi within the circuit of the Halys. Here, in the magnzines of the largest palace, as well as at another spot, were unearthed a vast number of clay tablets that proved to be nothing more or less than the archives of the Hittite Foreign Office. All the tablets were written in consiform characters, but in many the language was that actually spoken by the Hittites. The diplomatic Idiom of those times was, however, Babylonian, just as French is with ourselves, and in consequence the correspondence and treaties with the rulers of surrounding countries were couched in that tongue. The duplicate of the treaty with Ramesses II was recognized as such by Winckler himself, but it was not until 1916, ten years later, that the full text was published! Fragments of two copies were recovered; they are written in the Camaanitic dialect of Babylonian, and though there are divergences from the hieroglyphic version that will have to be considered hereafter, a cursory examination reveals the fact that in many paragraphs at least the Boghazkoi tablets represent the actual original text from which the Egyptian version was translated. It had long been recognized that the phraseology of the hieroglyphic version was non-Egyptian, and the newly discovered tablets, no less than the other treaties and similar documents found at Boghazkoi, now prove beyond a doubt that it was purely Babylonian. Unhappily, both the tablets from Boghazköi are incomplete: the larger fragment, no. 7 in the publication, carries forty-three well-preserved lines containing about half the treaty; no. 25 furnishes only the beginnings of the first twelve lines. The first critical edition of the Boghazkoi version was given by Bruno Meissner, in a paper printed in the Sitsungsberichte of the Berlin Academy"; in that paper, which has been used for the present article with much profit, a full transcription and translation were provided, together with valuable comments and comparisons with the Egyptian counterpart. In a later work containing a resume of the historical data obtainable from the Semitic texts of Boghazkoi, Meissner repeats his translation of the treaty, placing the corresponding paragraphs of the Egyptian version in a parallel column; the translation of the hieroglyphic text used by Meissner is that of Breasted. A new rendering of the Egyptian text is similarly printed opposite a rendering of the canciform tablets in a recent well-written pamphlet by Roeder'.

1 See Barrason, Geographicale Inschriften, Vol. 11, pp. 20 foll, with a trunslation of the treaty.

<sup>2</sup> For the gradual emergence of the Hittites into the light of history see the account in E. Meren, Reich and Kultur des Chetiter, pp. 127 foll.

<sup>2</sup> See Orientalische Litteraturzeitung, Vol. 1x (1906), col. 629; and further, Mitteilungen von der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft, No. 35, December 1967.

4 H. H. PISULLA and E. F. Weiden, Keilschriftearte aus Bogharkei, Part 1, Leipzig, 1916 (beneafurth quoted as KTB).

b Der Stoutswestrag Ramms' II. von Äggpton und Hattuiris von Hatti in ukkadischer Fassung, in Sitzb. d. kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wimenich., no. xx, April 1917.

\* Zur Geschichte des Chattireiches nach neuerschlossenen Urkunden des Chattischen Staatsarchies, G. P. Aderholz, Bresiau, 1917.

7 G. ROEDER, Agypter und Hethiter in Der Alte Orient, Leipzig, 1919.

2 a sn \_ hbw-sd & 3. Illegible; end 4. Nothing visible after Ath. - end 5 Tir-11-st 6 'nw 1 sic 7. # 8 ptri IV: so too ll q. 11 - pt 1 9 ptri Ma clear. 10. 唇龙飘高); read 南尾 AHG\_ ~ hmss? S. 11 hmss? S. 11 hmss? 120 read 20's 12 00 - The me me - irm ni hodis 13. Ofter the lacuna of ins S. \_ Finn se lacuna 3 , 三面1, 5 \_ 图 \_ 图 \_ 图 \_ 图 \_ helb without 9 \_ SUR 2 \_ TO 7 TO THE WILL S restore 答画图画画图图 A.H.G. 不知他 Prestore he Tall by howy, A.H.C. 18 30 19 19 19 10 10 ml hori 20 5 ; hardly room for = S. - Emssw \_ 1 MAN HAR 21105一大型路本山山灵, - end of line 100 read is mhe - power sons He 22 after the lacuna Tish 24 dil inter n ps wor R \_ = 25 mdt n ps Hillien we 2-26 11 10 m sš. \_ mhw 111 9 201 Hts - d in dmi has the ordinary form - D-p-1-T-n- 2 - 28 1 18 Mi \_ Mal I \_ the preceding place name is & 3 The 29 LASA \_ 67 \_ BK - prate DA Ti" - prate & -1 28 \_ ni ntu 1 \_ N 1 1 - 30 5 1 1 - 31 X 0 Ha\_ 1 32 mlw The man - well - end of 33 beginning there A \_ S, n added later. Su & 35. 23 四面 A No: Sportable, S. \_ inhor Mat. 38. 38. 12 = 38

THE PEACE-TREATY BETWEEN HATTUSILI AND RAMESSES II Collation, by Professor Kurt Sethe, of the Karnal text is published by W. Max Müller



In the present article Professor Langdon offers a new transcription and translation of the Boghazkoi tablets, making abundant use of the other texts from Boghazkoi for restoring defective passages and for commentating those parts of the treaty that are preserved in the hieroglyphic version alone. For the new rendering of the Egyptian text and for the form in which the two renderings are presented Dr Gardiner has assumed the responsibility. The comments are our joint work; but the chronological and historical conclusions in the last section (IV) are due to Professor Langdon alone.

### I. TRANSCRIPTION OF THE HITTITE-BABYLONIAN VERSION.

### \$1.

- [um-ma Ri-a-ma-ŝe-ŝa ma-a-i] <sup>da</sup>A-ma-na ŝarra rabû ŝar [<sup>mat</sup>Mi-iş-ri-i karradu]
- 2. [ka-du Ho-at-tu-si-li-šarru rab]i šar unt Ha-at-ti ahi-šu a-na\* na-ta-ni sa-la-[ma damka
- [aḥūtam² damikta ù α-na ṣα-ba-ti šarru-]ut-ti rabiti\* i-na be-ri-šu-nu α-di ni-[i-nu-ù-ma² α]-di d[α i-v-ri-ti]\*
- [rik-za ir-]ku-us\* [Ri\*-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i] <sup>uu</sup>A-ma-na šarru rabû šar <sup>mat</sup>Mi-iṣ-ri-i karradu i-na gab-bi matāti mār-[šu ša]
- [Mi-in-] mu-a-ri-u šarri rabi šar mat Mi-iş-ri-i karradi-i mār māri-šu ša Mi-in-pahi-ri-ta-ri-a šarri rabi
- [šar matMi-is-]ri-i karradi a-na Ha-at-tu-ši-li šarri rabi šar matHu-at-ti karradi mar Mur-ši-li šarri rabi
- 7. [śar ww.Ha-at-ti]" karradi mār māri-šu ša Šu-ub-bi-lu-li-ù-ma šarri rabî šar wat Haat-ti karradi a-mur a-nu-ma at-ta-din
- [ahu-ut-ta" damik]ta sa-la-ma damka i-na be-ri-in-ni a-di da-ri-ti a-na na-da-ni sa-lama damka ah-hu-ta damikta
- 9. [i-na10 rik-si] and Mi-iş-ri-i ka-du and Ha-at-ti a-di da-a-ri-ti ki-a-am

### \$2

a-mur te-ma ša šarri rubi šar mm Mi-is-ri-i

- [iiii ša šarri rabi] šar mat Ha-at-ti ul-du ta-ri-ti ilim u n-ul i-mu-an-din u-na e-bi-šiii nakrūtau i-na be-ri-šu-nu
- [i-na rik-si a-]di da-a-ri-ti. a-mur Ri-a-ma-ŝe-ŝa ma-a-i <sup>da</sup>A-ma-na ŝarru rabil ŝar ma Mi-is-ri-i<sup>st</sup> a-na e-hi-ŝi to-nar
- 12. [św. 4n Samaś û] un Teśub i-pu-św a-na mat Mi-iş-ri-i ka-du mat Hu-at-ti i-na te-mi-św św. ul-tu da-ri-ti
- lim-niš (?) [ul i-na-ki-]ir α-na e-hi-ŝi nukurta" i-na be-[ri-ŝu-nu α-]na su-α-di ù α-du ku-ul.
  - 1 Restored from 25, 2. Here begins 25, 3. Restored from I. 8 and Eg. L.7.
  - \* Doubtful; restored from KTB, i, 6, 11.
- \* Restored from KNUDTRON, El-Amorno, 29, 132.

- \* Cf. L 11 and Eg. L 7
- These are the traces on the tablet. The following break is not long enough to carry the name and title of the king, but the editors may have minimized it in their copy.
  - 4 Var. 25, 4 Za-ri!

rs 251 (1).

9 So 25, 5.

\* Written GALU-KUR

- 10 25, 7. 11 25, 8.
- 19 25, 9. Meissner returns that to mi 'by agreement.'
  19 à probably shood at the end of 25, 9.
  - " AN-lim. Eg. 1 7 'the god."
    - 11, 52, 15
- 11 25, 13.

34-3

§ 3.

 Ri[a-ma-ŝe-ŝa] ma-a-i 4 A-ma-na ŝarru rabû ŝar Mi-iş-ri-i i-te-pu-uŝ i-na ri-ki-il-ti! eli tup-pi ŝa kaspi

 ka-du [Ha-at-tu-ki-]li karri rabi kar ""Ha-at-ti ahi-[ku a-di ti-]mi" an-ni-i a-na na-da-ni zu-lum-ma-a damkuah-hu-ta damikta

- i-na [be-ri-m a-na] da-ri-ti û ûḥ-ḥu-ŭ it-[ti-ţa sa-lim it-ti-]ţa\* û âḥ-u-ku it-ti-šu û sal-ma-u-ku it-ti-šu
- a-di da-[a-ri-ti ù ni-]i-nu ni-in-ip-pu-uê abu-[ut-ta-ni sa-la-]ma-u-ni u damikto eli abù-ti ii sa-la-mi sa pa-nu nu
- 18. ša mat M[i-iş-ri-i ii] mat Ha-at-ti a-mur Ri-i-a-ma-še-ša šarru rabit šar mat Mi-iş-ri-i i-na sa-la-mi damki i-na ahû-ti damikti
- 19. it-ti [Ya-at-tu-ši-li] šarri rabl šar mat Ha-at-ti. a-mur marš Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i
- 20. sal-ma áh-[hu-u it-ti] máré sa Ha-at-tu-si-li sarri rahi sar maHa-at-ti a-di da-ri-ti à su-nu a-ki-i te-mi-ni
- 21. ša ahā-ut-[ti-ni ù sa-]la-um-ni ù mat Mi-[is-ri-i] ka-da mat Ha-at-ti ù sa-ut-mu uhhā ki-i ni-i-nu u-di da-ri-ti.

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- 22. à Ri-a-ma-se-sa ma-a-i din A-ma-na sarra rabit sar ma Mi-is-ri-i la-a u-kar-ra ma Ha-at-ii a-na la-ki-e mi-im-ma
- 23. ina libbi-šu [a-na da-ru-]a-ti ù Ha-at-tu-ŝi-li ŝurru rabil ŝar ma Ha-at-ti la-a ù-kar-ra a-na ma Mi-is-ri-i
- 24. a-na la-ki-i mi-im-ma i-na libbi-sa [a-na da-ra-a-ti].

\$5.

[u]-mur par-m ša du-a-ri-ti ša ""Šamšu u ""Tešub i-pu-šu

- 25. a-na mada-iş-ri-i ka-du mu Ha-ut-ti [a-na v-bi-si sa-la-ma] û ahu-ut-ta a-na la-a na-da-a-nı nakrûta i-na be-ri-su-nu
- 26. ù a-mur Ri-n-ma-ŝe-ŝa ma-a-i \*\*A-[ma-na ŝarru rabû] ŝar \*\*Mi-iș-ri-i iș-șa-bat-ŝu a-na e-bi-ŝi ŝu-ul-mi a-di û-mi an-ni-i
- 27. a-mur and Mi-is-[ri-i] ku-du and Ha-at-ti [su-al-mu' ii ah-]hu-ii a-di da-ri-ti

SB.

ii šum-ma amelnakru ša-au-u

- 28. il·la-ka\* [a-na ma]Ha-at-ti à Ha-at-tu-ŝi-li [šarra rabil šar = Ha-at-]ti i-ŝap-par a-na a-ja-ŝi nm-ma-a al-ka a-na a-ja-ŝi
- 29. a-na ri-zn-ti-[ia] a-na ŝa-a-ŝa ù Ri-[a-ma-ŝe-ŝa ma-a-i in A-ma-]na ŝarra ralat ŝar
- 30. i-kap-par sábé-šu varkubáti-šu ú i-da-ak-ku [mmtnakra-šu ú ti-jil-la-[la]\* u-ta-ar a-na

1 25, 15. Restored from 1, 26 and Eg. 1 9.

\* Restored from Eg. 1.10. The canciform text appears to be inaccurate; cf. KTB, p. 17, 6.

Maisoner restores if pa-ab-ba-at (1) lik ka(3) su. L. Uf. KTB, 3. p. 18, 48 andra kg-nu-h s-tab-bi.

\* Uncertain. For tillata, help, support, see KTB, 1, 25, 44 ti-d-la-tam irris, he shall ask for help. See also KKURTZON, EV-America, 71, 21-2, demant tillat-in, mighty is his strength. A variant is tillate, tillate; a-nor te-of-d-ti-in, for his help, KTB, 1, 16, 9, a-nor ti-id-la-ti-ja, 1, 25, 66. The word is philologically identical with illata, strength, and has the same ideogram. Note KTB, 1, 17, 21 over ILLAD-ti-in. See now EBELLING, Religions Texts and deser, p. 333, tillate-pulpes, totality.

#### \$7.

- 31. à sum-ma Ha-at-tu-si-li surra rabil sur " Ha-at-ti [ir-du-ub" ana] eli ardé-su at-tu-su [ù su-na ib-]ta-tu-ù a-na eli-su"
- 32. ŭ ta-ŝup-par a-na Ri-a-ma-ŝe-ŝa ŝarri rabi ŝar = [Mi-is-ri-i] eli-ŝu a-[di]\* Ri-a-ma-ŝe-ŝa ma-a-i sta A-ma-na
- 33. sábé-ša narkabati-ša i-šap-par [ù] ú-hal-la-ku gah-bi-i-[šu-nu ša] a-na eli-šu-nu [tar-da-bu]

#### \$ 8.

- [ ii sum-ma] andnakru ša-nu-u il-la-ka
- 34. a-na ma Mi-is-ri-i à Ri-a-ma-se-sa ma-a-i an A-ma-na [sar] ma Mi-is-ri-i ahà-k[a i-sap-pav]a-na Ha-at-in-si-li
- 35. šar mat Ha-at-ti ahl-šu um-[ma-a al-]ka a-na ri-su-ti-ja a-na e-li-šu a-di Hu-[at-tuši-li] šar mat Ha-at-ti
- 36. i-kap-pur zábé-ku [narkabati-]ku ú-[da-a-]ak \*\*\*\*\*vakri-ja

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- û sum-ma Ri-a-mu-se-sa [sarru rabû sur] wet Mi-iş-ri-i
- 37. ir-da-ub a-na eli ards at-tu-sa à su-nu i-te-ip-su he-ta a-na eli-[su à a-sap-par]
- 38. a-na Ha-at-tu-ŝi-li ŝar matHa-at-ti abl-ja eli-[ŝu] ŭ Ha-at-tu-ŝi-li [ŝarru rabil ŝar
- 39. i-sap-par sabé-su narkubati-su à à hal-la-ku gub-bi-[i-su-mi] à (\*) ana-ku a-ru ......

### § 10.

# IL COMPARISON OF THE HITTITE-BABYLONIAN AND THE EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.

Before embarking upon the translation of the canciform and hieroglyphic examples of the treaty, we must devote some words both to the form in which the names of gods, kings and countries are rendered in the original texts and to the equivalents adopted for these in our English versions. So far as the hieroglyphic writings of foreign names are

- Restored from 1. 37, and on ra'abs see Maissner's note, p. 292. Restored from Eg. L'19.
- <sup>2</sup> So also Moissner restores from 1. 35. This meaning of self-caunot be substantiated from parallel texts and may be an abbreviation for add vari, cf. Mean in Beitrage nur Assyriologic, Vol. x, No. 76, 28.
- \* In the text as published there is hardly room for this restoration. Meissner's restoration gab-bi
  - " Uncertain.
  - \* Or restore him sured-tim i-Mub-be-tu. Winckler may have misread kab as ib.
  - After Meissner, 1 u.na, "where I see dim. Journ. Sem. Lang., Vol., 20, p. 205.

concerned, it is now recognized that the so-called syllabic writing employed for this purpose was not truly syllabic at all, and that for such a geographical name as 755 cos, which Max Müller transcribed Hi-su-sa-pa, all that we are strictly justified in giving is the consonantal framework H-s-s-p!. Now in many cases it has proved possible, on the strength of the Boghazköi evidence, to identify such place-names, so that nothing prevents us from inserting in our translation of the Egyptian text the fully vocalized original pronunciations. By way of precaution, however, we shall add the hieroglyphic consenantal counterpart in round brackets; thus the place-name that we have quoted as an example will appear as Hiskashapa (H.s-s-p). For those who are not orientalists it should be noted that the symbol H represents a strongly aspirated h and that i is to be pronounced sh.

To avoid repetition of the Egyptian consonantal equivalents it will be well to state here the form in which the hieroglyphs render the names of the land of Hatti and of its rulers. For Hatti the Egyptian writes Htl, purely consonantally. There is no more justification for the pronunciation Kheta adopted by the older school of Egyptologists than there is for Khetasar, Merasar, Metella and Seplel respectively. These names should henceforth disappear from the history books; the Egyptian hieroglyphs give no more than the consonants Ht-s-r, M-r-s-r, M-l-nr and S-p-r-r and provide no warrant for any vowels in which we may choose to clothe those marticulate skeletons. The Hittites themselves doubtless pronounced the names of their kings somewhat otherwise than did the Egyptians -there are certain variations even in the consonants, Babyloman & corresponding to Egyptian s, and so forth. Nevertheless, we are not in a position to furnish the precise Egyptian equivalents of the Hittite names, and so we had best fall back on the mative originals. Hence, in our translations both of the Boghazkoi tablets and of the Theban stelae, we shall render uniformly Hattušili, Muržili, Muwattalli, Šubbiluliuma.

We are more embarrassed to know how to deal with the Egyptian royal names. The cunciform tablets, in writing the prenomen and nomen of Ramesses II as Wasmunriašatepnarias and Riamašeša-mai-Amana respectively, set a standard of excellence (mutatis mutandis, as & into s, see above) which we cannot maintain elsewhere in transcribing Pharaonic names. Here we are usually content with the sort of pronunciation that was current in Greek times, the sort of pronunciation that Manetho used. For this reason we will adhere, in translating the Karnak text, to our conventional transcriptions Usima rec. setpenre (cf. Ck. Obaipapys) and Ra messe-mi-Amun (cf. Ck. Paperane Miapour), while preserving the richer flavoured pronunciations in our versions of the Boghazkoi texts. These latter give the equivalents Minmaaria for Menmafret Sethos I, Minpahiritaria (sic) for Menpehtire? Ramesses I, and-in a letter, not in the treaty)-Naptera for Nefreteri, the consort of Ramesses II. It may here be noted that the hieroglyphic copies of the treaty fairly consistently alternate the prenomen and nomen of Ramesses II throughout the text, a common stylistic device at this period; the cunciform tablets are content with the nomen alone. The capelform tablets make no distinction of title between the kings of Egypt and Hatti-land; they are surru rabil sur "Mi-is-ri-i 'great king, king of Misr (Egypt)' and

2 See below, p. 203; not in the treaty itself. The prenames signified Power-is-the-truth-of-Ref, and the across 'Ref-gave-birth-to-him-beloved-of-(the god)-Amun."

See below, p. 204, mal.

t For a careful investigation of the problem here administrated see the book by M. BURGHARDT, Die Althomanniamhon Fremdworfe und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen. Deipnig, 1960.

sarra rabil sar well-at-ti 'great king, king of thatti,' as the case may be; whereas the hieroglyphic copies have, in the one case 'the great ruler ( \( \frac{1}{2} \) \) of Egypt' and, in the other, 'the great chief ( \( \frac{1}{2} \) ) of Hatti,' with the less honorific term always applied to the Syrian and other foreign princelings.

As regards divine names, both the Hittite and the Egyptian versions exemplify the practice, almost universal in antiquity, of translating these into the indigenous equivalents. In our renderings we have perforce followed suit: the Egyptian sun-god, Prec, the Rec, the sun' appears in the Boghazkoi texts as Samas, the Semitic name of the sun-god; the Hittite god of thunder, Tesub, is represented at Thebes by Setekh, the stranger-god par excellence, an equivalence which, from the Egyptian point of view, gained rather than lost through the sinister association with the enemy of Horus and Osiris.

We now proceed to the translation of the texts, appending to each section or paragraph such commentary as is necessary. The Egyptian version has an explanatory introduction (Il. 1—4) and a heading (Il. 4—5), which are not in the parallel texts from Boghazköi; the internal evidence would suffice to show that they were not translated, but composed by an Egyptian scribe.

It is important to note, from the outset, that the canciform version places Kamesses in the foreground as the principal contracting party; and he therefore sometimes uses the first person (ll. 7, 16). In the hieroglyphic version, on the other hand, it is Hattusili who employs the prenoun of the first person (ll. 10, 11, 14, 26), and his name and land are mentioned before Pharaob and Egypt. This agrees with the statement l. 4 (cf. l. 3) that the Karnak stella gives the translation of the aliver tablet sent to Ramesses by Hattusili. In § 6—9 this reversal of rôles leads to the position that while the paragraphs retain their regular sequence in both versions, in actual substance Babylonian § 6 corresponds to Egyptian § 8, and Babylonian § 7 to Egyptian § 9.

# EXPLANATORY INTRODUCTION (Eg. only)

(1) Year 21, first month of winter, day 21, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima (rec-setpenrec, son of Rec. Ratmesse-mi-Amūn, granted life eternally and forever, beloved of Amen-Rec, Harakhte, Ptuh South-of-His-Wall, land of Conkhtowe, Mut lady of Ishru and Khons-Neferhotpe, being arisen upon the Horns-throne of the Living like his father Harakhte eternally and for evermors.

The pronoun of the second person is also once corployed, referring to Hattusili; see I. 32.

This introduction is almost pure clicks: Egyptian historical stellar regularly begin with a date and titles, these being followed by an indication of the momentary residence and occupation of the Pharmoli when the situation to be envisaged arcse. The date of year 21 is, of course, important; Ramessis was as usual, residing at his northern capital by the Pelusiae river mouth, at or near Pelusiam. The passage giving the names of the envoys is, unhappily, damaged beyond possibility of restoration. It would book as though two Egyptian military officers, perhaps commanders on the Egyptian frontier, accompanied the Hittite envoys into the presence of Pharmott. The injured names of those envoys are a puzzlo. From a passage below (1.5) we learn that the tablet of silver was brought by the two envoys of the chief of Hatti Turtesinh (Turtesinh (Turtesinh) and Rachess—this last a purely Egyptian name. In the present passage the name of the first covoys might indeed be emended to [Turtesich, last that of the second was certainly not Rachesse, but a name ending with the characteristically Hittite termination and (Max Müller saw V.1-s-r); between this and the epithet the messenger of Hatti' in front of 11 are some unintelligible foreign words ...s-i... I-g-m(t)-s regarded by Max Müller as a Semitic honorific title; Roader (op. cit., p. 36) suggests "[Karke]mish" for the second word, a conjecture for which reference to the original is required

Max Miller (op. cit., pp. 23-5) argues that the words dob hepe 'to beg peace' here and below l. 5 have beguiled Egyptologists into a wrong view of the treaty as a whole; this is not a treaty of peace—one terminating a war—but a treaty of alliance. It is true that the phrase in question is a commonplace of Egyptian style<sup>5</sup>, and that every Egyptian scribe would naturally represent the foreigner as soing for peace; none the less it may in this case have corresponded roughly to the actual political situation (see below,

pp. 301-5).

### HEADING TO THE EGYPTIAN TRANSLATION OF THE TREATY.

Copy of the tablet of sitver which the great chief of Hatti, Hattusili, caused to be brought to Pharach by the hand of his messenger (5) Tartesub (T-r-t-s-b) and his messenger Ratmose, in order to bog peace from the Majesty [of Unimates setpences], son of Ret. Ratmesse mi-Amun, bull of rulers, who makes his boundary where he will in every land.

The word 'copy' here, of course, means translation. On the 'tablet of silver' sent by the king of Hatti, see below. The Egyptian origin of this section is again betrayed by the use of the words 'to 'eng peace'; and the final epithets of Ramesses are essentially Egyptian.

#### § L. PREAMBLE OF THE ACTUAL TREATY.

Hittite-Babylenian Text.

(1) [And so be it. Riamašeša-mai-]
Amana, the great king, king [of Egypt, the
strong], (2) [with Hattušili, the great king],
king of the land Hatti, his brother, in order
to give good peace, (3) [good brotherhood and
to obtain] a mighty [king]dom(!) between
them as long as we<sup>1</sup> [live] (and) [forever]
(4) [a treaty] has made.

Egyptian Text.

The treaty which the great prince of Hatti. Hattusili, the strong, the son of Murkili, (6) the great chief of Hatti, the strong, the son of the son of Subballuliuma, the great chief of Hatti, the strong, made upon a tablet of silver for Unimalrece setpenred, the great ruler of Egypt, the strong, the son of Meamalred, the great ruler of Egypt, the strong, the son of the son of Menpehtired, (7) the great ruler of Egypt, the strong; the good treaty of peace and brotherhood, giving peace [and brotherhood (1)...... between us by means of a treaty (1) of Hatti with Egypt] forever.

1 See this Journal, Vol. v. p. 181, 84,

\* E.g., SETHE, Urkandon, 1v, 332, 333.

There is the additional difficulty that there is barnly room for the words 'messanger of Hatti' before this first name; nor is the reason for the promones of Ramesses II that precedes at all apparent.

<sup>\*</sup> The language of the Semitic texts from Bogharkói is remarkably inexact in its use of pronouns:

<sup>\*</sup> No. c; this Egyptian word means something like 'ordinance,' 'prescription,' 'arrangement.'

The proposed restoration is based on the last words of the section in the Babylonian version.

Hittite Babyloman Text.

Riumašeša-mai-Amana, the great king, king of Egypt, the strong in all lands, son [of ] (5) Minmuaria, the great king, king of Egypt, the strong, son of the son of Minpahiritaria, the great king, (6) [king of Egy]pt, the strong, unto Hatturili, the great king, king of the land Hatti, the strong, the son of Mursili, the great king, (7) king of the land Hatti, the strong, son of the son of Subbituliuma, the great king, king of the land Hatti, the strong, behold now I give (8) [good] brotherhood, good peace between as forever, in order to give good peace, good brotherhood (9) by means of [a treaty (?)] of Egypt with Hutti forever. So it is.

Egyptian Text

The two versions agree substantially in content, and there is a close correspondence in the phraseology. The main difference is that the cunoiform text reserves the filiation for a second sentence, this entalling the introduction of a second main verb with its adjuncts. In this place the Egyptian text alone speaks of a tablet of silver, see below, p. 189; but the cumiform tablet has a similar reference in L 14.

### § 2. THE TREATY IS THE RESUMPTION OF OLD PEACEFUL RELATIONS.

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

Behold, the policy' of the great king, king of Egypt (10) [and of the great king], king of Hatti since eternity-god did not permit? the making of hostility between them, (11) [by means of a treaty forever.

Egyptian Text.

Now aforetime, since eternity, as regards the policy' of the great ruler of Egypt and the great chief of Hatti-the god did not permit hostility to be made between them, by means of a treaty.

But in the (8) time of Muuattalli, the great chief of Hatti, my brother, he fought with [Rulmesse-mi-Amin], the great ruler of Egypt

Behold, Riumasesa-mai-Amuna, the great king, king of Egypt, in order to make the policy (12) [which Samas and] Tesub made for Egypt with the land Hatti because of his policy which is from eternity, (13) wickedly (?) [will not become host lile to make hostility hetween them unto everlasting und unto all (time)

But hereafter, beginning from this day, behold Hattukili, the great chief of Hatti, is [in f] a treaty for making permanent the policy which Pres made and Setekh made for the land of Egypt (9) with the land of Hatti, so as not to permit licstilities to be made between them forever'.

The correspondence of the versions is again close, except for the addition of the historical reference in the Egyptian. The formulation of the last paragraph differs in the two massa, but the substance is identical

Tems, properly 'counsel, 'plan,' just like the Eg. translation shr. Since both words express the attitude adopted towards anything, 'policy' seems a suitable rendering

2 Meissner explains but us a Canaanitish word, Hobrew & \* Historical mesont.

\* Literally translated from the Babyloman, see below, p. 189, n. 3.

§ 3. DECLARATION OF THE NEW TREATY,

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

(14) Riamašeša-mai-Amana, the great king, king of Egypt, has made himself in a treaty upon a silver tablet (15) with Hattu-šili, the great king, king of the land Hatti, his brother, from this day to give good peace and good brotherhood (16) between us forever; and he is a brother to me and at peace with me, and I am a brother to him and at peace with him (17) forever.

And we have made brotherhood, peace and goodwill more than the brotherhood and peace of former times, (18) which was between [Egypt and] Hatti.

Behold, Riamašeša-mai-Amana, the great king, king of Egypt, is in good peace and good brotherhood (19) with Hattušili, the great king, king of the land Hatti.

Behold, the sons of Riamašeša-mai-Amana, the king of Egypt, (20) are at peace (and) are bro[thers with] the sons of Huttušili, the great king, king of the land Hatti,

forever; and they are according to our policy (21) of [our] brotherhood [and] our peace.

And Egypt with the land Hatti-they are at peace, they are brothers like us forever.

Egyptian Text.

Behold, Hattusili, the great chief of Hatti, has made himself in a treaty with Usima rec-setpenre, the great ruler of Egypt,

beginning with this day, to cause to be made good peace and good brotherhood between us forever; (10) and he is in brotherhood with me and at peace with me, and I am in brotherhood with him and at peace with him forever-

And since Muwattalli, the great chief of Hatti, my brother, hastened after his fate, and Hattusili took his seat as (11) great chief of Hatti on the throne of his father; behold I have become with Kalmesse-mi-Amun, the great ruler of Egypt, we (?) being [together in ?] our peace and our brotherhood; and it is better than the peace and the brotherhood of formerly, which was in the land?

Behold, I, being the great chief of Hatti, am with (12) [Ratmesse-mi-Amain], the great ruler of Egypt, in good peace and good brotherhood.

And the children of the children [of] the great chief of Hatti shall be (?)\* in brotherhood and at peace with the children of the children of Racmesse-mi-Aman, the great ruler of Egypt;

they being in our policy of brotherhood and our policy (13) [of peace].

[And the land of Egypt ?] with the land Hutti [shall be?] at peace and in brotherhood like us forever; and hostilities shall not be made between them forever.

1 Note that the Egyptian translates the Babylonian reflexive quite literally.

This atterly non-Egyptian phrase is a clear translation of a common Babylonian expression; for the entire sentence of KTB, 1, No. 8, 16 ki-i-ms-s Nir-gill surve rabil [a-ma] hi-im-ti-is il-li-gu a-ms-ke Ha-at-tu-li-li-ana W-basil a-bi-ja at-ta-iab When Nirgal (=sfills, the hero, title of Mawattalli), the great king, wont to his fate, I. Hattusili, not upon the throne of my father. Further on; note that the change to the lat person is characteristic of Babylonian

On the strength of the Boghazköi text one is tempted to think that some words have been omitted here; 'which was in the land (of ffatti with the land of Egypt).'

A 14 seems impressible to quote any exact parallel for this use of the se of definition; but in defence of our interpretation one may perhaps cite &c f m sit he said, namely the Vizier.

The two versions here are closely parallel, except for the addition of the reference to the death of Muwattalli and the accession of Hattusili in the Egyptian text, following up the similar reference in § 2. The Babylonian version makes allusion to a tablet of silver sent by Ramesses to Hattusili, the counterpart of that named in earlier sections of the Egyptian version as sent by Hattusili to Ramesses.

# §4. MUTUAL ASSURANCES WITH REGARD TO INVASION.

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

(22) And Riamušeša-mai-Amma, the great king, king of Egypt, shall not trespass' into the land Hatti to take aught (23) from therein [forever]; and Hattušili, the great king, king of the land Hatti, shall not trespass into Egypt (24) to take aught from therein [forever].

Egyptian Texts

And the great chief of Hatti shall not tresposs into the land of Egypt forever to take aught from it; and Usima rec-setpenrec, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not tresposs into the land (14) [of Hatti to take] (aught) from it forever.

Here there is complete correspondence, except for the omission of the specific name of Hattusili in the Egyptian.

# § 5. FORMAL RENEWAL OF THE FORMER TREATY.

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

Behold, the decree of eternity which Samas and Tesub have made (25) for Egypt and the land Hatti [to make peace] and brotherhood in order not to give hastility between them! Egyptian Text-

As to the

and see

regular' treaty which there was in the time of Subbiluliuma, the great chief of Hatti, and likewise the regular treaty which was in the time of Muwattalli (sic I), the great chief of Hatti, my father, I take hold of it. Behold, Rasmesse-mi-Aman, the great ruler of Egypt, takes hold (15) [of the peace (1) which it (1)] makes together with us from this day;

will act according to this regular policy.

(26) And behold Riamusesa-mai-A[mana, the great king], king of Eggpt, takes hold of it to make peace from this day.

(27) Behold, Egypt and Hutti [are at peace, and] they are brothers forever<sup>6</sup>.

The Egyptian version has 'traspass,' confirming the connection of abarra with the stem it'd 'meet,' 'attain,' in Arabic 'strive towards,' 'wander' from land to land. Note also in an astrological text, Jupiter was falled markatel to it-riom 'approached unto the Waggon star.'

Not was perhaps erromously omitted from the Egyptian text, as there does not seem room for it in

the lamus.

I am law nadawn i natrita ima beri-in-un is evidently the pirase that was translated r to dir.

" Mry is not to be rendered with Breasted as 'former,' but rather as 'regular,' 'normal,' almost

"traditional!

Sothe sees traces of the f at the end of the lacens; owing to from a following it would seem as though pl at a must be the subject of the relative form.

\* Cf. L 21. Meissner restores differently.

The divergences here are considerable. While the Egyptian version, following its went, barks back to earlier history, the Hitties Babylonian substitutes, in the first paragraph, very nearly the same words as were read at the end of §2 in the Egyptian version (L.9). Further on, the adhesion of the contracting parties to the treaty is expressed in the Babylonian by the graphic verb sabdus, "grasp," "sense : the Egyptian renders mechanically by mb m, a metaphorical use not in accordance with Egyptian idiom! At the end, the Babylonian has a phrase encountered already in § 3, while the Egyptian differs.

The characteristically careless mistake made in 1. 14 of the Egyptian version has emaped but few of the modern commentators; de Rougé's wished to correct 'my father' into 'my brother' (see above Eg. 1. 10), but Max Müller and, more hesitatingly, Breasted have proposed to replace Mawattalli by Mursilli. There can be hardly any doubt but that the latter alternative is right; Hattuvilli is referring to the old harmonious

days before Muwattalli broke the peace with Egypt.

### § 6. Undertaking of a Defensive Alliance (cf. § 8).

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

And if another enemy (28) come [against] the land Hatti, and Hattušili, [the great king of the land Hat]ti, send to me saying, Come unto me (29) for [my] help against him'; then Ri[amašeša-mai-Ama]na, the great king, king of Egypt (30) shall send his troops (and) his chariots and shall slay [his enemy and] he shall restore [con] fidence (3) to the land Hatti.

Egyptian Text.

And if mother enemy came to the lands of Usima receptored, the great ruler of Egypt, and he send to the great chief of Hatti saying, 'Come with me as help against him'; the great chief of Hatti shall (16) [come to him], the great chief of Hatti [shall] slay his enemy,

But if it be not the desire of the great chief of Hatti to come, he shall send his troops and his chariotry and shall slay his enemy,

A clause (§ 7) dealing with the common action to be taken against the rebellions subjects of one of the contracting parties intervenes before the reciprocal passage corresponding to § 6 is reached; and our § 9 again is reciprocal to our § 7. For this reason it might have been more strictly in accordance with the intention of the framers of the treaty to regard §§ 6-7 and §§ 8-9 each as a unity? In § 6 and § 8 the Egyptian version expands so as to envisage the possibility that the allied king might not desire to come in person. Apart from this, there are hardly any differences in the phrascology to be noted.

§ 7. COMMON ACTION TO HE TAKEN AGAINST RESELLIOUS SUBJECTS (of. § 9).

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

(31) And if Hattušili, the great king, king of the land Hatti, [become invensed] against servants of his [and they] sin against him, (32) and then send to Riamašeša, the great king, king of [Egypt] concerning it; Egyptian Text.

Or if Ratmesse-mi-Amūn, (17) [the great ruler of Egypt], become incensed against servants of his, and they do another offence against him,

and he go to slay his enemy;

1 Max Miller had brilliantly guessed the Babylonian original, see op. cit., p. 13.

\* Occurred Diverses, Vol. 1v, p. 13. This is further suggested by the word 'or' in Eg. 1, 16.

• The Eg. stay was long a crass interpreteen until it was shown to be the personal prenoun third personal with amphatic meaning; one Zeitschr, f. dg. Spranke, Vol. 5 (1912), pp. 114-117. The Bubylonian version now admirably confirms this discovery.

\* That the speciosis does not begin here is shown by mix Remsecond Inn [\$15] in Eg. I. 19 (§ 9).

Hittite Babylonian Text.

Egyptian Text.

straight[way] Riamašeša-mai-Amana (33) his troops (and) his chariots shall send, and they shall destroy all [of them] against whom [thou art become incensed].

the great chief of Hatti shall act with him [to destroy] everyone [against whom] they shall be incensed1.

Here it will be seen that the divergences of phraseology are considerable, while the sense is substantially identical in both versions.

# § 8. RECIPROCAL CLAUSE CORRESPONDING TO § 6.

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

[And if] unother enemy come (34) against Egypt, and Riamassia-mai-Amana, the king of Egypt, thy brother, [send] to Hattu-Wili, (35) king of the land Hatti, his brother, saying, '[Co]me for my help against him'; straightway then shall Ha[ttukili], king of the land Hatti, (36) send his troops (and) his [chariots]; he [shall slay] my enemy.

Egyptian Text.

But [if] another enemy [come] against the great chief [of Hatti];

[then shall Usi]ma [ref]-setpenref (18) [the great ruler of Egypt] come to him as help to slay his enemy.

(But) if it be {not} the desire of Racmesse-mi-Aman, the great ruler of Egypt; to come, hs..... and his] (19) chariatry, besides returning answer to the land of Hatti.

Besides other miner variations, the Egyptian text contains the alternative already mentioned in § 6.

# § 9. RECIPROCAL CLAUSE CORRESPONDING TO § 6.

Hittite-Babylonian Text.

And if Riumasesa, the great king, king] of Egypt. (37) become incensed against servants of his, and they commit sin against [him, and I send] (38) to Hattusili, king of the land Hatti, my brother, concern-

ing [it]; then Hatturili, the great king, king of Egypt.

(39) shall send his troops (and) his chariots and they shall destroy all [of them]; and I will .... (?).

Egyptian Text.

But if servants of the great chief of Hatti trespass against him,

and Ruemes se]-mi-Aman, [the great ruler of Egypt, ].....

Obviously the two versions here differed considerably, but the Egyptian text is too incomplete to make a close comparison. See the notes on § 10.

The traces here seen by Sethe combine admirably with the Hittite-Babylonian version to produce an intelligible surse.

The word 'not' is carelessly omitted in the hieroglyple. 2 Restored from 1 16, with the Babyloman text both in \$ 6 and in § 8. There is no means of restoring what precedes.

# § 10. A CLAUSE RELATING TO SUCCESSION (!).

### Hittite-Babylonian Text.

(40) And behold the son of Hattušili, king of the land Hatti. [the treaty which] we (1) have
made(41) in the place of Hattusili, his father, after wars
Hatti (?)
(The text breaks off home)

#### (The text breaks off here,)

### Egyptian Text.

..... the [land] of Hatti (and) the land (?) [of Egypt]....(20)..... the life. Supposing (1) I shall go after [my] fate1, then (1) Racmesse-mi-Amun, the great ruler of Egypt, living forever, shall act (1) ... . coming (1) [to] the [land of Hat]ti..... to cause to make (?)1 ......(21) .....them (?) to make him for themselves to lord. so as to cause Usimalret-setpen[ret], the great ruler of Egypt, to be silent with his mouth forever. And after .... the land of Hatti and he return (1) to place (1) the great chief of Hatti and similarly the .....

In both texts a passage is now reached so fragmentary that its contents are purely a matter of conjecture. Meismer (op. cit., p. 293) has suggested that the Babylonian text stipulated that Ramesses should recognize as Hattusill's successor the son chosen by that rules during his lifetime; and he quotes a provision of this kind in the treaty between a Hittite king and Sunssaura, king of Kizuwadna (KTB, 1, 5, sev. 52 foll.). The Egyptian text, the crucial words of which have been misunderstood hitherto', tends to confirm the general notion implied by this view, though it is clear that both versions differed greatly in their verbal expression. From the Egyptian fragments one may conjecture that Hattušili is comidering the case that he should have died and Hatti should have selected a ruler not in accordance with his choice. Later on, there is question of some possens who apparently wish to annul or stultify the words or promise of Ramesses. The text is too defective for further discussion to be promable.

# § 11. EXTRADITION OF IMPORTANT FUOLITIVES.

### Egyptian Text.

[If any great man flee from the land of Egypt and he come to the lands of (1)] the great chief of Hatti; or a town (22) (or a district .....) [belong]ing to the lands of Ratmessemi-Amun, the great ruler of Egypt, and they come to the great chief of Hatti: the great chief of Hatti shall not receive them. The great chief of Hatti shall cause them to be brought to Usima Cree-setpenree, the great ruler of Egypt, their lord, [on occon at of it.

From this point onwards the Hittite-Rabylonian text fails us, but the close resemblance to the hieroglyphic version presented by it in provious paragraphs affords a solid basis for restoring its general drift. Corresponding provisions in other tablets from the Boghazkoi archives will be quoted whenever occasion arises. The extradition clauses §\$ 11-14 present the same kind of arrangement as the clauses relating to enemies and robuls above \$5 6-9, a clause (§ 12) dealing with fugitives of humble birth intervening before the reciprocal clauses (§§ 13-14) are reached. In the lost canciform counterpart, § 11 will naturally have

- Read in-i r undim of [pl]y My, are above, p. 188, n. 2, for this expression. No Babyloman equivalent for this striking phrase appears to be forthcoming. a Road v relyt leg II
- 4 See above, note 1.

For the restoration see L 23, where, however, there is but scanty room for '[to the lambs of].' Reader maderstands | comes to ' (the king of Hatzi or Egypt) in the two passages; this is possible.

The words reque of the report..... found in the parallel section L 23 should perhaps be restored here, but there is no room for them in the lacuna.

referred to the extradition of important fugitives belonging to Hatti. The supplementary clauses \$6 17, 18 claborate \$3 11-14, and should be read in connection with them.

In our translation of the present passage we venture, not without some legitation, to depart from the view hitherto accepted. The alternatives r-pre of dail, etc. have been universally regarded as an alaboration of the restored words '[from the land of Egypt], for which the parallel in § 13 seems sufficient guarantee. But if then we render r-put of dud by 'or' (from) a town,' not only are the absence of the proposition m and the separation from m pt tt a Kont highly remarkable, but also the tautologous repetition in the phrase and come to the great chief of Hatti' is inexplicable, and the phral pronoun in more on and they (come), referring to 'any great man' has to be glossed over as due to looseness of style. All these difficulties are overcome if the nouns in 'or a town (or a district ......) [belong]ing to the lands of Ra messe-mi-Amin are regarded as subjects of wer "fiee" and alternatives to "any great man"; on this view, whereas \$5 12, 14 refer to the flight of 'one or two unknown men,' \$3 11, 13 are concerned with the secussion either of an important man or of whole towns or districts. It was not unknown in Hittite times for the population of a town or district to emigrate as bloc, and indeed in KTB, t, No. 1, 10 foll., reference is made to a number of districts that had gone over to the land of Ischuwa in the time of Hattušin L. H may, however, perhaps be objected that it would have been far more difficult for a town or region subject to the Pharaoh to abandon its allegiance.

### § 12. EXTRADITION OF FUGITIVES OF HUMBLE BIRTH. Egyptian Text.

Or if one man or two men who are unknown flee (23) ...... and they come to the land of Hutti to be servants of another, they shall not be left in the land of Hatti, they shall be brought to Ralmesss-mi-Amun, the great ruler of Egypt.

There is a similar provision in the weil-preserved copy of a treaty between Subbilalimna and Mattiusza, king of Mittanni, KTB, No. 1, reverse, 9-13. Sum-ma amb mu-na mi-bi-du ii-tu wood the Ha-nt-ti in [nu-bit à una ma de Mire-ta an-ni il-la-at muri - Mi it-ta-an-ni] (10) is da ur en sum un milimu un ma bi-id-du in mor words [is-to-an-us in-ma-bit a and antifact to il-la-ak] (11) in mor ola ffact ti al i ga-bat su ul u-da-ar-in ul pur-en ia un Samai an 1-ri-fin-me inu di in 1 (12) bit-tum in Mat-ti-u-u- mur iarri i-na a-ma and Ha-ut-ti-ma. 'If a fugitive flee from the land of the city Hatti [and come to the land of the city Mittanni, the sons of Mittannii (10) shall return him. If a fugitive of the land of the city Mistanni flee and come unto the land of the city Hatti], (11) the king of the land of the city Hatti shall not seize him, meither shall be return him, the laws of the sun-goodess of the city Arinna [do not apply to him]. (12) A house (of refuge !) for Mattinaza, son of the king, in the land of the city Hatti, he (Subbilliliums) shall build. A fugitive ..... (13) he shall cause to dwell in the land of the city Hatti in a city in the presence of Mattinaza? The peculiarities of this clause are due to the fact that Mattinaza, who had been placed on the throne of Mittanni by the Hittite king, ruled over an unstable country that had been at war with Hatti and had just been pillaged by the Assyrisms. It is important to note that by the laws of the sungoldess of Armua fugitives were bound to be restored to their native land.

# § 13. RECIPROCAL CLAUSE CORRESPONDING TO § 11. Egyptian Text.

Or if a great man flee from the land of Hatti, and [he come to the lands of (?)" Usi ma [ret] setpenret, the [great] ruler of Egypt; or a town or a district or (24).....

Rooder and others have translated the first row as "either"; for this there seems to be no justification.

Max Miller shows a lacuus, but it is not large enough for his restoration '[from the land of Egypt]';

the reciprocal clause L 24 has 'flee' without any addition.

This passage, which was first translated by Bonn, Theologische Tijdschrift, 1910, p. 177 and first compared with the Egyptian treaty by MEISSNER, Der Staatseertrog, p. 293, is defectively preserved and the restorations here given are not altogether certain.

Doubtful; see above, p. 192, n. 6.

belonging to the land of Hatti, and they came to Racmesse-mi-Aman, the great vuler of Egypt: Usimal ret-setpenret; the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them. Ratmesse-mi-Amun, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the chief ....... they shall not be left.

The same difficulty of interpretation occurs here as occurred in § 11, where it was fully discussed,

### § 14. RECIPROCAL CLAUSE CORRESPONDING TO § 12.

#### Egyptian Text.

Likewise, if one man or two men (25) who are [not] known flee to the land of Egypt to be subjects of others. Usima recestpenred, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not leave them; he shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Hatti.

### § 15. THE GODS OF HATTI AND EGYPT ARE WITNESSES TO THE TREATY.

#### Egyptian Text.

As for these words of the treaty [made by (?)] the great chief of Hatti with Ratmes semi-Amiin], the great ruler (26) [of Egypt, in] writing upon this tablet of silver: as fur these words, a thousand gods, male gods and female gods of those of the land of Hatti. together with a thousand gods, male gods and female gods of those of the land of Egypt. they are with me as witnesses [hearing (?)]\* these words: Pret, the lord of the sky; Pret of the town of Arinus (1-r-n n); (27) Setekh, the lord of the sky; Setekh of Hatti; Setekh of the town of Arinna (I-r-in)-n); Setekh of the town of Zippalanda (D-p-i-r-n-d); Setekh of the town of Beliarik (P-7-r-k); Setekh of the town of Hissashopa (H-s-4-p); Setekh of the town of Sarissa (S-r-s); Selekh of the town of Halob (H-r-p); Selekh of the town of Librin, (R-h-s-n); Setekh (28) of the town of ...; Setekh [of the town of .....; Setekh of the town of [S?]-m(?)-s; Sotekh of the town of S-h-p-n; Astarte of the land of Hatti; the god of Zitharias (D-i-t-hr-r-y); the god of Karzis (?) (K-r-d-nr?); the god of Hupanta [ri]as (Hr-p-n-t-r-y-s); (29) the goddess of the town Karahna (K-?-h-n); the goddess of Tgre (D-r); the goddess of ?-w-k(?); the goddess of D-n- ?; the god of P(?)-n-t; the god of ?-r; the god of H-1-h-t; the queen of the sky; the gods lords of swearing; this goddess, the mistress of the earth; the mistress of swearing Ishara ('1-s-h-r)"; the mistress of (...); (30) (the) mountains and the rivers of the land of Hatti; the gods of the land of Kienmulna (K.d. w.d.n); Amun; Pres ; Setekh; the male gods and the female gods; the mountains and the rivers of the land of Egypt; the sky; the earth; the great sea; the winds; the clouds.

With the text as given in Sethe's collation it is not possible to restore 'the [great] chief [of Hatti]'

Rocker, overlooking the demonstrative 'this,' translates 'they shall be written on a tablet of silver' and wrongly ends the clause hero. Perhaps restore simu hearing."

Le. 'the Ret, or 'the San'; pt, (p) is here the definite article.

\* Written Cu-first; the st is a mere sculptur's error for a, as Max Muller and others have recognized.

" H-[n]-b-t or H-[x]-b-t are both possible.

" Max Muller has a wrong reading here, and Sethe's collation modifies several of the geographical names in the preceding lines, as will be seen from PL XVIII.

. The first group b is confirmed by a Berlin photograph quoted by Maissxan, Der Stontseertrag, pt. 295.

The use of as mill to begin the clause seems un-Egyptian and is perhaps due to over-literal translation of the cunciform original. Neither here nor in 1 34 does it seem possible to construe a mile as the end of the foregoing section.

The details of this section are almost entirely Hittits-Babylonian in character, but for the opening made other Hittile treaties have a standard form, namely : weher tuppi cantti and pani as Samii pressures of the san-goldess of Arima......and (a copy) was placed in the land (here name of land with which the treaty was music) in the presence of the god (here name of principal god of that land) ; thereupon follows the phrase a la-a si ba-du and lo, these are the witnesses, with a long list of the gods of Hatti and of the land in question; the next section with blessings and cursings begins in the matter annuti in ruke lizzum leitems a the sibids 'in these words may they stand, may they hear and be witnesses of the treaty. A treaty between Subbildiums and Tetti, king of Nubusse, begins the curse as follows: Mountains, rivers, springs, the great sea and the earth, winds, clouds for this treaty and curse verily are witnesses? It is not easy to judge how far the departures from type here are to be attributed to the Egyptian translator and how far they represent the cunsiform original.

To turn mow to detailed comparisons; the translated Egyptian text is here printed in italies;

A thousand gods, male gods and female gods of those of the land of Hatti. The Hittite Mittanni treaty has . The male gods, the female gods all of them of the land of the city Hatti, the male gods, the female gods all of them of the land of the city Kizuwadna". The Hittite-Nubasse treaty has "The male gods, the female gods all of them of the land of the city Hatti, the male gods, the female gods all of them of the land of the city Kizuwadna, the male gods, the female gods all of them of the land of Nuhasse, the gods of etermity all of them."

Free (i.e. "the Ret," the san"), the lord of the sty). In Hittite treaties the list of gods usually opens : and Santa de Arinan in ina and the Hatti berrutta is berratetta uma'ar a Samai bel berne, 'The san goddese of Arinna who in the land of the city Hatti sends kingship and queenship, the sun-god, lord of the

heavens?

Pret of the town of 'I r. u.n.]. So too below, 1.38. See the last note. The solar daity of the important city of Arinna was apparently the patron divinity of the Hittite kings; Mursili, the father of Hattavilli, appeals to lier in battle just as the Assyrian kings appeal to Ishiar. This doity was clearly a goddess; note KTB, 111, No. 4, 21-5, where she is called belta 'queen,' and see F. Hnozav, Hethitische Texte, p. 170. The town of Arinna is regularly written as PU-sa in the Hittite tablets, see op. cit., pp. 46, 51 and passim. Sayon (Proc. Soc. Bild. Arch., vol. xxtii (1901), p. 98) correctly identified Arinna with the city Arini in Kumanu (Comana), south of the Anti-Taurus and on the river Saras in Cappadocia; captured by Tigisthpileser I about 1120 a.c., see Kiso, Annals of the Kings of Assyria, 761-78. It fell to Shalmaneser I, who regued not later than 1300 a.c., and who was apparently contemporary with Sethos I and Muwattalli, brother of Hattusili, see Luckeshill, Amer. Journ. Som. Long., Vol xxviii, p. 162 and p. 187, L.6 Shalmanesev here claims that Arinna had been previously subject to Assyrin and had revolted; that can only refer to the conquest of Mittanni and Musru by Asuruballit II (circu 1418-1370 n.c.), a contemperary of Subblindiams and of Amenophis III and IV. When the Assyrians conquered the Mittanni region at the end of the Fifteenth and at the beginning of the Fourteenth Centuries they seem to have penetrated into Hittite country beyond the Taurus. Arimm occurs in the geographical list of Boghazkoi, published by E. Chantre, Mission on Coppositore, pp. 40-7, L.14.

Sinkh, the lord of the sky | Cf. in the Hittito treaties "Teat bot lami a craitin "Teah, lord of beaven and earth, KTB, 1, 7, 54=11, 30; or 'Tesub of heaven and earth,' 14, 23. For the identification

of Hittite Teach with Egyptian Setekh, see above, p. 185.

Stocks of Hatti, Cr. on Total bel med Hatti 'Tesub, lord of the land Hatti,' KTB, 1, 14, 18, where the variant has the Hami "the city Hami," 1, 7, 40; HROZKY, Herhitische Taxte, 236, 15.

Stiell of the form of Tr-[u]n]. Apparently not yet found in the Hittite sources.

Satelik of the town of D-p-1-r.n-d]. Cf. Teaub of the city Zippalands, Hauzn's, op. sit., 236, 15. Steekh of the town of PA-rak; Ct. in Tolub an He string rick, KTB, 1, 7, 41; Best-ti-jo-rick, 1, 11, 10;

This formula is to be found KTB, 1, 7, 35-9; the formula ine libbs emate occurs op. cit., 8, 55-9. The duplicate 11, 24 more correctly separates the invocation from the curse by a line. See also 14, 8,

1 KTR, 1, 21, 36-9.

\* KTB, 1, 7, 51; see another Hittite-Mittanni treaty, op. cit., 14, 5. Both these Hittite treaties mention 'one thousand gods' in the curse, 8, 68; 14, 17 (Illim (limit). \* KTB, 1, 7, 40=11, 17 foll.

KTB, L 21, 30-33. Sec too Gabriang in Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Vol. vi, pp. 109-115. Journ of Egypt. Arch. vt.

[Be-te-]ja-ri-ik, 1, 20, 7. Meissnes, Staatsvertray, p. 294, makes the same identification, although the substitution of four short strokes for the f in the Egyptian transcription is unexplained.

Sitekh of the town of Hesp) (H. da Teinb at Hillaidapu, KTB, 1, 7, 43.

Setekh of the turn of S-vel. Cf. or Trink the St. riving, KTE, t. 7, 42; 20, 8; 11, 20; limitly to be identified with Sarcisa, Sarisa on the Tigris mentioned by Strabe, vr. 1, 24.

Stickle of the form of Herply La. Alappo, of " Teruh " Hal ab, & TB, 1, 7, 43.

Sitekh of the town of R-hosen]. Of the Telab the Link-sina, KTB, 1, 7, 42

Sitekh of the town of [SI]-m (I)-a). Sitekh of the town of S-h-p-n]. Unidentified; for the latter perimps of t

Assorte of the land of Hatri). Both in the Amaria letters and on the Hittie tablets the name of the Assyrian Istar and the West-Semitic (Astoreth is written with an ideogram, but the west-reproductiation is probable in both cases. Tusratta, king of Mittanni, calls her 'my lady,' written AS+DAR, the remainded and the stellar deity, Kwenzon, Et. Amaria, 146, 25. The same king series her name NINNI with the ideogram assally employed for the mother-goddess, op. cit., 152, 15; 178, 13, where she is called Istar of Ninevel. The ideogram AS-DAR is that employed in Hittite \*\*\*AS+DAR multicribu 'Litar the shung,' Le. the goddess Venus, KTB, 1, 7, 45; the variant has "star Dilbat," i.e. Venus, 1, 11, 23. If Max Müller's correction of Conference to Superstanding the right (as it certainly is), it proves the astral character of the western Astoreth.

The god of D-i t-br-r-yl. The Hittite treaties have the god Zi-it-ha-ri-ja-ai, the z being the nominative coding; see KTB, 1, 7, 14; 20, 11.

The god of K-red-ar 1] Uf. the god Karzik, KTB, 1, 7, 44.

The god of Hr-pant-ray of Cf. the god Ha-pa-an-ta-[ri] ja-al, KTB, 1, 7, 44.

The guidess of the town K.? [p.n]. Probably identical with Lamassar \*\*\*Ka-a-a-4 [sn.....], \* protecting gunian of the city Karalgas, KTB, 1, 20, 12; so too Messener.

The godden of D-r). This new reading suggests Surra as. Tyre, which is frequently so spelt in bieroglyphic (Brunnann, Frendworts, no. 1227). However, Aleppo is otherwise the southermost place mentioned in the treaty.

The names of two goddesses and three gods follow, all unidentitable.

The queen of the sky]. So in the Hittite treatine and He be billit known! Halve, queen of heaven, KTB, 1, 5, 6; intrat known, 1, 20, 18!.

The gods lords of susaring). The only parallel expression in Hittite treaties is a Sin bil mamin Sin (the moon-god), lord of the eath, KTB, t. 7, 46 = t. 20, 17.

This godden, the mistress of the north]. Undoubtedly identical with Ereskigal, queen of the nether-world, in the Hittite treaty KTB, 1, 11, 28, where the variant 1, 7, 51 has ildui irniti 'gods of the earth'; in Ereskigal, 1, 21, 29.

The mistress of securing La-h-r]. Of the februa serral mamili. Inham, queen of the cath, KTB, 1, 20, 17; 7, 46. The position of the spithet before the name is quite continue to Egyptian usage, and, but for the Hittite parallel, the name Islams would have had to be taken with what follows, not with what procedes.

The mistress of (...) (b), (the) mountains and the rivers of the land of Patti]. The hieroglyphne text, as unemended, gives 'the mistress of mountains and the rivers' etc. It is obvious that the definite article must be restored before dow, and the parallelism with 'the mountains and the rivers of the land of Egypt' (I 30) suggests a still greater examption, a noun having been omitted after O hat'. See the last

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian 'queen of heaven' has likewise both titles bill and larrar, see Landon, Tenemus and Ishiar, p. 94.
<sup>2</sup> Meissner and Böhl wrongly illani.

<sup>2</sup> On Rham bild manitum, see also Landbox, op. cit., p. 126. This deity was identified with the rivergothese Nma, and first appears in Sumerian in the Urdynasty. At that time error 2500 n.c.) the Hittites came into contact with Sumerian culture, and it is historically possible that she is by origin-Hittite, as En. Mater, Geodrichte des Albertams 1<sup>2</sup>, § 433, note, cited by Meissner, asseris. Her name may go back to a word stans, but in this case she is a Sumerian form of Nina and not an indignatous Hittite derry, see Landbox, op. cit., p. 40. She is mentioned with Damkins, consort of the water-god, KTB, i. 5, 58, and with Ninajakki, 1, 14, 26. Meissner's statement (Stansbortag 295) that Ishara is a goddess of mountains, rivers, wells and of heaven is aroneous; the passage 1, 8, 58 invokes Ishara, the mountains and rivers, [the gods of braven] and the gods of earth.

\* However, the Ramesseum copy (Suance, Egyptian Inscriptions, Vol. 11, Pi. 50) has the same text as at Karnak,

note for the curious position of the spithet 'the mistress of swearing' before, instead of giver, the name of Ishara. Probably the original cunsiform had so follows; 'the goddess, the mistress of the earth; Ishara, queen of the earth; the mountains and the rivers of the land of Hatti.'

The gods of the land of Kinnevolper]. These are often invoked in the Hittite treaties, see the note on 'a thousand gods,' etc. above, p. 195. Kinnevalue was a province on the share of the Black See, north-east of Bogharkoi.

Amin: Prof.; Strekh). The Egyptian gods specified are those of Thebes, of Heliopolis and of the north-matern Delta, all of whom were worshipped at Pi-Racmeson.

The male gods and the female gods! Namely of Egypt'; see the note on 'a thousand gods, etc.

above, p. 195.

The mountains and the rivers of the land of Egypt; the sky; the sorth; the great sea; the winds; the clouds. Of, in the Hittie treaties 'the mountains, the rivers, the great sea, the Euphrates, hencem and earth, the winds, the clouds, KTB, I, 7, 53=11, 29; 14, 7; 21, 36 (this last inserts 'fountains').

### § 16. CURSES OR BLESSINGS ON THOSE WHO VIOLATE OR KEEP THE TREATY. Egyptian Text.

As to these words (31) which are upon this tablet of silver of the land of Hatti and of the land of Egypt, as to him who shall not keep them, a thousand gods of the land of Hatti and a thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall destroy his house, his land and his servants. But he who shall keep these words which are on this tablet of silver, be they Hatti, or be they (32) Egyptimus, and who do not neglect them (1), a thousand gods of the land of Hatti and a thousand gods of the land of Egypt will cause him to be healthy and to live, together with his houses and his (land) and his servants.

This section is usually more alaborate in the Hittite treaties. Cf. in the Hittite-Mittanii treaty: 'If their Matthikes, son of the king, and [the sons of Harri'] this treaty not oath keep, thou Matthikes together with thy wife, [the daughter of the great king, king of the land of the city] Hatti, his sons and his grandsons, and you, O sons of the city Harri, together with your waves, your sons [and together with your land]: you may the gods protect. And the land of the city Mittanii unto old age unto its place may return, may it be wide, may it be extended. And then Mattinaxs, thy sons and thy grandsons, whem the daughter of the great king, king of the land of the city Hatti [bears thee], may rule the land of the city Harri' in kingship forever. The throne of thy father make old, the land of the city Mittanii make old. KTB, 1, 8, 70-5. A similar blessing will be found at the end of this treaty between Subbilluliums and Tetti, op. cit., 1, 21, 45-6.

# § 17. AMNESTY FOR EXTRADITED PERSONS.

## Egyptian Text.

If one man flee from the land of Egypt, or two, or three, and (33) they came to the great chief of Hatti, the great chief of Hatti shall seize them and shall cause them to be brought back to Usimut rec-setpenre, the great ruler of Egypt. But as for the man who shall be brought to Ratmesse mi-Amun, the great ruler of Egypt, let not his crime be charged against him, let not (34) his house, his wives or his children be destroyed, [let him not] be [killed], let no injury be done to his vyes, to his ears, to his mouth or to his legs, let not any [crime be charged] against him.

This chase and the next clearly belong to the series \$\$ 11—14, and seem to represent an afterthought or addition to the finished treaty.

1 Note the confusion of pronounce characteristic of the Bittite texts.

- Read pryt (Sethe); for this placal of Haromkab decree, front, L 36; Pap. Kahim, Pl 39, L 31.
- \* Restored from KTB, r. 11, 18. Harri is another name for Mittanni.

For 'thy' : such changes in the pronouns are immylleable.

- \* The Assyrian phrase for 'to be stable." Variant KTB, b, 14, 21 'land of the lity Mittannil'
- Restored from 1, 35. A Restored from the Ramessoum duplicate as given by Sharpe.

# § 18. RECIPROCAL CLAUSE CORRESPONDING TO § 17.

### Egyptian Text.

Likewise, if a man flee from the land of Hatts, be he ame, be he two, or be he three, and they came to Usima receptures (35), the great ruler of Egypt, let Ra messe-mi-Amin, the [great] ruler [of Egypt, cause] them to be brought to the great chief of Hatti, and the great chief of Hatti shall not charge their crime against them, and they shall not destroy his house, his wives or his children, and they shall not kill him, and they shall not do injury to his ears, (36) to his eyes, to his mouth or to his legs, and they shall not charge any crime against him.

# § 19. DESCRIPTION OF THE SILVER TABLET.

### Egyptian Text.

What is in the middle of the tablet of silver. On its front side: a relief (?) consisting of an image of Setekh embracing an image of the great prince of Hatti, surrounded by a legend (!) saying: the seal of Setekh, the ruler of the sky, the seal of the treaty made by Hattušili, the great chief (37) of Hatti, the strong, the son of Murkili, the great chief of Hatti, the strong. What is within the surrounding (frame) of the relief: the seal [of Setekh, the ruler of the sky\*]. [What is on] its other side: a relief (!) consisting of a female image of [the] goddess of Hatti embracing a female image of the chieftainess of Hatti, surrounded by a legend saying: the seal of (38) Pre of the town of Arinna (Trann), the lord of the land, the seal of Puduhepa (Princh), the chieftainess of the land of Hatti, the daughter of the land of Kizuwadna (K-d-w-d-n), the [priestess i] of [the town(?) of] Arinna, the lady of the land, the servant of the goddess. What is within the surrounding (frame) of the relief: the seal of Pre of Arinna, the lord of every land.

It is not easy to reconstruct visually the appearance of the silver tablet here described by the Egyptian translator. The determinative of the hieroglyphic word used for "tablet' depicts a rectangular object with a loop-like appendage at the top \( \frac{\text{O}}{\text{C}} \) (1.36). It is by no means certain that this determinative represents the actual shape of the tablet sent to Ramesees by Hattusiil, though canniform useful tablets are always rectangular in shape, and do not limitate, as they might have been expected to do, the common clay tablets. We may, perhaps, think of the connetorm text as covering the entire entire of both sides, except in the middle, which been the imitation of a soal such as might have been stamped on a clay tablet, for the purpose of authentication. We do not learn whether that seal was round or oblong , or whether the legends translated into hieroglyphic for our beneat ware in the canceform character or in the Hittite pictographic script—this last is less probable. Scholars have rightly compared with the design on the observers a soutpure at Vasily Kaya near Bogharkôi, where a god, probably Tešub, is shown embracing the Hittite king. This design appears to have been enclosed within a band of writing, and within that band again was a shorter legend stating more briefly that the whole representation was the seal of Tešub (Setekh). The reverse differed only in so fat as here it was the quasa, not the king, of Hatti who was

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 191, n. 2.

<sup>\*</sup> With the help of the Ramesseum duplicate restore who am of place of a Hill place bit can. The construction is unusual, but can be defended.

Ramessaum variant : 'ler him not be destroyed.'

<sup>1</sup> S. the Ramessum duplicate,

It is doubtful whether there is room for the words 'the ruler of the dy.

Sethe's collation makes it practically certain that if strf was the reading, not only here, but also in the phrase root a[ii] and above, 1, 37. In both cases the sun-goddess, in Babylonian see Season, of Arinna is probably meant.

portrayed, and in so far as it was a goldess, and a gold, who accorded protection and patranage! The Egyptian scribe has got into difficulties through the fact that in Egypt the term for sun (ref), as well as the sem-god (Ref), was massaifine, whereas the solar deity of Arima was founds (see above, p. 195). He is thus forced to employ the massaifine definite article pt, p (Pref, "the sun"), and this appears to have begulied him further into writing 'the lord (not 'lady') of every land. Sethe's collation shows that in the earlier words where the term rpyt' female image' has had to be used, test being employed only for male images, the translator has nedged and has written to not in place of Pref. The reason that the sun-deity of Arima is here named is doubtless that she was the patron-goldess of Hittite royalty, as already stated; and it is on this account, probably, that the Hittite queen was a principles of that deity, not because she had been a princess of Arima, as Garstang supposed.

### III. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO VERSIONS.

The comparison of the hieroglyphic and cunciform versions of the treaty has proved an interesting task, but it also possesses no inconsiderable value as vindicating the success. of the methods by which the languages of ancient Babylonia and Egypt have been slowly. and painfully recovered. Such, indeed, has proved the interest of the details, that they have obscured a further problem of some importance, namely the relation of the two versions, and the historical conclusions which emerge therefrom. Roeder is the only scholar who has faced these questions fairly and squarely, and our own consideration of them may well start at the point where he left off. According to Roeder, the Boghazkői fragments preserve a Babylonian translation of the text on the original silver tablet which was sent (see the Babylonian version I. 14) by Ramesses II to Hattusili: this text, Roeder says, was doubtless composed in the Egyptian language and written in hieroglyphs. Conversely, the Karnak and Ramesseum stelae perpetuate renderings into Egyptian idiom and writing of the treaty as inscribed in cuneiform upon the silver tablet brought to Pi-Ratmesse by the Hittite ambassadors. Strange as it may seem to us, the treaty was not drawn up in precisely the same words in the languages of the two contracting parties, but each of the two, upon the strength of a common understanding of basic principles, gave to the terms the form desired by himself and despatched this to his adversary written in the sender's own language."

To Roeder belongs the merit of propounding a coherent and intelligible explanation of the facts, and some part of his theory is undoubtedly correct. It is, indeed, an interesting and important observation that this most ancient of treaties differs from those of modern date in not being an impersonal and objective document of which both parties were signatories and each held a precisely identical copy. The Karnak text places Hattasili alone in the foreground; it is he, and not Ramesses with him, who there speaks in the first person, giving and demanding assurances; and a personal note is struck by his deprecatory allusions to his brother Muwattalli. In so far, the version of the treaty despatched by Ramesses II to Hattasili must obviously have differed; even without the evidence of the Boghazkoi fragments we should necessarily have inferred that there Ramesses II would be using the pronoun of the first person. The reason for this difference

Here we have a fresh exemplification of the old religious rule similities: male deities are chiefly concerned with males, female deities with females. So in Egyptian curses: 'Cours shall be after him, Isis shall be after his wife, and Horus shall be after his children,' Lars., Denker., Pt. 111, Pl. 140, cf. ibid. Pl. 220,

<sup>1</sup> Liverpool Annuls of Archaeology and Anthropology, Vol. 17, p. 110.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 13-14, 37.

<sup>\*</sup> Egyptian text, IL 3, 4, 6, 36.

between the treaty before us and those of more recent times lies in the fact that at this early stage in international relations the notion of a treaty was not yet clearly defined. In its wording, its division into paragraphs, and the alternation of like conditions both given and demanded (§ 6, 8; 7, 9; 11, 13; 12, 14; 17, 18) the treaty already resembled a legal contract; in its use of the first person, its onesidedness, and its occasional personal allusions it failed to liberate itself from the epistolary form which it shared with other diplomatic communications.

This brings us to a matter where we must join issue with Roeder. He rightly maintains, as did Max Müller before him, that the Karnak text is a translation from the Babylonian. Our own investigations show that this holds good, not only for the portions common to that text and to the Boghazkoi fragments, but also for certain passages (the allusions to Muwattalli) where the "tendencious" interference of the Egyptian translator has been wrongly suspected). But Reeder errs in making the symmetrical assumption that the copy of the treaty sent to Hattušili on a silver tablet by Ramesses was composed in Egyptian and written in hieroglyphic. The El-Amarna finds, no less than those from Boghazköi, had taught us that Egyptian diplomacy, in its relations with North and East, employed the Babylonian tongue or at least one of the tongues normally written in the cuneiform script; and that this rule applied in the case of the treaty might have been conjectured a priori. But further, the Boghazköi fragments afford indisputable testimony that Babylonian was the language that Ramesses used. So closely does the phraseology of the hieroglyphic and the cunciform versions agree in a number of passages that one of the two must necessarily be the translation of the other-and it is already admitted that the hieroglyphic text had a Babylonian original; expressions like the epithet 'the strong' (karradu), to 'take hold of' the treaty, 'good peace and good brotherhood' are characteristic of the Hittite treaties, and quite alien to Egyptian idiom. We must therefore infer that the Boghazkői fragments either contain the original text from which the text underlying the hieroglyphic version was adapted, or else that the Babylanian text placing Hattušili in the foreground (the Karnak version) was the prototype whereon the Ramesses. version in the Boghazkoi fragments was subsequently based.

To account for the Boghazköi fragments three alternative hypotheses appear to offer themselves for consideration. It might be conjectured, in the first place, that these fragments represent a draft composed by the Babylonian scribes at the court of Pharnoh and later submitted to Hattusiii for acceptance or rejection. But it seems unlikely that those scribes should have been sufficiently conversant with the style of Hittite treaties to have framed such a draft, unless indeed they had the earlier treaties with Subbilulinna and Muršili to work upon; and again, why should a draft of this kind have been preserved in the Boghazköi archives after the treaty had once assumed its final form—the other documents in the archives are mostly treaties and original letters of the highest importance? The first objection (but not the second) is met by supposing that the fragments preserve a draft that was drawn up at Boghazköi in Ramesses' name, and despatched to him for approval. But is it probable that the Hittites would have ventured to dictate to Pharnoh what he should say or not say? Surely it would have been more natural to submit a draft of what Hattusili might be prepared to concede, leaving it to the Pharnoh to frame his own counterpart, making what alterations he would and replacing the name of Hattusili by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> Eg. text, Il. 7—8; 10—11; 14. See especially the footnote on Il. 10—11, above, p. 188, n. 2. See § 5, Egyptian version, I. 14.

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that of Ramesses. Far more plausible than either of these alternatives is the theory that the Boghazkoi fragments really contain copies of the text sent by Ramesses II to Hattusili, and the sequence of events may possibly be reconstructed as follows. The treaty in its first form was drawn up at Boghazkoi in consultation with the Egyptian ambassadors; when it had assumed a final shape it was inscribed upon a tablet of silver and brought to Egypt. Then Ramesses, having signified his approval, instructed his Babylonian scribes to diaw up a counterpart in his own name; this naturally included most of the phrases in the Hittite original, only omitting the allusions to Mawattalli and making a few minor modifications. Finally the version compiled on behalf of Ramesses was in its turn, engraved on a silver tablet, stamped with the seal of the Pharaoh, and forwarded to Hatti. There the original was deposited at the feet of Tešub¹, while copies were written on clay for preservation in the royal archives. The last-named copies are those which were discovered by Winckler.

We present the hypothesis outlined above as the best available explanation of the cunciform version; but it must remain a mere hypothesis. On the other hand there can be no shadow of doubt that the Karnak and Ramesseum stelae preserve the final version of the treaty as accepted by Hattušili. The two paragraphs (§ 17, 18) that appear as an afterthought may or may not have stood on the silver tablet; and it is not clear whether they were due to the initiative of Ramesses or to that of Hattušili. Students have not hitherto drawn the correct inference from the passages referring to Muwattalli—passages which, as we have shown, stood in the Hittite original. They seem to contain an acknowledgment of Hatti aggression which, whether exacted by Ramesses or not indicates a certain hamility of attitude on the part of the Hittite king. There has been a tendency of late to assume that the Egyptians were the real losers in the war with Hattušili; our researches, if they suggest any conclusion on this point, suggest rather that Hattušili was the one who sued for peace and was ready to cry peccars.

A characteristically Egyptian trait in the Karnak stele is its great inaccuracy, though Sethe's collision shows that it is not so inaccurate as Max Müller's copy implied. We have animadverted upon the substitution of the name Muwattalli for Murkili in I. 14. Once that most important of particles, the negative particle, is omitted (I. 18). In I. 32 the word for 'land' is passed over, and in II. 11, 22 and 29 there are probably omissions. The word for 'sea' is wrongly written in I. 30, and the definite article is left out at the beginning of the same line. These errors are not necessarily to be attributed to the Egyptian translator, but rather to the sculptor who transferred the translation, written on papyrns in hieratic, to the stone. The Egyptians were always an inaccurate people, but such carelessnesses as those here recorded would scarcely have been permitted under the Tuthmosides.

### IV. THE HISTORICAL SITUATION.

It was in the reign of Hattusili that the long period of warfare between Hatti and Egypt came to a close. Ramesses II waged his first Syrian campaign in the fourth year, and in the fifth fought his much-vanued but indecisive battle at Kadesh on the Orontes, where Mawattalli appears to have been his opponent. Mawattalli was the son of Muršili,

See balow, p. 204.

This fact is based merely on the reference in the treaty, Eg. version, I. S.

and seems, possibly after further conflicts with Ramesses, to have died a natural death; at all events the ordinary Babylonian expression for a natural death, namely 'went to his fate,' is applied to him in the Egyptian version of the treaty (l. 10) and also in the treaty made by Hattušili, his brother and successor', with the king of the Amerites! That Hattušili was at first on terms of hostility with Egypt is indicated by a reference in a long letter written by him to Kadasman-Enlil, Cassite king of Babylon's. In this letter Hattusilli claims to have unde an alliance with Kadasman-Turgu (1300 -128 t B.C.), the father of Kadasman-Enlil: -- [Thy father] and I made an alliance and unto brotherhood we returned. For one day we returned not; have we not made brotherhood and alliance forever? He then reminds the young Cassite king how, on his father's death, he wrote to the nobles of the court and insisted that he, Kudasman-Enlit, should be recognized as king. Undoubtedly this was done in tulfilment of a treaty-clause by which Kadasman-Turgu and Hattusili mutually pledged themselves to recognize one another's legitimate heir; the Mittanni-Kizuwadna treaty had such a clause and in the Egyptian treaty there appear to be the remains of a similar one (§ 10). The Hittite king next complains that the Assyrians and the Aramean tribe Ahlamu are interfering with the diplomatic connections between Babylonia and Hatti; and he consures Kudasman-Enlil for withholding messengers and for lukewarm friendship. Then comes an important reference to Egypt; the tablet is not well-preserved at this point: "...... the messenger of the king of Egypt about whom my brother (i.e. Kadasman-Enlif) wrote, [and (?) the ..... of the king (!)] of Egypt herewith I send to my brother. [Kadasman-Turgu thy father] and I made an alliance and unto brotherhood we returned. .... we conferred saying, "We are brothers," saying, "With an enemy who is our common for [verily we shall be hostile and] with our common friends verily we are at peace." And after the king of Egypt and I became angry with each other, I wrote to thy father Kadasman-Turgue [saying, The king of Egypt] is at war with me, And so thy father theremith wrote, [saying, 'If the troops of the king (1)] of Egypt (1) come, then I will go with thee ..... will I come in the midst of soldiers and chariats. Since to go with me [thy father was ready,) so now, O my brother, thy warriors ask and they will say to thee, [ Let us go with warriors and chariots. So weily have they spoken in favour of going with me. I wrote to him, ......then he, my enemy, caused it not to be brought. [I and the king of] Egypt were anyry with each other and mutually [I and thy father] went to plunder my enemy. [And now...... the messenger (?)] of the king of Egypt has cut off. And after thou.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> MEISSNER, Zur Uéschichte des Chattireiches, p. 19, states on the evidence of KTB, t, 24, that Urbi Teaub was the son of Muwattalli, but there is no reason to scarrant such an informes.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 188; n. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> KTB, 1, 38, 7—8. Meissner, op. oit., p. 19. finds another reference of the kind KTB, 1, No. 14, but this letter was not written to finmesses but to the king of Babylon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The word attends 'alliance' comes from the root sters 'to bind,' and appears to mean a written treaty, for which the proper word is riker. Such is the meaning of otherste in the Hatti-Kimusadus treaty KTR, 1, 27, 38, and in the Hittite-America treaty, 1, 35, 15. The conclusion is of the utmost importance as it proves that Amenophia III made a treaty with Subblightuma, see below, p. 203, n. 5.

attersity, nor above, last note.

<sup>\*</sup> This reference compels us to place the death of Muwattalli and the battle of Kadesh before the last year of Kadasman-Turgu, i.e. 1292 according to King, 1295 according to Thurson-Dangin, or 1284 according to Schnabel. The dates of Cassite kings formerly based on references in Nabonidus (1352 a.c. for the last year of Kadasman-Turgu) are more than half a century too high.

Restore "the Assyrians" or "the Allamn."

This badly preserved passage is of the atmost importance for the synchronous history of Egypt, Babylonia and Hatti. It has been translated in such a manner as to refer to the treaty made by Hattušili with Egypt\*; but the passage near the beginning of the last-quoted extract must be restored so as to refer, not to that treaty, but to the treaty concluded by Hattušili with Kadašman-Turgu. In fact this passage, like the similar one in a letter from Hattušili to Kadašman-Enlil\*, refers to wars between Hattušili and Ramesses in the time of Kadašman-Turgu, who assisted the Hittite king in accordance with the terms of their alliance. When the letter here under consideration was written there was obviously peace between Hatti and Egypt, for Hattušili and Kadašman-Enlil are both enraged at some people who have cut the communications between Egypt and Babylonia. This is the reason why the Hittite king appeals to the king of Babylonia to honour the treaty by making common warfare upon the disturbers, i.e. upon the Assyrians or the Arameans. Now this position leads to two important conclusions:

- (1) Hattušili was at war with Ramesses before the death of Kadasman-Turgu.
- (2) He had declared peace with Ramesses before the death of Kadasman-Enlil.

If now we take the lowest possible Cassite dates and compare them with those currently accepted for the Egyptian kings a discrepancy of a few years will be found to exist. At the lowest estimate Kadašman-Turgu reigned 1300—1284, and Kadašman-Enlil 1283—1278. Breasted dates the Hittite-Egyptian treaty (year 21 of Ramesses II) in 1271 a.c. against E Meyer's 1279, and the battle of Kadesh in 1287 against E Meyer's 1295. The Cassite dates cannot be brought much lower, and it appears, therefore, that the solution must be sought in a heightening of the Egyptian dates. Let us place the treaty in 1280, i.e. nine years earlier than Breasted; the battle of Kadesh then falls in 1296 and the accession of Ramesses II in 1301. These dates, which are very nearly those of E. Meyer, clear away most of the chronological difficulties. From the letter of Subbihahama to Huria, i.e. Naphuria, i.e. Akbanaton (Amenophis IV) in the El-Amarna correspondence, we learn that this king made a treaty (atterdite) with Amenophis III. This permits us to reconstruct the chronological scheme with some assurance. See the table on the next page. From the scheme here given it is evident that the Pharaoh with whom Murših made a treaty can only have been Haremhab.

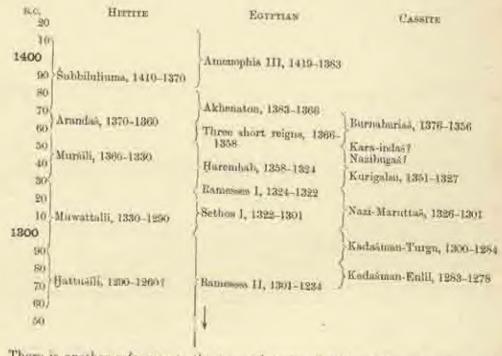
<sup>1</sup> KTB; 1, 39, 55-72

MERISSNER, op. cit., p. 34, and Orientalistische Litt. Zeitung, 1917, cola 223-8. \* KTB, I, No. 14.

WEIDNER, Scholies ver assyrisch babylonisches Chronologie, dates this king 1282-1276.

<sup>\*</sup> KEUDTZON, ET Amorms Tafeln, no. 41, 9; misunderstood by Knudtzon and Weber.

the words of Urhi-Tesub janu ul ...... which thou hast written about, for me and thes behold ugain ...... the good relation, which the great king of Egypt has made with the king of [the land Hatti, my brother]. In good brotherhood, in good peace, are Samus and [Tesub] forever ...... Behold the writing of the outh which I [made] for the great king, king of the land Hatti, my brother; at the feet of the [god Tesub] it is laid. The great gods are witnesses (of the words). And behold the writing of the oath which the great king, (king of the land Hatts], made for me; at the feet of the god Samas it is laid. The great gods are witnesses of the words, I keep the outh and abandon it not. Not shall thou [believe (7)] the false words which thou hast heard......not is there anything in it. Behold the good relation of [brotherhood] and peace in which I am with the great king, [king of the land Hatti], I truly in it [will live] forever?. The king of Mira had evidently received the report of an estrangement between the Egyptians and the Hittites; Ramesses declares this report to be false, and emphasizes his own adhesion to the treaty. From this document we learn the new fact that the copy of the treaty sent by Ramesses to Hattusili was 'laid at the feet of Tešub, while that sent by Hatrušili to Ramesses was 'laid at the feet of Samas,' i.e. Rec; probably it was the custom to deposit such binding deeds in the temples of the geds whose sanction they invoked.



There is another reference to the trenty between Hatti and Egypt in a letter which Naptern, i.e. Nefreteri-beloved of Mut, the queen of Ramesses II, writes to the queen of Hatti — Saying, Naptera the queen of Egypt to Puduhepa, queen of the land Hatti my sister, say: To me thy sister is peace, to my land is peace. To thee my sister be peace, to thy land be peace. Behold I hear that thou, my sister, hast written to me to

<sup>1</sup> Long bicana.

## TREATY BETWEEN HATTUSILI AND RAMESSES II

inquire of my peace and that thou writest to me concerning the relation of good peace, concerning the relation of good brotherhood in which is the great king, king of Egypt, with the great king, king of the land Hatti, his brother. Samus and Tesub will lift up thy head and Samus will give peace to create goodness, and he will give good brotherhood of the great king, king of Egypt, with the great king, king of the land Hatti, his brother, forever?

From the evidence quoted it is clear that the treaty concluded between Ramesses II and Hattusili in year 21 terminated a period of hostility which, whether or not it was manifested in actual warfare, had persisted even after the battle of Kadesh. From the twenty-first year onwards peace prevailed between Hatti and Egypt, the good relations between the two countries culminating in the marriage between Ramesses and the daughter of the Hittite king as recorded in the Abu Simbel stele of the thirty-fourth year.

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<sup>1</sup> The text has \$id < kid, a case of palatization. 1 KTB, 1, No. 29 1 MEISSNER, op. cit., p. 25.

## A PAINTED POTTERY MODEL OF A GRANARY

IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE JEREMIAH JAMES COLMAN, ESQ. OF CARROW HOUSE, NORWICH

#### BY AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, DLIFF.

The small but fine collection of Egyptian antiquities to which this model belongs was made by Mr J. J. Colman in Egypt during the winter 1896-7. At his death the collection passed into the hands of two of his daughters, the Misses Colman of Carrow House, who have most kindly permitted me to publish this and any other objects in their collection that might be of interest to readers of the Journal. To them I am also indebted for the excellent photographs which illustrate my article.

The model was bought at Luxer from the dealer Muhammad Muhassib, who informed Mr Colman that it came from the district of Salumiyeb, i.e. from near et-Tud.

#### GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Measurements at bottom: 114 × 84 inches. Sides just over it inches high.

The granary here reproduced is in the form of an oblong enclosure or courtyard, to which admittance is gained by a door at one side (Plate XIX, top). Along the whole length of the enclosure wall to the right of the door is a low flat-roofed magazine with five windows looking out on to the yard. In the roof are five circular holes, each exactly behind one of the windows. The grain was poured into the magazine through the holes in the roof, and was taken out through the windows, which were furnished with shutters.

At the side of the yard opposite to the door a stairway leads up to the roof. The first portion of the stairway runs parallel to the magazine, but it then turns round sharply at right angles to it.

Upon the roof of the magazine, built right up against the enclosure wall which rises above it, are five domed chambers, each with a hole in the top and with a window in front (see Plate XX). These five windows are directly in a line with the five corresponding holes in the flat roof below. For a somewhat similar two-storied grammy, see Newbergy, Beni Hasan, Vol. 1, Plate XIII, left end of bottom register, where it will be noted that the window of the domed chamber is also furnished with a shutter.

The enclosure walls are painted yellow on the inside with a grey band at the top. The façade of the magazine is also yellow, with a band of grey above the windows. The stairway and the floor of the yard are likewise yellow. The roof of the magazine and the domed chambers upon it are painted grey, the windows of the latter having a red edging (Plate XX, below).

MCREAT, Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan, 1907, p. 748.

<sup>\*</sup> Of. Gaustano, Burial Contains of Ancient Egypt, p. 58, fig. 44; Ennan, Life in Americal Egypt, p. 434, fig.

Екмай, ор. cif. pp. 423 fall.; cf. Newneury, Beni Hassn, Vol. 1, Pt. XXIX.
 Сf. Екмай, log. cif.
 Сf. Екмай, ор. cif., p. 433, upper fig.

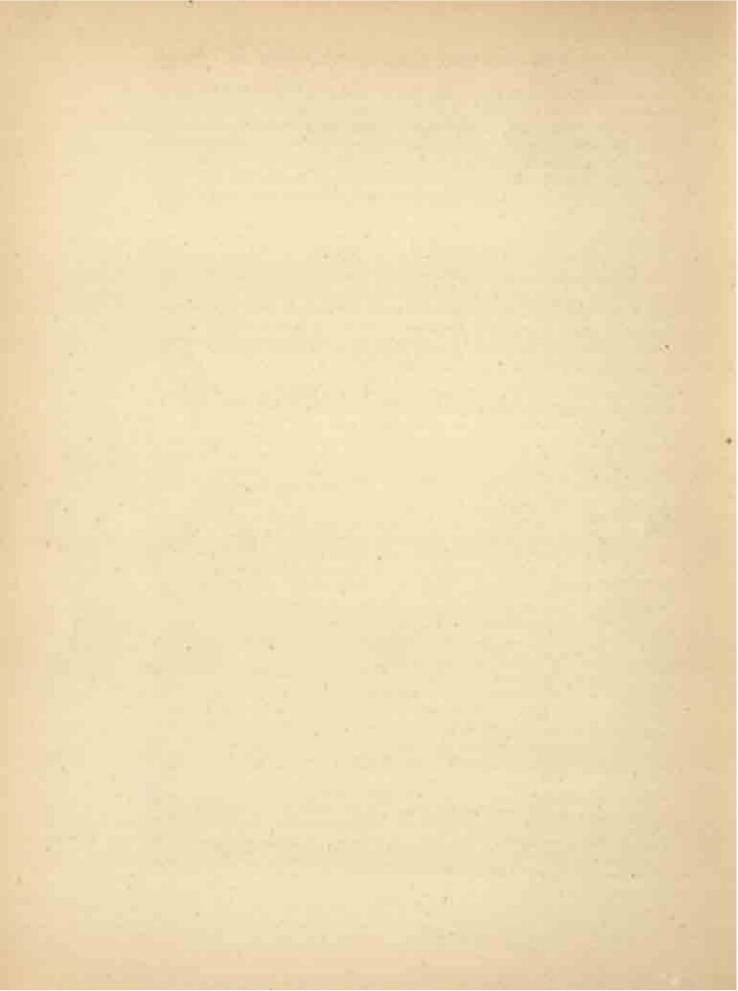


Right Sufe



Len Sale

# POTTERY MODEL OF A GRANARY In the Collection of the late Jeremish James Collinson, Esq. of Carrow House, Norwich



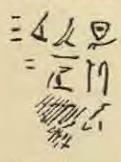
The door in the side-wall (Plate XIX, top) is framed with red and grey the kheker-

ornament above it being yellow.

This model is particularly remarkable for the scenes painted on the exterior of the enclosure walls, such decoration occurring, so far as I know, on no other models of gramaries. The scenes are painted on a white background and are framed with a band of grey. The other colours employed are black (for hair, eyes, etc.), red (for outlines and other details, and for the men's bodies), and yellow (for straw, grain, ropes, basket, wood, and for the women's bodies).

## DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES.

- (1) Side-wall with door (Plate XIX, top). Two men are represented as about to pass through the door into the yard. The foremost carries two baskets suspended from a yoke. Above him is written in hieratic: 'His son....' (name obliterated). The other man bears on his head a bundle of corn. The legend above him is almost entirely obliterated, but perhaps we can still read 'His brother....' (su.f...); the name has disappeared except for the final three plural strokes -.
- (2) Back wall (Plate XX, top). Two men, either squatting on a low stool, play at draughts. A woman stands near them holding in one hand a vessel (containing beer?) and in the other a white feather fly-whisk!, which she waves over the man on the left. This man, Inter by name, is doubtless, in view of the attentions paid him, the more important of the two players, and is therefore to be regarded as the owner of the granary. In front of him, in addition to his name, is written the following legend:



(see adjoining cut). These words, which doubtless constitute a remark of Intef to his opponent, who is about to move one of his pieces, are to me unintelligible. They must bear on the technicalities of the game, hattyw being, one would suppose, a plural nishe-form of hat "three, while snaw, if that is the correct reading (1 feel very doubtful about the transcription of the sign or signs below the some in this word) means second. To the enigmatical observation of Intef, his opponent, who is labelled the boon-companion Meri, replies: "Very well, prince (irger r list k sr = lit. "I am doing [it] so that thou praisest [it]

() prince ").

(3) Side-will opposite that containing door (Plate XIX, bottom). A scribe, lounging at ease on the top of a great heap of grain', makes entries in his note-book. His ink-palette, it will be observed, is least against his left arm. A man takes corn from the heap in a wooden measure, evidently in order to fill the sacks held by the two men behind him. Every measure taken from the heap was of course entered by the scribe in his note-book. The scribe is labelled: 'His son (i.e. the son of the owner of the granary), the scribe Intef, and

1 Cf. NAVILLE. The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Vol 1, PL XX, vi.

" See ERMAN, op. cit., p. T.

For similar and equally amuntelligible allusions to numbers in the remarks of players at draughts, see Ennax, Raden, Rafe and Liester and Greiberhilders des alten Raiches, in Abhandhingen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Uf. Enman, Life in Ascient Egypt, p. 432, fig.

the man with the corn-measure; 'The villain Khunes',' Of the two men with sacks, the foremost, is 'the villain Gerhi' the hindmost 'the villain Khu.'

According to Messrs Lythgoe and Mace (The Tomb of Senebtisi, pp. 114 foll.), most models of boats, granaries, kitchens, bakeries, etc. (which, by the way, are ordinarily made of wood, not of pottery), are to be assigned to what they term for convenience sake the Herakleopolitan Period, i.e. the period between the Sixth and Twelfth Dynasties, though, as these two authorities allow, such objects occur with burials of the Sixth<sup>3</sup>, and sometimes even with those of the Twelfth, Dynasty.

The ordinary wooden models of granaries contain figures, also wooden, of scribes and other employees, all performing their allotted tasks. Our pottery model, however, contains no such figures, their place being taken by the paintings on the outer faces of the walls. This feature looks like a later development, and perhaps, therefore, the model in question dates from the and of the Herakleopolitan Period—a view that finds further support in the characteristically Eleventh Dynasty name of the owner, Intel

The paintings, it might be pointed out, are executed in much the same style as those on the well-known sarcophagus of Ḥenni from Gebelén\*.

• Dr A. H. Gardiner has suggested to me that the group of signs after my dt should be transcribed not, as I had proposed to do, □1, but □1 = ○ □ □1 □1 a good Old Kingdom name (see Horwann, Distamphores Personanumes des alteres Agyptens, p. 42). A second examination of the sign beside □ confirmed my reading of it as the upright stroke I. The apparent curving tail is just a scratch in the white background.

\* Of NEWBERRY, Bem Hason, pt. 1, Pl. XIII, left end of bottom register,

I found parts of wooden figures belonging to such models in the debris in the temberhaped of the youngest Pepilonkh at Mair (see BLACKMAN, The Rock Tambs of Mair, Pt.1, p. 6).

\* STREEDORFF, Grabfande des mittleren Ruichs, Pt II, Pis. III-V; see also Jequien, Revaell de Travanz, Vol. xxxvii, p. 14.



Back



POTTERY MODEL OF A GRANARY

In the Collection of the late Jeremiah James Colman, Esq. of Caronw House, Norwich



## STELA OF PERNESBASTET FROM HASSAÏA

#### By H. WINLOCK

The subject of this note is a small limestone stell which was procured in Egypt in the late eighties by Mr Waters S. Davis of Galveston, Texas, and which remained in his possession until a few years ago, when the salts in the stone began to flake the surface away. So evident was it that its complete disintegration was the matter of but a short time, that it was entrusted to a chemist who had had the good fortune to save some other stones in deplorable condition, but when he subjected this stella to the same treatment it literally melted away. The photograph shown on Plate XXI and the copy of the inscription below, made after replacement of the flakes missing in the photograph, are all that remain of it to-day.

Like thousands of other grave-stones which were made for the simpler folk of ancient Egypt, its execution, while adequate, is so summary that it can claim but a passing interest from an artistic point of view, and its stereotyped prayer for offerings acquaints as with an individual of only modest social position. However, the fact that it is now lost makes it advisable to place it on record, while the questions of its provenance, date and the offering

formula give it a certain interest.

In 1888, about the time that Mr Davis was in Egypt, the cemetery of Hassaia just south of Edfn yielded a number of stelae now in Cairo. Several of these, while of better workmanship and more ambitions design than the stela of Pernesbastet, are strongly suggestive of the same local school of art that produced hers. Further comparison shows that all of them present the adoration of the same gods, Harakhte and Atum, with or without Isis and Nephthys, which suggests a local cult of the dead in the Edfn neighbourhood. It is true that up the river at Assuan, Harakhte and Atum, sometimes with Khoperi and sometimes with Isis and Nephthys, were the partheon of the dead, but when so shown they are usually seated in the solar barque and in any case the stelae are of a fabrication peculiar to the locality. Again further south at Denderch and Akhmim a rare stela may show Harakhte and Tum, but always with Osiris and his cycle.

The choice of gods as well as the style of sculpture thus point to Hassain as the finding-place of this stell, and this conclusion is amply justified by the titles of the father and grandfather of Pernesbastet. The father of Pernesbastet, Menkhetamün, and her mother's father, Nespakhrod, filled the office of Servitor of Har-nubti, the Horus of Edfu, written or I are nubti, the Horus of Edfu, written or I are nubti, the Horus of Edfu, written or I are nubti, the Horus of Edfu, written or I are nubti, the Horus of Edfu, written or I are nubti, the Horus of Edfu, written or I are nubti, the Horus of Edfu, written or I are nubti, the Horus of Edfu, written or I are nubti, the Horus of Edfu, written or I are nubti, the Hassain stellae to which the stella of Pernesbastet is

Kamar, Steles problemiques, 22002, 4, 24, 26 and 48. Two others of identical style (22010 and 71) are from Thebes. They are of the same cruftsmanship, show the same gods, and are unquestionably of the same period and school of art as the Hassaia steles. As in the whole series catalogued by Alamsd Bey these two groups stand out with marked individuality they would seem to suggest an exchange of artisans between Edfu and Thebes.

related in style and in the gods portrayed, and, most important, appears on no other late stellae in the Cairo Catalogue. It would seem to have been a grade in a guild peculiar to Edin and its immediate neighbourhood.

Short of actual testimony by a witness as to its finding, the evidence which can be adduced in favour of Hassaia as the provenance of this stella is as satisfactory as much that we have to accept in archaeology. The material for dating it is, perhaps, not quite so dependable but still convincing.

At the time that they were found, Daressy dated the Hassaia stelae from the Persian to the Roman Periods, and it is in the Ptolemaic Period that they are catalogued by Ahmed Bey Kamal. A cursory glance at this stela however, fails to reveal any of the characteristics we are wont to associate with the Ptolemaic Period. There is none of that mave, softened, really degenerated touch, which is sometimes so cloying in Ptolemaic relief. In fact the rather singular figure drawing in the stela of Perneshastet, which is apparent even in the finer Hassaia stelae of the same class, shows little influence even of the Saite Period, and the woman's portrait in this present specimen is more reminiscent of Bubastite sculpture.

Judgement of style is always liable to be vitiated by the personal bias of the student, but there is evidence in the inscription as well which points to an earlier date that Ptoleman for this stella.

The father of Pernesbastet was Menkhetamun and we find Namankhetamun and we find Namankhetamun and we find Namankhetamun book of the families of the Priesthood of Montu in Thebes from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasties. On other monuments of the same epoch Menkhetamun and Menkhetiset appears.

Her mother was Shapmut,  $\square$   $\square$ , and women's names compounded with  $\square$   $\times$  are of course very common between the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties.

Finally her paternal grandfather was Nespekhrod (1) 20, which again was a name current in the families of the Bubastite Priesthood of Montu, where it is found written in full (1), while the related name Nespasefi (1) was equally popular.

To base a theory of dating on any single one of these names would be to show over much temerity, for any one of them might run over the limits of any given period. But with three names in one family, all current within one period, it would be too sceptical to refuse to accept the family as of that period. Pernesbastet and her family, we may conclude

<sup>1</sup> The five catalogued as from Hassan in the note p. 200, n. 1.

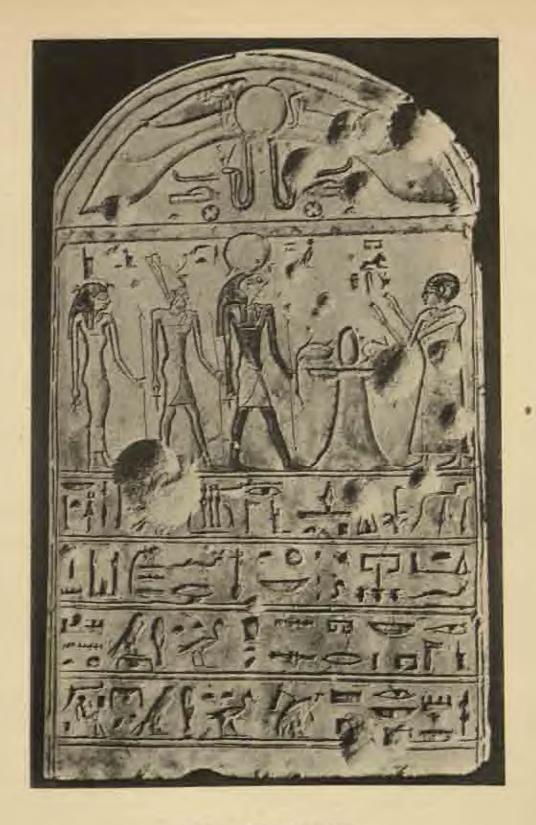
<sup>\*</sup> DARLSSY in Recumil de Teurenax, Vol. XI, p. 93.

<sup>\*</sup> Gauthien, Cercosile des Prives de Montu, 41065, and Money, Sarcophages de l'Époque Bulancies à l'Epoque Saite, 41010

Figure 13. Mentheriser with Pednamon, the latter a name on a collin earlier than the XXII Dynasty, re-used in the royal cache (Danessy, Coronals des cachettes royales 61011).

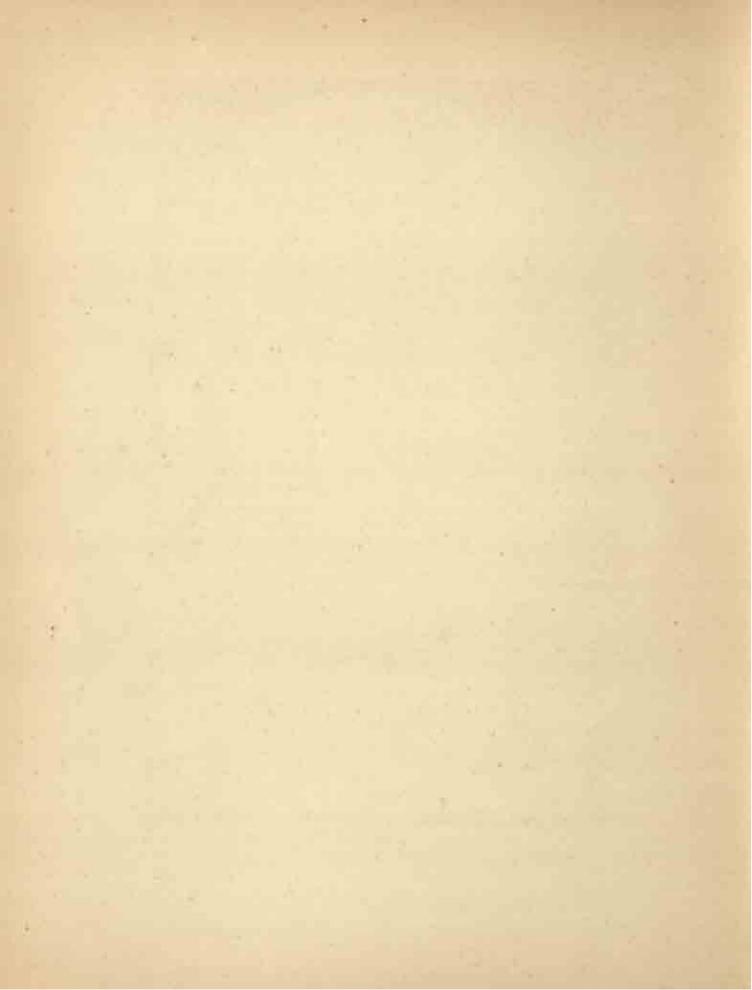
MONEY, op. cat., 41031, see page 323. It is unisprinted on page 252.

Wienewans, Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. xi, p. 69; GAUTHIER, op. cit., 11063; MORET, op. cit., 11016.



STELA OF PERNESBASTET

Formerly in the possession of Mr. Water S. Davis, of Galveston, Texas



therefore, were inhabitants of the Edfa region in the Babastite Period, or the early Saite Period at the latest. It is important to note that a study of the names on the Cairo stellar of the same class supply ample confirmation of this dating.

The interest of this point is largely in its being the basis for a justified criticism of our modern study of archaeology. If the stella of Pernesbastet is Bubastite in date, so must many of the Cairo stellae be as well. And the criticism cannot stop with any one museum. Immerable antiquities which we all loosely term Ptolemaic or Graeco-Roman were actually fabricated long before that date in the dark period following the fall of the Theban Empire. Painstaking study is our present daty to retrieve a whole period of art and of archaeology.

The vignette on the stells shows Pernesbustet, with hands upraised before her face in the position of one who chants a psalm of praise, before a table of offerings behind which stand Harakhte, Atum and Isis.

The inscription on the stela is the usual invocation for offerings, in this case phrased



Recitation: A boon which the king gives to Osiris dwelling among the Westerners, the Great God, Lord of Abydos; that he give an offering of flesh and fowl and all things good and pure (to) the ka of the Osiris, Dame Pernesbostet, daughter of the Servitor of Harnubti Menkhetaman, born of the Dame Shapmat, daughter of the Servitor of Harnubti Nespekhrod.

The formula is one of those types of the hotep-di-nisut prayer treated by Gardiner in his valuable excursus, in this case with the preposition n. It is not uncharacteristic of the period to which we have assigned the stelne. The coffins and sarcophagi of the priesthood of Montu published by Gauthier and Moret show a fair number of occurrences of the formula of this type, and even in the Twenty-First Dynasty it was so written by the scribes who prepared the substitute coffin of Amenophis I. The variant spellings of the name Pernesbastet on the same steln.

I DAVIES-GARDINER, Tomb of Americahit, pp. 79-93.

DARISSY, Cercumis des crichettes regules, 61005.

# ANOTHER STATUE OF A MAN NAMED ROY AS WORSHIPPER OF THE SUN-GOD

#### BY THE EDITOR.

PLATE XXII represents a sandstone statuette, measuring 16 x 7 x 6 inches, brought from Egypt by the well-known traveller G. A. Hoskins and now in the possession of Sir H. Rider Haggard. In sending photographs of the figure to the Editor, together with courteous permission to publish them, Sir Rider Haggard impaires whether the owner Roy may not be identical with the Roy of whom a somewhat similar statue is now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of New York and was discussed by Mr H Winlock in the last number but one of the Journal. The impossibility of this view cannot be demonstrated, as the titles of the two Roys are not dissimilar?, and the periods at which the statuettes were made cannot be very far removed from one another. On the other side, however, it may be said that the name is a common one and that it is unlikely for one and the same man to have possessed two separate statuettes in the same posture, more especially since the gesture of adoration is haudled in each case in a different manner. The treatment here is very unusual, and, since the stone core is left between the upraised hands in an ungraceful manner, one can see why a preference was usually given to the device whereby a stella recording the actual words deemed to be uttered by the worshipper was placed in front of the hands. Here the background against which Roy kneels is shaped so as to resemble such a stela.

The inscriptions are for the most part legible in the Plate. They present, as usual, one or two minor difficulties, but are, on the whole, intelligible and without great interest. On the back we read:

\*Praise of Horus of the horizon: Homage to thee, O Ret, land of truth, land of mankind, father of the gods, who dost what is beneficial to everyone. I extol thee, I give thee praise and worship, the lave of thee is throughout the land. (Uttered) by the noble and prince, the overseer of the estate, the werseer of the granary of Montu in Hermonthis, to the front over (1) Upper and Lower Egypt.

The owner's titles are concluded in the single line on the side of the stell beside Roy's left arm:

"The wribe excellent of a very truth Roy, justified with the great god, lord of eternity."

<sup>1</sup> Vol. VI, pp. 1-3.

<sup>\*</sup> The New York Roy is not only a "acribe" but also an "overseer of the estate (gs.pr) of the Great Royal Wife."

<sup>1</sup> Hardly 1 worship thy lave throughout the land."

<sup>\*</sup> Rend AT II harry r; however no such title appears to be known

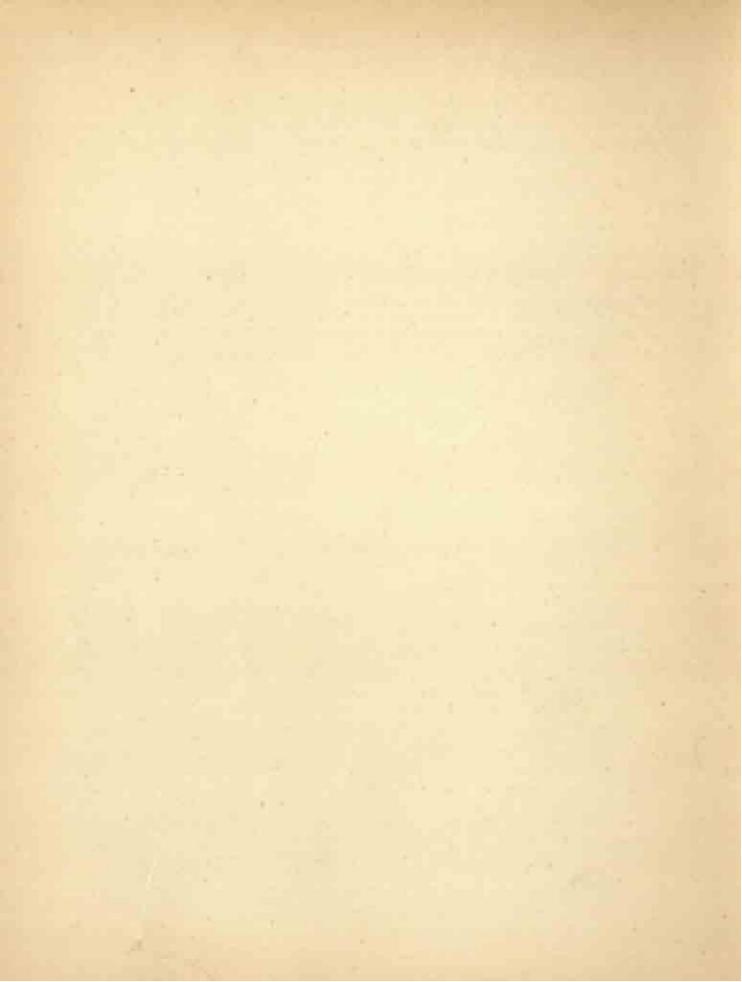








STATUE IN THE COLLECTION OF SIR RIDER HAGGARD, K.B.E.



In the single line on the opposite side are the names of a brother and sister (or perhaps sister-in-law?) of Boy:

'His brother, the chief Royal son of Montu, (Akheperkurich, justified; his sister, Amenntifer, justified.)

In front is the name of Roy's mother, who appears to have dedicated the figure in her son's honour:

It is his mother who made his name to live Sathumay ( ).

The name of the brother Akheperkare is identical with the prenomen of Tuthmosis I, and it follows that Sir Rider Haggard's statue must be of that date or not long afterwards

As Mr Griffith pointed out in discussing this same statue a couple of years ago, a man named "Akheperkard" is associated with another called Roy on a stella in the Leyden Museum (Rozzen, Denkadler des Neuen Reiches, Abt. III, Pl. XI, No. 16), but there both are sculptors, and cannot be identical with the persons of the same name mentioned here.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT B. GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1915-1919)

#### By MARCUS N. TOD, M.A.

Eves the Great War, seriously as it has hampered most branches of scientific research, has not wholly stopped archaeological discovery and publication, and it seems worth while to attempt to summarize the work which has appeared during the five years 1915 to 1919 inclusive relative to the Greek inscriptions of Egypt. It must be borne in mind, however, that, as normal commercial relations with Germany and Austria have only recently been resumed, there must almost inevitably be some omissions in the following bibliography.

F. Paristore has completed the first volume of his Sammelbuch Greechischer Urbunden aus Augypten by the publication of two further instalments, bringing the number of Greek texts (from papyri, inscriptions, astraca, etc.) up to 6000. Of the second volume, which is devoted to the indispensable indices and tables of concordance, the first half appeared in 1918, and it is greatly to be hoped that the publication of the remaining half will not be unduly delayed. A long series of corrections and restorations of documents contained in the Sommslbuck, principally in connection with Egyptian personal names, has been published by K. F. W. Schoner. J. G. Minns has written a short but interesting account?, besed upon literary and epigraphical evidence, of the Greek and Roman tourists who visited Egypt, their itinerary and their impressions. Of the work of M. San Nicoto on Egyptian clubs and societies in the Ptolemaic and Roman period, the materials for which, though primarily papyrological, include a number of inscriptions, the first part of volume it appeared in 1915, dealing with the formation and dissolution of societies, their officials and meetings, their property, income and expanditure. In an article! entitled L'orabarches d'Égypte, J. Linquira reaches the concineron that the term 'alabarches' is a younger form of 'arabarches' and that both titles denote one and the same office, the holder of which was not the governor of the eastern desert but a fiscal agent, is commandant on their des dominion, either for the whole of Egypt or for a single epistrategie. The same scholar publishes as an appendix to his great work on the Roman Army in Egypt a selection of forty-five inscriptions of the Roman period, which are of special interest for the history of the army but have not yet been included in easily accessible collections.

A few new macriptions have been discovered in or near Alexandria. Of these E. Braccas publishes two epitaphs on Alexandrian monks, one dated 524 and the other 602 a.B., the later of which contains several new or rare words and phrases and has in consequence a greater interest than the majority of funerary inscriptions, six grave-inscriptions from Hadra and other sites, a fragment of an eigenbor from Shathi bearing the name of Ptolemy IV Philopator, a number of painted inscriptions from Gracca-Egyptian tombs of the Roman period uncorrhed at Ramich, and a granite base from Beheru (Kom Tugala) containing a briof dedination to Bulsaris<sup>19</sup>. The excavations conducted in 1916 by Col. A. H. Tubby and Lieut-Col. H. E. B. James at Shatlo, Ibrahimich and Hadra resulted in the discovery of one include and three painted tomb-inscriptions from Ptolemaic graves at Brahimich<sup>11</sup>, and an inscribed sepulchral Aydria

- For previous bibliographies = J. E. A., 1, 140 full. (1912-13), rr, 108 full. (1914).
- Streesburg, K. J. Trilbner: Hefie d and 5. Reviewed by P. Viercek, Beri, phil. Work., xxxvi, 131 foll.
- \* K. J. Tribner. \* Rerl. phil. Woch., xxxvm, 477 toll., 506 toll., 1973 toll.
- J. J. A., m. 76 foll,
- \* deguptheless Verrisswesses our Zeit der Ptolemour und Romer, II, 1, Munich. Bock. Beviewed by F. Poland. Birl. phil. Worth., xxxvi, 45 foll.
  - 7 Rev. treh., vt (1217), 95 toll.
- <sup>6</sup> L'armés remains d'Egypte d'Auguste à Diocidien (Mémoires de l'Dust, français du Cuire, xxx, Calco, 1918).
  491 foll.
  - 9 Bull. Soc. Arch. Aliz., 19, 74 foll.
- 10 Phid., 53 foll.

has been published by J. G. Milne. S. Dr. Ricci has shown? that three fragments in the Alexandria Museum (Breccia's Catalogue, Nos. 67 and 169) form part of a single inscription, dated 24 September. 120 A.D., which reproduces the dessier of an idiologue of Alexandria relating to the guardianship of the commeteries (annuarododazia) devolving upon, but apparently neglected by, the Lycian residents in the city. C. C. Epoan has made it probable that an inscription of the Augustan age in the Museum (Catalogue No. 170) records the dedication of a statuette to an Alexandrian women's club by certain of its officers? A third inscription in the same collection (Catalogue Na. 318), a metrical epitaph of the second century a.c., has been discussed and emended by B. KEILL. E. BRECCIA'S Guide to Alexandria contains a good account of the Archaeological Museum and of its epigraphical collection.

In the collection of the Institut Français of Archéologie Orientals at Cairo, published by H. Gauthiers, is a Greek text of about 200 R.C., in which a certain Elencoper Nasolana, who entitles himself mygair. dedicates in his own name and that of his wife Eirene "the son-dial and the well" Near Denumbash Station, a few kilometres from Heliopolis on the Cairo-Heliopolis electric railway, a group of nine epitapha was found in 1911 and has since been removed to the Cairo Museum. They are published! by C. C. Engart, who attributes them to the first century before or after Christ and calls attention to the curious mixture of Egyptian, Greek and Hebrew manes which they contain. In view of the tradition that the Holy Family stayed for a time at Matarich, on the outskirts of Heliopolis, it is interesting to find this epigraphical evidence for the existence of a Jewish settlement in the neighbourhood about the beginning of our era.

An inscribed vasa-fragment discovered at Canopus (Abukir) is of no special interest . Passing further sastwards we may note the inscriptions found by J. (Labar on the Isthmus of Suez\*, three funeral stelae from the Greek necropolis of Pelusium called Dibban si-Makhaan, a fragment from Aenni (W. of Katieh), a mutilated text of Alexander Severus from El Ariah, five Christian epitaphs from Wady er-Reheiba, probably the necropolis of the socient Rehoboth in Syria, and an interesting portable ground from Kantara, upon which further light has been thrown by H. Sorras " and C. Kuentz". On the sea-coast between El Arish and Rafah, Ciapar has investigated in the Boman remains of Shelkh Zouede, one of the line of forts constructed, perhaps under Hadrian, to seeme Egypt against attack from Asia and abandoned apparently before 378 a.n. A large and perfectly preserved mosaic floor bears two epigrams, each consisting of two complets, a reference to the diddraker existing Nestor, and titles ("Is relavior, Diopa, xurayoi, sta) identifying the figures represented in the mythological scenes portrayed. Elsewhere on or near the same site were found a fragment of a statue-base, a mesaic inscription from the fare-ware and a number of small unscribed objects in lead and clay, including about a score of amphors-handles.

K. SETHE devotes a long and interesting paper to the famous "Resetta Stone" and its trillingual inscription; of which this scholar has recently published a critical edition in G. Strandoners's Urkanden des agyptischen Alternant!. He first deals with the character and history of the stone and of certain other inscriptions which are of assistance in the reconstitution of the text, and then proceeds to examine this text in some detail, showing law the Greek and demotic versions serve to checidate each other and making a number of interesting auggestions for the better restoration of the mutilated portions of the Greek text. The immense progress which the last century has witnessed in Egyptological study is strikingly illustrated by some documents of Sir William Gell, dated 1822 and recently presented to the Edwards Library of University College, London, in one of which a reading of the hieroglyphic text of the Rosetta Stone is attempted 15. Reference will be made below to the new edition of the Greek text of this notable monument by F. H. MARSHALL.

Ton fragmentary inscriptions from Siwa published " by O. Barns acquire a certain interest as the only material of the sort from the ancient Ammonium.

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Ball. Soc. Arch. Alex., 31.
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s Computer remius April. Inser., 1916, 165 fall,

<sup>1</sup> Herma, 1, 464 foll. J. E. A., IV. 258 Infl.

Alexandrea aid Aegyptam. Bergamo, Istituto linlinao d' arti grafiche, 1914, pp. 147 foll.

<sup>8</sup> Bull, Inst. fr. Arch. (r., xm, 143 foll. Of. E. J. Pirenen, Pal, Expl. Fund Q. S., 1910, 158 foll.

Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex., 1v, 32 foll,

<sup>\*</sup> Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex., 17, 58 toll.

Rewell d. Trassur, xxxvii, 85 foll.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., xxxviii, 1 foll.

<sup>11</sup> Thid. 70 foll.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Annales du Service, sv. 15 foll.

<sup>18</sup> Gottingische Nachrichten, Phil.-hist. Kleuer, 1916, 275 toll.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ancient Egypt, 1917, 162 foll.

<sup>14</sup> Abteilung u. Hoft 3. 14 Caire Scientific Journal, viii, 94. This reference I ove to Mr S. Gaselee.

In the course of a long and detailed discussion! of the Greek monuments of the drosser of the Serapeum at Monphis, U. Witches examines afresh the dedication (Phenenex, Seramelbuck, 1934), probably dating from the reign of Ptolemy I, of the Legrenzer, which he interprets as the "Amislokal der Legrenzer". In an appendix (pp. 200 foll,) a curious and misuaderstood monuments is discussed anew in the light of F. Li. Gaurette's article on "Apotheesis by Drowning" and is interpreted as a sinctuary errected to Anderso, a girl of five years, who by drowning became Isis: if this view is correct, it would appear that the apotheesis of the drowned continued even into the Roman Imperial period. J. G. Minne examines a collection of leaden tokons from Memphis and concludes that they are examples of a token-currency of Roman times used locally at Memphis (with similar issues at Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus) in the second and third centuries to supply the used of small change; some of them lear the legend MEMOIC or a date (LF, LA, LE, etc.).

Severa) inscriptions from the Fayton have found their way to the British and Toronto Museums (see below). A fragment bought at Medinet el-Fayton in 1900 and now housed in the Musée Guimet, Paris, has been skilfully restored by S. DE RICULE, on the basis of a text of Talit and a Rahner papyros, as [\$\pi\sigma\text{aris} \cdot\text{pro}

E. Buzceta's accavations at Theadelphia (Ram Harit) have produced some valuable epigraphical finds. An inscription on the pylon of the Preferos-temple shows that it was dedicated to Heeferpier δεόν μέγας απ 6th September, 137 n.c., by a certain 'Ayadábajas 'Aλεξουδρείν τῆς β΄ iππαρχίαν and his wife and children ὑπερ βασιλίων Πτολεμούου [Ptolemy Energetes II] καὶ βασιλίων ης Κλεσπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίων ης Κλεσπάτρας τῆς μέγας δεόν εὐεργετῶς καὶ τῶν τίκτων αὐτῶς. In the same temple were found an inscription of 15th February, 102 n.c., marking the τάποι συνόδοι χυνοβοσκῶς and a dedication to Proferos of a δύρα and ελαίθρον by the above mentioned Agathodoros, ἐππαρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶς αυτώκως ἐπτάσε, together with his wife and children. Still more interesting is an inscription's, which bears a striking resemblance to one recently discovered at Eulemberia (cf. J. E. A. I, 141 and see below), recording the grant of ἀσελία to the temples of Isis Esseremphis and of Ἡροκλῆς διός μέγας καλλίνους. It is 53 lines in length and comprises (a) a title (1.1), (b) a covering letter, dated 23rd September, 69 n.c., which the στραστηγές of the nonce sends to the ἐπιστάτης together with copies of the two following documents (II. 2—10), (c) the petition for the grant of ἀσελία addressed to Ptolemy XIII Anletes and queen Cheopatrs Tryphasms by Philippos, a Corinthian, τῶν α΄ φέλων καὶ χιλιάρχων (Τ) καὶ περί ὑμᾶς μαχαιραφόρων (II. 11—52), and (d) the undorscenent of the foregoing petition, dated [7th July, 69 n.c.

At Enhanceria (Kase el-Ranat) G. Leurenver has discovered! the upper part of the stella of which the second and larger partion was published in 1900 by Ghenyell, and Hunt's. The new fragment consists of eleven lines and after the heading (harder rate approving) records a letter addressed to Ptolemy XIII in 69/8 no. by an Athenian, Dionyaodoros, asking permission to rebuild a ruined temple of Aumon and the otherse deal at Enhanceria and to inscribe it with the king's name (texpodent into one, dienoro Basellei). P. Rousselle has summarized and discussed the similar asylum-inscription from Enhanceria published in 1912, and has collected the evidence bearing upon the functions of the descript, who, he concludes, was probably a civil rather than a sacerdotal functionary. Lerenvel has also published two fragments found at Crocodilopolis (Kinna Fares) of a decree of Arsined passed after 212 a.d. in bandour of an important personage, and a long inscription of Ptolemais (Menchah), dated 138/7 n.c., in which a certain Panishos, rise degrammars policies est inwapyer in dedpose an interpretate as temple Opisiah Koldischa fluri desir survious inter Samilas Hrolepaine etc. The phrase proceeds exactly as that of the Theadelphian dedication above noticed, save that rise riseous actions after the phrase proceeds exactly as that of the Theadelphian dedication above noticed, save that rise riseous actions

- I Johrbuch d. Arch. Int., xxxx, 15s fell,
- a Zettucke, doypt. Sprache, xx.vv, 132 tall.
- 5 Complex resolus Acut. Inner., 1914, 420 toll.
- \* Annales du Service, xvi, 183 foll.
- \* Ibid., 38 foll.
- a Amales da Service, xm, 221 toll.
- 11 Res. Ex. Gr., xxxx, 178 toll.

- \* Edonn. Rev. Arch., 1866, xmr. 103 foll.
- \* Ancient Egypt, 1915, 107 foli.
- \* Rev. Arch., 1911, xvm, 256 fell.
- I Mall. See Arch. offer, 17, 106 fall.
- Por this epithet, cf. Oxyr. Pappel, 21, No. 1380, L 46.
  Pappel, 21 Fagelin Towns and their Papper, 47 fell.
- in annales du Serrice, xm, 224 foll. 11 Ibid., 215 foll.

is replaced by rear receiver. The puzzling word Kolorsha is taken by the editor, somewhat doubtfully, as an opithet of Thripse (Tryphis, the goddess of vegetation). The editors appears to have been composed of the officers of the garrison of Ptolemais and their names show that among them were Greeks. Egyptians, Semites and Persians, but with a large preponderonce of Greeks. In deference to the arguments advanced by Penparaur and Willers, the editor has withdrawn't his own conjectural alteration of acceptance to appearance in a dedication of Philadelphia. To his collection of Christian Greek inscriptions Lerienvers has added sixteen epitaphs (Nos 834—849), fourteen found during the excavation of Comta Jean de Resuccepts at Aminoë (Sheikh Abadeh), one from Assint and one from Deir ci-Moharma, bearing the date II December, 747 a.D. A small limestone stells with a bilingual inscription has been found by Amann Ber Kamal in a consetery at Deir Dronka.

A grey marble column from Tinns, now in the Cairo Museum, bears the legend & δγος Προκάπων: its editor, H. Munier, claims that this is the first mention in Egypt of Procequius of Caesarea, whose cult was widespread in the east. In a discussion of the Thracian name Dizambnis, P. Paronizer corrects to Διζάζελμα ήκω a grafito of the Ptolemaic period from the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, wrongly read hitherto as Zάζελμα ήκω. J. Massano has published with a full commentary seven inscriptions from the great temple at Tentyra (Dendersh), two of which refer to the Emperor Hadrian and one, if correctly restored, to "Paulina sister of Carinus Caesar." Of greater importance is an honorary inscription of about 150 a.n. commemorating a certain Tullius Ptolemacus, who had hold a series of offices at Alexandria, including those of στρατηγός τῆς πόλεως, ἀργαθικαστής and ἐπί τῆς εὐθηνίας τῶν ἐν τῶι Μουσείαι στουμένως ἀτελών,

A Christian lamp, found at Karnak and published by H. Mustin, beers the inscription 'A355 Λούκος και άβδι 'Αρσίνιος μάρτυρες: the editor points out that these names occur also, under varying forms, in literary sources, and he compares the lamp-inscriptions 'Αλεξάνδρον άρχωνιστόνου (312—28 a.n.: found at Karnak), 'toodas και 'taxosfor ἀπόστολος (Thebes) and ὁ άγων Μιχαήλ (Kom Ombo). A metrical epitaph from Thebes, probably of Hadrian's time, has been discussed and partially rectored by T. Reisagen<sup>19</sup>.

The inscriptions and other grafits—prehistoric, Pharsome, demotic, Greek and Arabic—from the quarries of Gabel Sibile have been published a from Leonain's copies by F. Pharsome and W. Surmanner. Of the 306 grafits here collected, 83 are wholly or partly in Greek, and of these only 20 had been previously published; the remaining 63 are published here for the first time, but though the editor has done his work well and carefully the records are lacking in any considerable importance.

Of eleven new texts from Upper Egypt published. by C. Eboan one is a fragmentary dedication of the second or first century s.c. (to Isia) sai raw is rise "Afshirm deais" at Philae, a second, discovered at Tell Timai, is inscribed on the base of a statue erected in 18 s.c. to a certain Leon who had been of "the city" (probably Thinouis) from 24/3 to 22/1 s.c., a third is a dedication by certain inhabitants of Koptos, and the remaining eight are grave-steller, some of them dating from the first century s.c., from Terenouthis (Kom Abu Billu).

The famous Alm Simbel grafiti of the Greek mercenaries of Pesammetichus II have been republished in the third edition of Difference's classic Syllogs Interptional Grassian (No. 1)<sup>12</sup>: in a review of this volume W. Bankier proposes to read by instead of the same inscriptions are indexed on the cenclading page of Collier-Bechfel's Summing der grachisches Dialektinschriften. From the pylon of the temple of Bigeh, examined and described by A. M. Beachman (comes a mutilated grafito of the second or third century of our era, a superscripta addressed look cal role gravitous finit, which has been transcribed, translated and amounted by A. S. Hust.

- I Annales du Sérplee, xxx. 226.
- Annales du Service, xv. 113 foll.
- \* Rev. Et. Anc., xvi, 300 foll.
- \* Record d. Transme, xxxvii, 93 fell.
- 2 Rid., 98 toll. Cy. J. F. A., 1, 141.
- \* Ibid., xvi, 70.
- 4 felds, aven, 72 fall.
- " The Osizeius at Ibydas, London, 1901, Pl. xxm, p. 37.
- \* Annales du Service, xvII. 160 foll.
- " Bev. Et. Or., XXVIII, 53 toll. Of. A. Pallis, ibid., 375; W. Vollobert, Musicorgue, xXVIII, 54.
- 11 Asymptische it, priechische Inschriften in Graffiei aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silelle (Obetägspten), Stressburg, Trübner, 1915.
  - " Invales de Serrice, 27, 105 fail.
  - 11 Berl, phil. Week, xxxvi, 923 fell.

- 13 Lelpzig, Hirzel. Vol. t. 1915.
- n .tv, 4. 3, p. 1232,
- <sup>10</sup> Les temples immergés de la Nuble: The Temple of Ingels. Carro, Imprimerie de l'Inst. fr. d'Arob. Orient., 1915, p. 49.

The publication of the Anniest Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum was completed in 1916, forty-two years after the appearance of the first volume, by the issue of the second half of Volume IV, containing "supplementary and miscellaneous inscriptions," edited by F. H. Marshall. Section viri comprises the inscriptions, thirty-three in number, of Egypt and the Sudan. Fifteen of these were found at Naucratis (Nos. 1060—83, 1001 a), two each at Abukir (1063, 1672) and Gizch (1067—8) and one each at Resetta (1065), Bubastis (1079 a), Momphis (1075), the Fayam (1069), Antinoë (1076), Koptos (1074), Syene (1086), Philae (1078) and in the Sudan (1077), while in the case of five the exact provenance is unknown (1064, 1070—1, 1073, 1079). Although all these texts have been previously published, the present edition rests in all cases upon a careful revision of the originals and is accompanied by a full and useful commentery. Many of the inscriptions are of considerable interest and no fewer than six of them, including the famous Rosetta Stone (see above), are of sufficient importance to have secured places in Dittransances's Original Gracei Learning Incidences Selectors.

A group of Greek inscriptions from Egypt which are now in the Boyal Ontario Museum at Toronto has recently been published by W. S. Fox. The most interesting of these, which comes from the Fayim, belongs probably to the period 300—270 B.C. and contains nine names, each followed by an ethnic: It is in all likelihood a dedication to some god or king, Ptolemy Soter or Philadelphos, made by a number of Greek soldiers or engineers. Of the remaining eight, one is a Christian invocation of about the lifth century from Deir el-Bahari in the Thebahi, two are from the Fayûm and the precise provenance of five is not recorded. Of these last, two are votive inscriptions of the mpourivypar-type, two are epitaphs, and one records the building of a specify by a certain Papons.

H. G. EVELYN-WHITE has published a Christian epitaph of the seventh or early eighth century and the short inscription HAHNIE IATPOE, both of which have recently been added to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York.

Nov. 1068-67, 1078=0, G. I. S., 60, 86, 90, 168, 866, 719 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Am. Jones. Arch., xrx, 72 toll.; Am. Jones. Phil., xxxvin, 304 toll.

Am. Journ. Phil., xxxviii, thi fall. | Bull. Metr. Mus. Art, at, 48 foll.

### NOTES AND NEWS

Mr Robert Mond took the chair at the Annual General Meeting held in the rooms of the Society on May 11th. In his opening address Mr Mond expressed his deep regret, shared by all members, at the resignation of Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell, who had been our President since the death of Lord Cromer in 1917. At the beginning of last winter Lord Grenfell wrote to say that owing to advancing years and absence from London it would be necessary for him to give up many of the honorary posts held by him in London, and among them the Presidency of our Society. We have to be grateful to him for consenting to remain at our head during the difficult period of reorganization.

We are fortunate in having secured as our new President General Sir John Maxwell, whom his long and intimate connection with Egypt, as well as a keen interest in the antiquities of that country, make eminently fitted to hold the post. Readers of the Times will remember the eloquent letter which, following up Sir Arthur Evans' appeal, he addressed to that paper in March, 1919, and in which he advocated the creation of a British Institute of Archaeology in Cairo. The need of such an Institute is greater than ever, and we can only hope that the Government, despite its desire to meet the popular demand for economy, will soon begin to recognize the fatuity of economizing in matters of Science and Art.

At the General Meeting the resignation of Dr Alan Gardiner as Honorary Secretary was also announced. Dr Gardiner finds it necessary to concentrate more of his time upon the Editorship of the Journal and upon his own researches. Captain H. R. Hall of the British Museum has kindly undertaken to hold the post that thus falls vacant.

In the Report of the Committee for the year plans for the coming winter were discussed, and the difficulties that had been encountered in negotiating for the site of El-Amarna were explained to members. The point over which the Society has found itself at variance with the Service of Antiquities concerns the division of antiquities, M. Lacan arging that we ought not to insist on taking a full half of the antiquities found in case that half should comprise objects of quite exceptional interest or importance. As the law stands, the excavator is entitled to a full half, and since, in the interests of education generally, the Egypt Exploration Society is strongly in favour of the distribution of antiquities, in so far as this does not conflict with the aims of scientific research, we are not inclined to abandon the very reasonable principle incorporated in the law. On the other hand, M. Lacsu can rest assured that we should be the last to demand the cession of objects which obviously ought to find a home in the Cairo Museum. Our whole record, extending over a long series of years, proves that we have never made such demands, and that the conduct of our work has been dictated throughout by an impeccable regard for the best advantage of science. Happily, the difference between M. Lacau's standpoint and our own is rapidly approaching vanishing-point, and with the goodwill that already exists on both sides it ought not to be difficult to come to an agreement satisfactory to all concerned.

Should we undertake excavations at El-Amarna, this does not mean that we should abandon our work at Abydos, where we still have the remainder of the Osireion to excavate. So far from repudiating our obligations with regard to this site, we desire sooner or later to extend them by making a full photographic record of the temples of Sethos I and

Ramesses H. This work, coupled with some further digging, ought to put us in a position to compile an adequate history of this ancient town, so important as a religious centre throughout Pharaonic times.

Negotiations are in progress with Dr Blackman for a continuation of his copying work at Mér. There still remain several tombs of great interest to be recorded, as well as two more at the neighbouring site of Kusér el-Amarna on the eastern bank of the Nile. The Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society is of opinion that the fullest advantage ought to be taken of Dr Blackman's well-proven skill as a copyist, and it is to be hoped that the coming season will find him industriously engaged once more in the completion of an enterprise so admirably begun.

The small excavation at Balabish, made at the instance of the American Committee of our Society in April and May of 1915, is treated by Mr G. A. Wainwright in a detailed and well-illustrated memoir, which is now in the hands of the printer and will appear in the autumn. Prof. Thos. Whittemore contributes the Preface. A preliminary account of the discoveries was published in this Journal, Vol. II, pp. 202-3. Their main interest centred in a small series of the rare "pan-graves" known from Professor Petrie's earlier excavations at Hu and Rifeh; again at Balabish the population buried in this kind of grave was found to be markedly Southern in type, the objects discovered hearing strong resemblance to modern Nubian and Sudanese work. There was also an extensive cemetery of the New Kingdom, which was not completely dug, since it had been already worked over by the Government and also plundered by natives. Here a considerable amount of interesting pottery was unearthed, including several specimens of the Bügelkannen familiar from Greek sites of the Mycenean periods. The memoir on Balabish brings the scientific reports of excavations conducted by the Society practically up to date. The volume will be published at two guineas, the special price to Members being 28s. A notice will be sent to Members as soon as the book is ready for distribution.

A second volume of the Theban Tombs Series is nearly ready, and will be obtainable by Members at 28s., the published price being two guineas. This volume, of which the author is Mr N. de G. Davies, contains a complete record of the scenes and inscriptions in the tomb of Antefoker, the Vizier of Sesostris I of the Twelfth Dynasty. Not only is this tomb one of the oldest in Thebes, but also it possesses a particular interest as having provided the models for the paintings in various tomb-chapels of the nobles of the Eighteenth Dynasty. A large number of hieratic graffiti have been scribbled on the walls i these are edited by Dr Alan Gardiner, and record the visits of various scribes and artists of the early New Kingdom, who found the tomb "like heaven in its interior" and "exceeding pleasant in their hearts." The volume contains thirty-seven line and five colletype plates; also six coloured plates from facsimiles made by Mrs Nina de Garis Davies. It may here be mentioned that a limited number of copies of the first and introductory volume of the series, The Tomb of Amenembet, are available to Members at the price of 35s.

News is now available as to last winter's excavations in Egypt. A remarkable find has been made in the hill behind Sheikh 'Abd el-Kurneh (Thebes) by Messrs Winlock and Burton, working on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum at New York. In a small but tightly-packed chamber of an Eleventh Dynasty tomb was found a complete set of funerary models in admirable condition. These comprised models of gardens with pools, fruit-trees

and covered verandahs, of the nomarch inspecting his cattle, of slaughter-houses, carpenters' shops, weavers' yards, breweries, bakeries, of cattle being fattened in their stalls, and of the sports of fishing and harpooning, besides many boats and funerary figures. The mere enumeration conjures up the scenes habitually depicted upon the walls of Egyptian tembs, and furnishes the best proof that those scenes had a magical or, to use a less controversial term, an utilitarian intention; for no one doubts that the models buried with the dead, like his weapons and the pots containing offerings, were deposited with him with an eye to his practical advantage in the after-life.

Professor Petrie has published in the Times of May 11th an account of his excavations at El-Lahûn, from which we print a few extracts:

"The chief work was to make an entire clearance of the XIIth Dynasty pyramid and its corroundings, where the group of jewelry was discovered in 1914. In searching the rubbish in the pyramid, the gold serpent from the Royal crown of Senusert II was found, which had been detached and dropped by the destroyers. It is finely wrought with interest of coloured stones, and a head of lazuli with garnet eyes. From this being in the pyramid, it is now certain that the king was buried there. In a tomb of a queen was discovered a remarkable alabaster jar, 22 in high, with a magic inscription of a new type, stating that all that is produced on earth will be obtained from it....The foundations of a large building on the top of the hill by the pyramid were searched, and various fragments of scattered scripture were collected, which point to this being the chapel of the spotheses (sed-beb) of the king, like that which we discovered on the top of the mountain at Thebes. A great unsount of clearance was made in search of entrances to the queen's pyramid and eight rock mastabas, but no opening was found; only a vast amount of rock-boring can finally prove whether these were cenetaphs or tembs. The temple of the king at Lahun was further cleared and the plan of the foundations recovered.

"The general cometery of the same age was exhaustively searched and planued. A remarkable temp is that of the chief architect of Egypt, builder of the Lahan pyrmaid, named Aunpy. He had a large mastable on a hill top, like those of the VIth Dynasty, and in the side of the hill a chapel with colemnada front like the tembs of Beni Hassin of the XIIth Dynasty. A great surprise was finding a small untrached cometery dating from the prehistoric age to the IVth Dynasty. A hundred burials here give every stage of form from the plain open grave to the deep temb-shaft, nearly 30 different stages in all."

In the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, to the south of the entrance to the tomb of Meneptah, Lord Carnarvon and Mr Carter found some important alabaster jars of large size and of a new type. They mostly bore the cartouche of Meneptah, but some belonged to the reign of Ramesses II. Upon several were inscriptions explaining the contents of the jars.

This season's very successful series of lectures was concluded on May 28th by one on "The Present Position of Papyrology" by Professor B. P. Grenfell. Since the last Notes and News were written lectures have been delivered by M. Jean Capart, of the Brussels Museum, on "The Study of Egyptian Art" (March 19th), and by Professor Peet on "Recreation in Ancient Egypt" (April 23rd).

As we go to Press, a cable from Cairo informs us that the concession of El-Amarna has been granted to us. The deep interest of this site is well known, and important finds may be anticipated. Professor Peet will be in charge of the work. It was at El-Amarna that Akhenaton, the heretic king who endeavoured to impose an exclusive solar monotheism on the people of Egypt, built his city; and it was here that the important diplomatic correspondence, written in cunciform upon clay tablets, between the Pharaohs of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the local dynasts of Syria and Asia Minor, was uncarthed by natives in 1887. For the success of our excavations abundant financial help will be needful, and the Secretary of the Society will be glad to receive special donations for the purpose.

## NOTICE OF RECENT PUBLICATION

L'Armée comains d'Egypte d'Auguste à Divelètien. Par M. JEAN LESQUIER. (Mémoires publiée par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Cuire, tome 41.) Le Caire, Impr. de l'Inst. Français d'Arch. Or., 1918. Pp. xxxi+586. One map.

In 1911 M. Desquier published his Institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides, in which he dealt with the Ptolemaic army and the problems affecting it. The volume revealed a wide range of knowledge, careful and painstaking study of the evidence, and an acute and balanced judgement. The news. therefore, that the author proposed to follow it up with a similar work on the Roman army of Egypt was very welcome. The second task took longer than at first anticipated, and the war delayed printing ; but by the end of 1918 the present magnificent volume, redecating the promise made in 1911, was given to the world. A magnificent volume it is in every respect. Its formed and general appearance are of a sumptious ness astonishing in view of the difficult conditions created by the war; and M. Lesquier's work is throughout of the highest order. The qualities revealed in his former volume are not less conspicuous hers. The material, if often insufficient for any certain decision on disputed points, is at least far more abundant than for the army of the Ptolemies, and the problems raised are consequently more numerous, but all are treated by M. Lesquier with the same conscientions thoroughness; yet, despite the mass of detail, he manages to present a clear outline of the more important aspects of his subject. To review such a work with any approach to adequacy would require an oradition rivalling his own, to which I can lay no claim; and I must therefore content myself with sketching the main lines of his treatment, emphasizing certain general conclusions which emerge from it, and adding a few notes on points of detail.

After a very careful preliminary bibliography, in which he reviews the principal sources of information, the author begins his task with a sketch of the history of the Roman army in Egypt, so far as it can be recovered, from the expedition of Gabinius In a.c. 55 to the reign of Diocletian. This is followed by a detailed study of the evidence bearing on the history and activities, during their residence in Egypt, of the various units composing the army of occupation, legions, also, auxiliary coherts, ethnic corps, and fleet; and this leads to a review of the composition of the army and an attempt to estimate its total strength at various periods. After this he passes to a consideration of the method of command, from the prefect himself to the officers of the single units. As a preliminary to the study of the recruitment it is necessary to consider the difficult and much disputed question of the inixputs; and the chapter devoted to this subject is one of M. Lesquine's most admirable contributions to our knowledge. After dealing with recruitment be next passes to the actual conditions of service, a subject which be treats in all its aspects, the various functions performed by soldiers of various grades, the pay, the reced questions concerning the marriage of soldiers, and the cults popular in the army. This is followed by a chapter on the veterans, their discharge, and the privileges and immunities accorded to them, and that by another on the supplies for the army. Finally, a detailed study is made of the territorial occupation, both in its general character and in detail, the various districts being taken in turn. In a concluding section the author briefly sums up the results obtained by him, giving an excellent conspectus of the preceding chapters. In appendices are republished various beariptions, a Latin papyrus of the British Museum, and a Berlin papyrus. A discussion of the Geneva Latin papyrus (P. Gen. 4) follows, and in the two concluding appendices are given a list of the prefects amplifying by the help of the new material the well-known work of Cantarelli, and a prosopography of the Roman army of Egypt. Excellent indices and a map conclude the volume.

It will be seen that M. Lesquier casts his net widely and treats his subject with an exemplary thoroughness. It may seem ingrateful, where so much is given us, to ask for more; but I samed but think that in two respects, despite his wide range, he has interpreted his subject somewhat too narrowly, and that in both directions. It is with the Roman army in Egypt that he is dealing; but it would have given additional value to his work had he more frequently passed beyond the boundaries of Egypt. In particular, more explanation of the military terms employed would have been welcome. The details of military

organization, familiar enough to M. Lesquier and perhaps also to the ordinary student of Roman history, are not always equally so to the specialist in papyrology, to whom the Roman army is but one among a multi-tude of subjects connected with the history of Gracco-Roman Egypt. And, secondly, though the therme of the volume is the Roman army and conditions were in many respects very different in Byzantine times, yet it would have been af advantage to compare, more frequently than is done, the military organization of later times with that of the Roman period: for certain of the problems to be solved continued unchanged and met with similar solutions, while even the differences observable are of both interest and utility to the student of the Roman army. In particular is this true in the case of the last chapter, that on the territorial occupation.

These are small points, however, and the value of M. Lesquier's work is sufficiently great to merit the whole-hearted gratitude of students in this field. It may be of interest to note one or two of the main impressions which remain with one after one has read through the volume, with its immunerable points of detail.

In the first place, M. Lesquier's researches have a value quite outside the field of papyrology itself, The papyrus evidence not infrequently throws light on questions which concern the army of the Empire generally; and thus the volume serves to reinforce a truth with which students of the papers are wall acquainted but which is too little recognized by others, that papyrology may furnish valuable material for the history of the Gracco-Roman world as a whole. In particular, M. Lesquier shows that Egyptian practice, as in the case of the casteense, the methods of nommand, local conscription, and the gradual approximation of service in the quadia to that in the legions, preceded, and indeed may be said to have been the model for, that in the other provinces of the Empire; we are in fact enabled to trace the development of these changes in the papyri botter and at an earlier date than elsewhere. On the other hand, there are some strikingly individual features in the army of Egypt. One of these is, as M. Lesquier points out (e.g. pp. 478 f.), the amusually large proportion of light-armed troops to the total force. Another is that Egypt was not properly speaking a lines. The comparatively large force there stationed was intended, partly no doubt to defend the country from attacks by the nomadic tribes of the desert, chiefly towards the south, but largely to secure a province peculiarly valuable as the granary of Rome, and with a population notoriously unstable, to the Empire. It is interesting to note how much better defended was the Delta from the East than from the West, as M. Lesquier shows (p. 404).

I spoke just now of the comparatively large force stationed in Egypt. Absolutely the number was rather surprisingly small, except at certain periods; but this was a phenomenon common to all parts of the Empire; it is one of the wonders of history, and a striking testimony of the quality of the Roman army, that a frontier so extended and in many places so constantly threatened should have been hold by forces so small.

I may conclude this notice with some notes on points of detail, though space will not permit of my doing more than select a few. In the first place, I should like to correct a misrepresentation due, indirectly, to myself. In a footnote on p. iv M. Lesquier quotes me for the statement that Stein in his Untersuchungen wer Geich, and Vers. Anyptons anter röm. Herrschaft holds "qu'Auguste aurnit incorporé à son armée les derniers corpe de troupes servant sous les Ptolomées, qui ne servient devenus romains que de nom." As he states, I then knew Stein's book only through a review by Schubart. Having since had an opportunity of seeing Stein's own words I am convinced that his meaning was misapprehended by Schubart; that the latter did mean what I took him to mean seems certain. Stein does indeed (p. 118) say that "es sind also zonachat die unter den Ptolemäero diemenden Truppenkörper im wesentlichen geblieben, was sie waren, and nur dem Namen nach römisch geworden"; but as his reference to p. 112 shows, he is here speaking of the Roman troops left in Egypt by Julius Caesar, which may by the time of Augustus have been more Greek than Roman but were still units of the Roman army. Stein merely speaks of "sine lokale Konscription der Truppen" (p. 117). In both cases he probably goes too far; but he does not represent Augustus as taking over units of the Ptolemaic army.

On p. 26, in his sketch of the history of the Roman army in Egypt, M. Lesquier refers to the supposed Jewish rising in A.D. 136—137. It is therefore well to note that this event, hitherto accepted on the testimony of a single papyrus at Berlin, unist now be struck out of Egyptian annals, since Wilcken has shown (Hermes, 54, pp. 111-2) that the date in the papyrus was misread and really corresponds to the year 116—117.

In connexion with what M. Lesquier says (p. 31) of Caracalla's atrocities at Alexandria it may be pointed out that, abominable as Caracalla's character undoubtedly was, it would perhaps be rush to accept

the testimony of Dion Cassins too confidently. The edicts of Caracalla in the well-known Glessin papyrus (P. Giss. 40) at least suggest the possibility of some exaggeration in Dion's account; and if it must be admitted that the language of edicts is not a safeguide to actual facts, yet the letter from Alexandria recently published by Schubart (Amil. Ber. and des Kon. Kunstismunisagen, 39, 1918, col. 144 fb), with its picture of general festivities, seems (if, as is likely, the Emperor there referred to is really (Aracalla) hardly consistent with the harrors depicted by Dion.

One of the most important chapters in the volume is that (chap. 4) devoted to the epicicial. The subject has evoked an immense amount of discussion; it has indeed been one of the most difficult and controversial problems of papyrology; and M. Lesquier's handling of it is a most valuable contribution to knowledge. Discussing the matter in the light of the latest evidence and with great souteness and critical judgement, be has probably decided once for all the main questions are (1) that epicrisis was always, in theory, conducted by the prefect, though he might delegate the actual execution to others, (2) that there was really only a single epicrisis; "les opithétes d'avisions desale, aphabique, militaire doivent disparaltire." There was, in effect, only one institution of this name, with one object; to determine status. This last point is emphasized, independently of Lesquier, by P. M. Meyer in his Griechische Texts and Appaten, p. 50.

Another important question towards the settlement of which M. Lesquier makes a substantial contribution, a question, in this case, which affects far more than the province of Egypt, is that of the unarriage of soldiers. He shows how human nature, enforcing its rights against all afficial regulations, bore down at last the opposition of the Government; which, under Septimius Severus, probably in 197, withdrew, at least for Roman citizens, its vote on the marriage of soldiers serving with the colours.

In reference to the question of the choice of Antinoite citizenship by soldiers (pp. 326 f.) it may be remarked that in addition to the known advantages (exemption from liturgies, etc.) certain unpublished paper in the British Museum reveal other very substantial privileges emjoyed by the citizens of that city.

M. Lesquier also discusses the varied question of the title Arabarches or Alabarches (pp. 421—427); and here again his conclusion may certainly be accepted. It is that the Arabarches, who, as is known, was a financial official, was at no time a governor of the western desert. What he "governed" was not Arabis but Arabs; those Arabs, namely, who were employed, as the well-known title "Apaparagory indicates, in the service of the customs.

On another question discussed in the volume, particularly in section 5 of the ninth chapter, there has, since this chapter was written, been made public new evidence of value. I refer to the question of the status of the Poderaschoemus, on which light is thrown by some estrace published by Mr Evelyn White ("Grasse-Roman Ostracs from Dakka, Nubia," in Class. Res., 34, 1916, pp. 49—53). The first of these mentions a strokéyes and a toparchy; and though this may not parhaps necessarily disprove M. Losquier's statement (p. 459) that the Doderaschoemus "ine parait pus., avoir jamais forms un nome," it certainly shows that it had (as indeed M. Lesquier romarks) a civil administration and that it was at least organized on the same lines as a nome. The remainder of the estrace do not add very substantially to our knowledge, though they show, incidentally, that the correct form of the title borne by the military official who frequently occurs in the Pselkis estrace was cobarrator, not cibarator as Lesquier, following Wilcken, gives it; but the exercations carried out at Dakkah (Pselkis), which brought to light the estrace, produced important archiaeological results as regards the Roman fortness.

Two small points which may be noted in conclusion are that a new occurrence of the Legio II Trajana Fortis is to be found in PSL v. 447, 4, and that, by a curious slip or a repeated misprint, the author on p. 366 several times uses the word overysparises for the correct form συναγοραστικός.

I cannot conclude without expressing the gratitude which all students of papers and of Grasso-Roman Egypt, and, indeed, of the Roman army in general, must feel to M. Lesquier for his truly splendid work.

H. furis Bree.





THE WIFE OF THE SHEIKH EL-BELED



WOODEN STATUES OF NAKHT, FOUND IN HIS TOMB AT ASSIÛT



The plan, or more accurately the sketch, made by Marietto (Plate XXV, at top), indicates to us the place occupied by the two statues of Rasnater and by that of an unknown lady named Hekenu [8], presumably his wife. The statues of the great priest were placed beside each other, their backs to the wall that faces the door; and in the angle of the wall out of which the door opens, on the right, was the statue of the woman. The inscriptions engraved upon the base of the two statues of the man show plainly that there can be no doubt about the identity of the person represented in either case, and it is a strange error that has led one writer at least to separate the two statues and attribute them to two different people bearing the same name? If we examine the two statues of Rasnater (Pl. XXVI) we note that they give us once again the two fundamental variants that have been seen in the statues of Assiat. The one depicts the person without a wig dressed in a long garment, of which the edge is turned back at the side, since the artist has despaired of expressing in stone the gesture of the hand holding the edge of the garment. The other statue represents Rasnater, his face framed in a very wide wig, and dressed in the short loin-cloth to which the name of gala-dress has been given.

But the same long garment has been known for many years in one of the most famous works of antique art; it is the dress worn by the Sheikh el-Beled. This man exhibits a wigless head and wears the long garment that hides the knees and ends in a large fold on the right side. But if so, does it not seem likely that one should regard the statue of the Sheikh as one of a pair of effigies! This is the point that we will now proceed to investigate.

Everybody knows that the Sheikh was discovered in the course of Mariette's excavations. Less is known, unfortunately, of the circumstances of the find. In Mariette's posthumous work, which has just been quoted, one comes across certain summary indications on the subject, accompanied by a sketch of the plan. It will be noted at a single glance how great a similarity there is between the tomb of Ra nufer and that of the Sheikh. Both are gigantic magtabas without un interior chamber, of which the chapel is constituted by a small structure attached to the mastaba at the southern extremity of the east face. In the case of the Sheikh a granite stell has been let into the face of the mustaba. The wall facing the entrance door of the chapel reveals a little mohe, marked B (see Plate XXV. middle). Mariette writes thus: "The importance of these explanations will be understood when it is realized that it is at the back of this niche B, belonging to the little chamber. that the precious wooden statue was found ... The head, the arms, the trunk, even the stick was intact; but the legs and the base had rotted irramediably, and the statue was only held upright by the pressure of the sand on all sides. At door C of the small chamber, in the sand and overturned at the place where it evidently had been thrown, was the other wooden statue ... (the female statue)."

As it will be seen, the analogy between the two cases is very great. The two Rachüfers were upright, facing the door; the Sheikh likewise. The woman with Rachüfer was in the angle near the door; the wife of the Sheikh (Plate XXVII, left; the head is reproduced in the photogravure, Plate XXIII) was beside the door; in the sand and overturned.

BORCHARDT, op. cit., nes. 18, 10 (Rafmifer); no. 53 (Hekenu).

<sup>1</sup> L. Courres, Dis antile Know, Berlin 1914, pp. 86-1 and Figs. 74-0.

<sup>\*</sup> Serranneno, Za dom Galaschurz des alten Reiches, in Rec. de Fran, Vol. XXI, pp. 34-5.

<sup>4</sup> A. MARIETTE, op. cit., pp. 127-9.

The stone statues do not seem to have moved since ancient times; the wooden statues, having less resistance, present themselves to us in exactly the positions one would expect; the sand, blown by the wind and accumulated into a slope within the chamber, has preserved at its place in the niche the statue of the Sheikh, in spite of the fact that the base and the feet had rotted away. The statue of the woman, not being supported by the sand, tumbled down when the feet were destroyed, and what remained over, namely the trunk,

slipped down the slope of sand to the entrance of the chapel.

It is a little surprising to find that no work exists in which the Sheikh el-Beled (see Plate XXVII) has been properly published. Moreover, when one tries to collect a little precise information on the subject, one soon perceives the obscurity in which the question is enveloped. First of all, in what year was the discovery made? In the biography of Mariette published in the Bibliothèque Egyptologique, Maspero reports that during the year 1860 Mariette, "leaving the search for sarcophagi and statues of the Old Kingdom in the Pyramid-fields under the care of Vassalli and Gabet, hastened straight to the Upper Egyptian sites.... The famous Sheikh el-Beled, the statue of Ra\u00e4n\u00fcfer, that of Userkaif and twenty others were uncarthed almost at the same minute!" The Sheikh must consequently have been found in 1860, but Mariette was not there at the time of the discovery.

The discoveries of statues made in the course of the excavations executed under the direction of the great French archaeologist were notified at once to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, on the basis of the letters which he addressed to his colleagues. For example, in the Comptes Rendus of 1860, the following lines may be result: "M. Mariette has also found at Sakkareh some twenty statues resembling in style and workmanship the famous scribe squatting on his beels which visitors to the Louvre so much admire; there is the same feeling, the same truth to nature, the same polychromy sometimes obtained by artificial mesns, sometimes by the use of naturally coloured materials such as the milky quartz and the rock crystal used with such good effect for the white of the eye and the eye-ball respectively." In the Remis Archéologique of the same year may he read the extract of a letter from Mariette to E de Rougé in which he says, among other things, the following: " Before leaving Sakkarch, I will mention to you the discovery, made also in this necropolis, of a few private tombs in which I have found some twenty of those statues of ancient art, which are so admirably typified by the squatting scribe of the Louvre. A certain Ranofré, amongst others, a priest of the temple of Ptah contemporary with the Fifth Dynasty, has ernamented his tomb with life-size statues which are not inferior to the scribe .... "

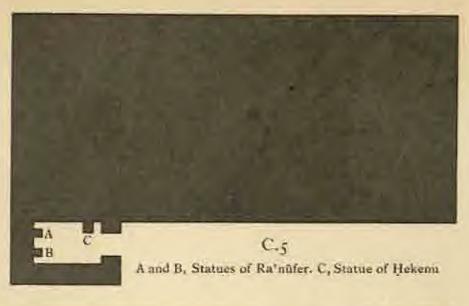
Let us emphasize the fact that Mariette mentions Rafnüfer, but does not allude to the Sheikh el-Beled! Nevertheless, it was certainly in this year that he was found, according to the words of Maspero which we have quoted and of which we have confirmation in a passage of Vassulli's book on the Egyptian excavations. Mariette's collaborator attributes to the campaign of 1860 the discovery "of a beautiful wooden statue of a standing man,

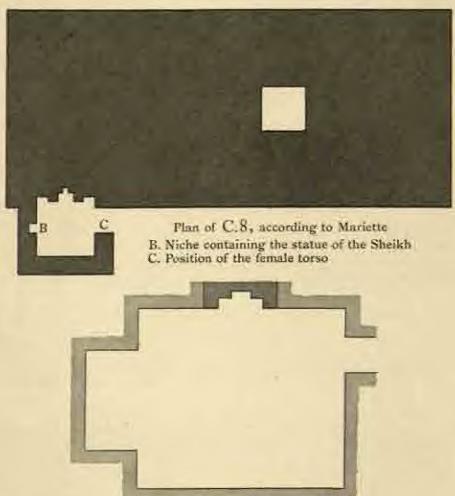
See A. Manierre, Ocurres Diverses, Vol. 1, pp. cvili-cix.

3 Nouvelle Strie, Vol. 11, 1860, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. IV, p. 73. See too E. DE ROUGE, Analysis d'uns communication faite pur M. de Rougé en les fouilles dirigées per M. Aug. Mariette dans la vallée du Nil on 1859-00 in Ocurres Discress. Vol. IV (Bibliothèque Engeptologique, Vol. XXIV), pp. 34-5.

<sup>\*</sup> L. Vascatat, I Monumenti interici opici, il Musea e pli scari d'antichità esopuiti pur ardine di S. A. d' Vivere Ismail Puscia. Notizio sommaria. Milan, 1867, pp. 16—17.





The Chapel (on a larger scale) in which the Sheikh was found, according to Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, Part I, Pl. XXXII



holding in his right hand (sic) the baton of command, whose eyes, made of a transparent glassy paste and set within bronze cyclids, give to the face a most life-like expression. This statue," he adds, " is one of such high artistic merit, that it may be considered the masterpiece of the Egyptian Museum." The Photographic Album of de Rouge's Mission (1863-64) confines itself to the observation that this statue is remarkable for the finesse of its execution and the naturalness of its pose. In de Rongé's Report we read the following: "The portraits of these antique statues, of which we have brought back some excellent specimens (photographic). show even to those least disposed to admit it, that the first principle of early Egyptian art was nature herself, faithfully observed and already at that time skilfully reproduced... Such is the praise we can give to the artists of that early age, equally when they content themselves with the use of limestone, when they employ the splendid woods which grew in the Valley of the Nile or, finally, when they attacked the hardest rocks?" The Sheikh's name is not even mentioned! In December 1864 Renan manifests his enthusiastic admiration for the wooden statue; "It is a marvel without equal, this wooden statue of the Boulsq Museum, to which, when it was found, the fellfilifu amunimously gave the name Sheikh el-Beled 'the Sheikh of the village.' It is really the statue of a certain Ptah-Sé, son-in-law of the king, The statue of his wife was found close to him?" Let us notice that Renau puts down the discovery to the fellahin and not directly to Mariette. I have not been able to find any earlier document in which the name of Sheikh is given to the wooden statue. Renan believes him to have been the son-in-law of the king, evidently confusing him with the Ptah-shepses of the large biographic stell found by Mariette at the same period. Later, during the Paris exhibition of 1867, when suddenly the whole world talked of this masterpiece of Egyptian art, the name Ra-em-ké was given to it. If Renan believed him to be the son-in-law of the king, Fr. Lenormant knew that he was probably of humble descent, though he had nevertheless the honour, or misfortune, to receive as wife a girl of royal blood! By 1887 the legend that he was a Superintendent of Works seems well-established. Maspero writes on the subject": "With the Sheikh one descends several degrees in the social scale. Ramké was Superintendent of Works, probably one of the heads of the corner who built the Great Pyramid, and belonged to the middle classes. He has contentment and bourgeois self-sufficiency written all over him. One sees him standing and surveying his workmen, with a stick of accicia in his hand." In 1895, in his great Ancient History, the same author tells as that "Kaapirou, the Sheikh el-Beled, was probably one of the heads of the corvers who built the Great Pyramid'. In 1911 he adds the following traits': "He was a boorish-looking, stronghacked, squat man, short in the leg, with energetic but common features; he spent his days more often in the office than in the open air, and after the age of fifty suffered from that superabundance of flesh which attacks men of his class and temperament."

DE ROUTE, Album photographique, no. 96,

<sup>4</sup> Du Rount, Rapport sur la Mission accomplia en Egypte en 1863-1864, in Ovuvres Diverses, Vol. 14 (Bibliothèque Égyptologique, Vol. XXIV), p. 320.

<sup>\*</sup> E. RENAN, L'Ancienne Egypte, in Milanges Chistoire et de royages, Paris, 1878, p. 44.

<sup>\*</sup> Fr. Lenormann, L'Autiquité à l'exposition universille—L'Égypte, in the Gaustie des Bouns Arts, no. 23, 1867, pp. 154-7.

MASPERO, Archéologie égyptisane, 1st edition, pp. 209-10.

<sup>&</sup>quot; In., Histoire aucienne, Val. 7, pp. 407-8.

<sup>10.</sup> Histoire générale de l'Art Egypte (Art Unu), p. 88.

We see that, if the history of the Sheikh is brief, his legend tends to develop, bringing ever new confusion into the interpretation of this famous monument. Various names are attributed to him: Ptab-Sé, Ra-em-ké or Ramké, Ka-aper or Kaapirou, not be mention Hotep-her-ichon, of whom we shall speak later and whose name was taken from an offering-table discovered in the same tomb.

Opinions differ as to the date when he lived some tayonring the first half of the Fourth Dynasty (Mariette' and Maspero"), and others the end of the Fifth (Bissing' and Borchardte). He has been made the son-in-law of a king, a Superintendent of Works, a head of corress, and the attempt has been made to define with precision his physical and moral characteristics. We shall see in good time how much of all this can be retained.

The wife of the Sheikh (Pls. XXIII and XXVII, left) has not received much more satisfactory criticism. I have quoted above an extract from Mariette's posthumous book, stating that the torse of the woman was found at the entrance of the chamber. The same statement appears already in the guide to the Boulaq Museum of 1864. Renan, in the article from which I quoted, after speaking of the Sheikh, says that the statue of his wife was found close to him. Lenormant, in the notice of the Gasette des Beaux Arts, repents the same statement and tries, curiously amongh, to give an exact characterization of the disposition of the woman: "It is enough to look at the head of the woman to realize that it was she who were the breeches in that household. With all his administrative importance, Ra-om-ke, to judge by his portrait, was a good sort of fellow, easy-going, and at the same time weak in his private life. The face of his wife reveals a different character. She has tightly closed lips, hard features and a haughty imperious expression. Loaking at them both, the portraits of the woman and her husband, one can easily guess that the latter played the rôle of a sort of prince-consort, singing very low beside his wife." Arthur Rhoné writes in 1877; "That venerable ancestor had with him his wife, whose hust hig at a little distance; a very charming figure of wood, whose distinguished type indicates a finer and more aristogratic mee than that of the master of the house; the physiognamy is a little sardonic and capricions. May she perhaps have been, as has been suggested, a woman of foreign race or of superior rank, some daughter of a king given in marriage to a person of small importance, as was sometimes done in those days ?" Maspere in the first edition of his Archéologie Egyptienne' expresses himself thus: "The image of his wife, which he had caused to be buried beside his own, is unfortunately much damaged: It is no more than a trunk without arms or logs. It is impossible not to recognize in her a good type of Egyptian lady of the middle class, with common features and a prevish expression." The same author, when publishing the torso, repeats that it was found by Mariette in the same tomb in which he discovered the Sheikh el-Beled. In the second edition of the Archéologie Egypticane the unfavourable diagnosis of the woman is accentuated, this being the picture that we get of her: " She is of haughty bourgeois stock, common, pesvish, rude to those who come in contact with her; she is the image of several fellahin women I have met in the

i For example in the Album du Masie de Boulog, notices of Pls. 18 and 19.

<sup>2</sup> For example in the great Histoire excessive, Vol. 1, p. 408, m. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Fa. vox Busarmi, Denkuirler agyptischer Sculptur, untine of Pl. 11.

Вопенанот, ор. од., р. 32.

A. Ruona, L'Egypte à petites journées, p. 82

Paris, 1887, p. 2191

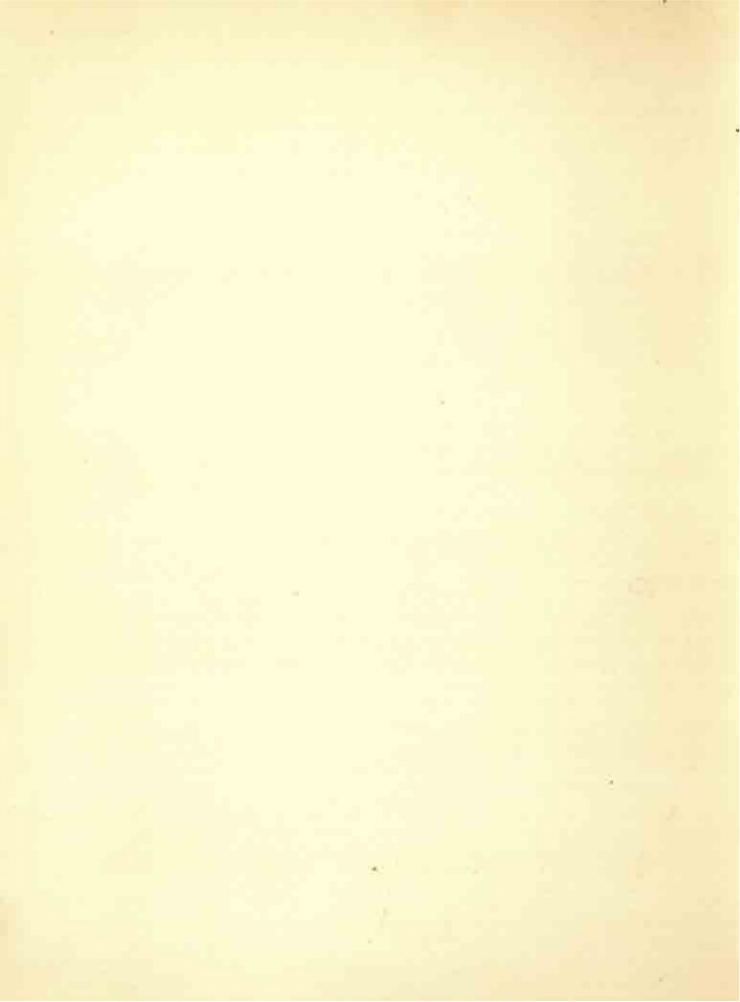
<sup>1</sup> Le Marie Egyptien, Vol. 1, Pl XIV, with pp. 18-14.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Paris, 1007, pp. 214-5





THE TWO STATUES OF RAYNUFER IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM



villages of Upper Egypt, and I can easily imagine that she was no less quick with her tongue when occasion arose for her to mag her husband or to abuse her companions." But from this moment Maspero refuses to consider her as the wife of the Shukh, affirming that the "tradition" relating to her discovery was contradicted by the evidence of Reis Roubi, who was one of Mariette's workmen.

Fortunately, during the winter of 1903-4, the scholars of the Egyptian Research Account, while exploring a number of tembs excavated formerly by Mariette, opened, among others, the tomb of the Sheikh. Miss M. Murray, who published the result of the works, tells us that she had Reis Khalifa, son of Reis Roubi, to direct the excavations, and sho adds that Reis Rouhi, "whose memory was still as keen as ever, then gave instructions to his son where to find inscribed tombs?" The mastaba of the Sheikh was a gigantic mastaba of bricks, to which was joined an exterior chumber, also of bricks, a type of tomb now well known through the excavations at Gizeh to be of the Fourth Dynasty'. Nobody will want to question, after the archaeological discoveries of the first years of this century, that the massive portion of the building and the adjoining chamber belong to one and the same manument. The statues found in the chapel-room are really part of the fanerary furniture of the personage for whom the mastaba had been constructed. Now in this chamber was found, still in place, and let into the mastaba, a magnificent stelk of red granite, formed out of a single block' and bearing one line of inscription of which Mariette has left us a copy. The following signs may be read: In Pollowing, that is to say, "the chief lector-priest Kusaper,"

The Sheikh, then, is a personage whose chief function was of a religious order. His name is Kacaper, which perhaps signifies "well-equipped double"." It would be unwise to attach too much importance to the fact that a table of offerings was found lying in the chapel with "the inscription underneath," and bearing the name of a certain:

[Interpherikhet.] The tomb of this personage in the necropolis of Sakkareh is known; it is the Mastaba D 60 of Mariette, now in the Leyden Museum, of which the inscriptions bear exactly the same titles as are given on the table of offerings found in the chapel of the Sheikh? Miss Murray tells us that "the beautiful wooden statue of the so-called wife of the Sheikh al-Beled was found, Reis Roubi told me, in the doorway leading northward out

Mastrino, Guide de vielteur en Musée de Caire, 1962, p. 27, m. 30. Also fourth English edition, 1908, p. 49 and pp. 55-6.

<sup>\*</sup> M. A. Munnay, Songara Mantaban (Egyptian Research Account), Part I.

<sup>-</sup> UK 112, 11 3

<sup>\*</sup> Compare, for example, the photograph published by H. Junker. Forbericht über die meile Grahung bei den Pyramiden von Girch, 1913 bis 1913, in Anseiger d. phil. hist. Klasse d. Fair Abad. d. Wissensch., 17 June, 1913, Pt. 11.

Sir Guston Maspero in his Guide de sintens on Marie du Carer, 1962, p. 20, writes thus; "the statue was apright in the recess of the granite stala which occupied the western wall of the tomb." Thus is in flat contradiction with the noise of Marietta published in Les Manubes de l'Ancies Empire and quoted above. Further it would be necessary to read 'existen wall' for 'western wall."

<sup>\*</sup>This is a cure name. For its composition we may perhaps compare the foreign name

A. Marente, Les Massabes de Câncies Empire, pp. 340-48; Bousen Bouwenna, Beschreibung der 1999. Samulang....in Luiden: Die Deukmaler des altes Reichen, pp. 11-18, with Pls. V to XXI.

of the tomb!." That is a decisive piece of evidence, taken direct from Rais Roubi's own lips at a moment when the clearing of the comb could hardly full to revive his recallections.

It will be remembered that Mariette declared the statue of the Sheikh to have been found upright at the back of a niche, which in his sketch of a plan appears to be a narrow opening in the wall facing the entrance-cloor. One cannot help being very much surprised, on examining Miss Murray's scrupulously exact plan (see Plate XXV, bottom), to find that Mariette's little niche has become a large one, occupying nearly the whole wall. In face of this fact will it be found too daring to assume, as I have done above, that there must have been two statues and not one, representing Kacaper in two kinds of dress and coffure? The Sheikh has no wig and wears the long garment with the fold at the side. The second statue, in accordance with my previous remarks, ought to exhibit him wearing a wig and short kain-cloth, one part of it perhaps goffered this being the coramonial dress.

I have asked myself whether it would not be possible to find among the statues of the Old Kingdom in the Cairo Museum the counterpart of the Sheikh I propose to recognize it in the torso No. 32 (Plate XXVIII, right; the head alone, Plate XXVIII)\*.

Let us first of all note that on several occasions Maspero has chanced to mention the torso immediately after the Sheikh and his wife. Borchardt, in his Catalogue, describes first the bust, then the woman and then the Sheikh. One might easily believe that the two authors were struck by certain analogies of technique presented by the three pieces. The torso No. 32 is cut out of a piece of wood in the same way as the woman; the arms of the torso are joined to the body by means of pegs like those of the Sheikh. The incrusted eyes have been described by Borchardt in identical terms in the cases both of the torso and of the Sheikh. In both, again, the nipple of the breast is made by means of a small wooden plug fitted into the chest, a rather rare technical procedure which is employed in the case only of the right breast of the woman. An argument which I do not desire to press is the coincidence that the legs are saissing here just as in the case of the Sheikh. Finally, the provenance of the torso is given by Borchardt, who tells us it was discovered at Sakkarch in January 1860. It will be remembered that 1860 is precisely the year in which the Sheikh was discovered.

The tonse shows us a personage wearing a wig and dressed in exactly the kind of garment that is needed to comble us to reconstruct, in connection with the Sherkh, a pair consisting of two figures reproducing the varieties of statues we have noticed in the tomb of Rachüfer, as well as in the burials of Dahshur, Assiut and Mêr.

The conclusions of this article may be rapidly formulated as follows:

1. We have been able to observe that at Assiut, at Mer, at Dahshur and at Sakkarch it was the custom to place statues of the dead in the tomb, representing him in two aspects differing as regards his hairdress and his garment. (a) The first type shows us the person in question without a wig, the hair shaved off, or the cranium covered by a skull-cap; the dress is a long tunic hiding the knees, of which the extremity is held in the right hand or turned back at the right side. (b) The second type wears a wig, of which one perceives

\* 0p. cit., Pl. XXXII.

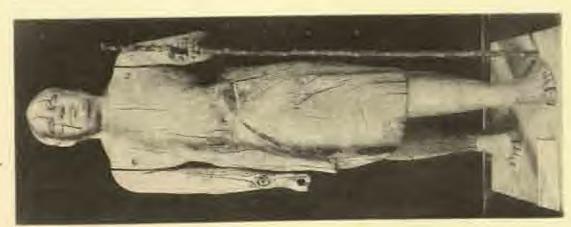
I Bosenskerr, op. etc. p. 31 and P. VIII.

Masseum, Guide, 3rd edition, p. 53; Archeologie Egyptienne, 2nd edition, p. 218.

MURRAY, op. oft. p. 4.

Vassalla quitted Egypt in May 1800 in order to join Garibaldi's army. See Maspero's biography of Mariette (above p. 228, n. 1), p. exi, n. 1.







THE STATUES PRESUMED TO COME FROM MASTABA C.S AT SAKKÄREH 1. The Shalkh d-Reled, 2, The femile Torse, 3 The male Verso No. 12



HEAD OF THE WOODEN TORSO, CAIRO, No. 52

two kinds: (a) the carled wig following the general line of the head, and  $(\beta)$  the wig with locks widening out over the shoulders. The garment in this case is the short loin-cloth, often pleated at the side.

 In the tomb of Rachufer at Sakkareh we have been able to examine the exact position occupied in the chapel by the two stone statues of Bachufer accompanied by the statue of his wife Hekenu.

3. In comparing the arrangements of this latter tomb with that of the Sheikh et-Reled, we have seen that it was possible to remove all doubts as regards the wife of the Sheikh, and to indicate the possibility of the presence of a second male statue in the temb.

4. The examination of the documents relating to the discovery of the Sheikh has revealed the obscurity and uncertainty attaching to this question. Mariette was not present when the discovery was made, and his sketch of the chapel is faulty.

5. The excavations of the Egyptian Research Account fortunately give us more precise information. The temb dates from the Fourth Dynasty, and the defunct was a priest and was called Kataper.

6. Finally we have seen that it is not too rash to suppose that the bust No. 32 of the Cairo Museum belonged to the same tomb. If we admit this thesis, we are thereby embled to assume for the Sheikh a pair of statues for the man, supplemented by the statue of the woman, comparable to the set of statues in the tomb of Rachufer.

The most serious objection to my thesis, and one which will certainly be brought, is the great difference that exists between the two heads which I propose to attribute, not-withstanding this fact, to Kacaper. I hope to have the opportunity of showing in another article that this objection is not as vital as it might seem to be at first sight, and that the problem of the portrait-statues of the Old Kingdom will have to be dealt with it a different way than has been done up to the present. The hypothesis that the difference in age explains the difference of features in statues of one and the same person does not solve the difficulty satisfactorily. In conclusion, I will beg those who disagree with me to examine critically the different statues of Khephren found in the temple of his pyramids.

Two male and one female status seem in many cases. In the temb of Nakht at Assiat the statuette of a woman rested upon one of the two great statues of the men. Cf. also the two statues of Sepa and the one of Ness in the Louve. In the statue-chamber of the teach of Hesy at Sakkarch there are still three bases, the disposition and size of which suggest a similar grouping, see Quinant, Executions of Seppera (1911-12), (laire, 1913, Pt. I. I cannot here discuss the question of the double statues or the deable statue of the pseudo-groups of the Old Kingdom.

The sculptor of the tomb of Ti, in the macription relating to the transport of statues, has desired to mark the difference existing between two types of standing statues. The determination of the word for "statue" shaws us three statues, in conformity with the rule by which the triple representation of the determinative or of the word-sign errors to indicate the plural. These three statues are, nevertheless, different; one is seated, the other two are standing. In the case of the latter, it will be remarked that the first one wears the round wig that follows generally the contour of the skull, and the garmous with the triangular agron; the second has the broad wig sidming towards the base, and the cleak shows the transverse fold. It is not quite the same state of affilian as on the statues with which we have been concerned, but the distinction is an analogous one. See Strixbouir, Das Grech des Ti, Pl. 61, left descripset.

<sup>3</sup> W. Sermannum, Die Deretdlung des Alters in der alteren aggetischen Kunst vor dem Mittleren Beich, in Zeitsche, f. agent, Sprache, Vol. 54, np. 67—73.

I. Bournauer, Die Statisenfragmente aus dem alten Reich, in Hörsennu, Des Grabdenkwal des Königs Chophress, pp. 89 foll., with Pl. XVI.

# THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF GREEK PAPYRI

### By H. IDRIS BELL, M.A.

In is a commonplace that in the writing of history the present age is pre-eminently the age of documents. Not, indeed, that the use of documents—by which I mean all historical evidences other than written history or oral tradition—is a modern innovation. Herodotus houself used documents of a sort, Thucydides yet more obviously; and their example has been followed by innumerable successors. But only within the last half-century has the search for documentary evidence become so systematic, its unilization attained such scientific precision, as at present. This multiplication of documents is not, perhaps, an ammixed benefit to the historian. It is a fallacy to assume, as some researchers appear to do, that historians and oral tradition may lie but that documents cannot; and moreover their accumulation may easily become an embarrassment and the historian disappear beneath a flood of references like M. Tapir in Anatole France's Ile des Pingonias. Nevertheless, an abundance of documents neither removes the necessity nor precludes the possibility of cultivating the art as well as the science of history; and with whatever reserves we may qualify our enthusiasm for documentary research it remains true that to make accessible any new source of such evidence is to do a service to historical study.

These remarks are of course truisms which need no emphasizing for members of a body like the Egypt Exploration Society, whose primary aim is to discover and give to the world documents of various kinds, but it is no had thing at times to take stock of our position, and it seemed to me that it might serve a useful purpose to sketch briefly certain of the advantages which may be obtained from a study of one class of our documents, the Greek papyri. It is of course impossible in a paper of this kind, even to touch upon the imnumerable points of detail which the papyri illustrate; my object is merely to indicate some of the chief directions in which they may prove useful to others than the mere specialist in

papyrology.

In the first place, the papyri serve, like all such records, to correct the false focus in which we are so upt to see the past. As we read the works of historians we come to regard history as a succession of outstanding personalities and of dramatic or epoch-making ovents; while, if we study social and economic rather than political history, the economic processes, the social changes which have moulded the destinies of nations, are there presented to us with a clearness and a logical coherence of which we are not conscious in the events of our own time, and which, we may be sure, were not perceived by contemporaries. When, however, we turn from the writings of historians to the documents of the period with which they deal we are at once struck by a curious want of correspondence between them. I remember, for example, my own disappointment, when working at English charters during my first year at the British Museum, to find how slight were the traces left upon them by the events of English history. I must have read some hundreds of charters dated during the Wars of the Bosses; but I cannot recall a single reference in

A locinre given for the Egypt Exploration Society, Fel. 20, 1920.

them to that disastrons conflict, a single indication that anything unusual was happening in England; and much the same remark might be made of the Great Civil War, a struggle which was of far more universal concern than the Wars of the Roses. This is surprising enough in mere legal deeds like charters; but when, in reading the Greek papyri, which comprise not only such deeds but public and private correspondence and administrative documents of all kinds, we find how rare even there is any allusion to the events of history as ordinarily understood, the discovery assumes a significance not to be mistaken. "History," it is clear, for the average man, affects but the smallest part of life. Even when the papyri do, by an exception, refer to historical events, they present them under an aspect very different from that of the historian. Esthladas, for example, in the well-known Paris papyrus, writes to his father as follows:

"I have several times written to you to play the man and take care of yourself until things settle down, and now again you will do well to encourage yourself and those of our circle. For news has come that Paes is sailing up in the month of Tybi with considerable forces to suppress the insurgents at Harmonthis and to treat them as rebels. Look after my sisters too, and Pelops and Stachys and Sonathyris."

We would gladly know more of this insurrection at Hermonthis, of the causes which led to it, of the forces on each side, of the course it ran before it was put down; and if we can hardly expect Esthladas, writing to encourage his father and not for purposes of historical record, to relate for our benefit facts which must have been only too painfully familiar to his correspondent, yet we might at least hope to learn something of the popular attitude towards these events, but no such information is to be got from his letter. To the historian Esthladas is of importance merely for the glimpse he gives us of the insurrection, but to him the insurrection was of importance only for its bearing on his own destiny and that of his family. And so it is in other cases. Among the papyri from Apollonopolis Parva, consisting largely of the papers of Apollonias, strategus of that nome, is to be found important evidence concerning the great revolt of the Jaws in the reign of Trajan; but it is eastful and fragmentary, dropped by accident as it were amid the heat and tension of a crisis too actual to be regarded as the material of history. Thus, in one of these papyri, Afine, the wife of the strategus, writes to her husband, who has left for what we may call the front:

"I am constantly sleepless, filled night and day with the one anxioty for your safety. Only my father's attentions kept my spirits up, and on New Year's Day I assure you I should have gone to bed fasting but that my father came in and compelled me to cat. I implore you therefore to take care of yourself and not face the danger without a guard; but just as the strategus here leaves the bulk of the work to the magistrates, you do the same!"

To that rather solumn person the historian it is a matter of supreme indifference that Aline should have spent a sleepless night or failed to enjoy the New Year festivities, nor is be much concerned for the fate of Apollonius, who is to him merely a cog in the wheel of the Roman administrative machine; but Aline resolutely refuses to take the historian's point of view. She may probably enough have shared the popular detestation of what one

WHICKEN, Chrest. 10. The date is 131-130 a.c.

<sup>2</sup> P. Giss. 19. It should be added that the letter does not expressly state that Apollonius was then ongaged in tighting the Jews, but in view of the other evidence in the collection there can hardly be a doubt of it.

of these letter-writers calls the "impious Jews," but her prime concern is not for the fortunes of their rising, still less for the issues involved in the struggle between the majesty of the Roman power and the chosen people; she is not even anxious that Apollonius should, in the cant phrase of the war, "do his bit"; for to her he is not a character of history at all but a concrete individual, her husband and the father of her children.

Most often, however, the papyri do not vouchsafe us even such scanty glimpses into the recorded events of history as these. It is the common events of daily life, the little vexations or triumphs, the petty schemes of forgotten men, with which they deal. Perhaps a trivial instance will illustrate this as well as another.

The twenty years from a.b. 250 to 270 witnessed many remarkable and important events. Emperors rese and fell, pretenders to the Imperial dignity appeared, to win success or to fail, the unprecedented spectacle was seen of a Roman Emperor taken prisoner by the Persians, Germanic invaders penetrated deep into the Empire, Athens was sacked by the Goths, Antioch taken by the Persians, a great postilence ravaged Europe and the East, the systematic evangelization of Gaul began; and if from political we turn to economic history we find that process of decay and disintegration going on which led to the great financial crisis at the end of the century and left to later Emperors a legacy of trouble and difficulty from which the Empire never recovered. During these eventful years' there was living at Arsinoe, the capital of the Fayyum, a certain Alypius, a man of considerable substance, and a lessee of extensive domain lands. Among the papers of Heronians, one of his agents, is to be found much of his correspondence, together with other papers relating to his property. Now, it is not with external events that this correspondence deals; the capture of Valerian, the fall of Antioch, the destinies of Emperors and pretenders find no echo there; its themes are the details of agricultural routine and domestic economy. On Jan, 17, 256, Alypius wrote to Heroninus to announce his impending visit, and it is interesting to extract a short passage from his letter :-

"By God's will expect us to come to you on the 23rd; as soon therefore as you receive my letter have the bath well heated, ordering logs to be carried for it and collecting chaff from every side in order that we may have a hot bath this wintry weather; for we have determined to stay at your house, since we are going to inspect the other establishments also and to regulate the affairs of yours. Take care to prepare all other requisites also, above all a good pig for our companions; but see that it is a good one, not a lean, useless thing like last time?"

Which things are an allegory. The historian will of course record for us the fortunes and misfortunes of the Emperors, the soldiers, the statesmen, and will trace the economic processes and social changes of the period; but at the same time, if he is a judicious historian, he will not neglect the doings of Alypius and his kind; he will remember that to the average man, who, in all ages and all countries, makes up at least ninety-five per cent, of the human race, there is a charm in roast pig which not the fall of Empires nor the dethronement of minemorial deities can wholly take away:

But, it will perhaps be objected, do you really suggest that the historian should fill his pages with the doings of obscure men and women preserved for us by the chance survival of a few papyri? Is he to neglect the great personalities who have influenced, the great events which have marked, the development of human history, in order that he may

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The satreme date- found in the correspondence of Alypius are actually 254 and 268.
<sup>2</sup> P. Flor. 11, 127.

chronicle the small beer of Egyptian villagers! The task is impracticable and of no profit; for it is the very function of the historian to select the more important facts from the less important, and out of the taugle of innumerable particulars to extricate the main threads which determine the texture of the world's life.

That is of course true, but it is not the end of the matter. Greek papyri may still be of the highest utility alike to the writer and to the student of history. To the historian they will serve as the "acid test" of the objectivity and concreteness with which he presents his narrative. In writing history, where it is necessary to select and arrange the material, and from a multitude of small details to deduce the general sequence of events, nothing is easier than to lose touch with reality, to schematize the development too much, and to make statements more sweeping than the facts justify. The best safeguard against this fault is to steep oneself in the life of the time and by the study of such more personal documents as have survived to learn in what way contemporaries reacted to the events of their day, what were their moods and sentiments, what their general attitude to hife. Even in the end history must inevitably give a foreshortened and too highly coloured view of its subject-matter; and it is for this reason that the student of history, if he wishes to acquire a just appreciation of the past, will do well to supplement his reading of historians by the study of such documents as the Greek papyri.

What I have said applies of course to all historical study; but it has a special significance for Greek papyri. For the remoter the age we deal with, the greater is apt to be that distortion of which I have spoken, while at the same time documents of the more intimate and personal kind grow rarer. Now the papyri furnish a wealth and variety of material to which there is no parallel in any other branch of ancient history; and while it would of course be absurd to apply to other parts of the Graeco-Roman world the information as to points of detail which we derive from them, yet the general impression may. I think, fairly be taken as valid for the whole of it; and thus, not the specialist on Egypt only but the student of ancient history in general will find it very profitable to pay more attention to papyrological evidence.

This, then, is the first advantage I would claim for papyrological study, that it tends to correct the necessarily false focus in which history is presented to us. The second is really but an extension of the first. It is that the papyri reveal to us a class not represented in the works of historians. We tend to conceive the story of the remote past as a great drama played out between distinguished personalities, the men and women exceptional by their talents or the circumstances of their lives; while behind them, guessed at rather than seen, the dull, grey, neutral material out of which these protagonists of history carve their empires or build their polities, we are half conscious of other lives, that vast majority of the human race whose deeds no historian has recorded and of whose names and fortunes no memorial remains. But that is not our attitude to the history of our own times. We do not regard ourselves as merely foils for the glory or infanny of the Chemenceaus and Lloyd Georges and Bethmann-Hollwegs, the Fochs and Ludendorffs. Rather, these men are to as the representatives and executants of the popular will, and we estimate their good or ill success by the degree in which they promote the general well-being. Their political raison d'être lies, we feel, not in the great events with which history will associate their names but in the routine of ordinary life, the commerce and agriculture, the social progress, the science and art in which we are ourselves engaged and which, in practice, we assume to be the chief end of our existence.

Such is our own attitude; and when we study the records which the men of other ages have left us we find that such was them also. A philosophical view of history will, I think, approve this attitude; will see the protagonists of history not in the distinguished few but in the undistinguished many who profited by their labours or suffered for their errors, and the real stuff and substance of history not in the events which historians have made famous but in the common activities of daily life. The popular view confuses the drama with the setting. It is in the unrecorded events that the true drama lies; the kings and "purple tyrants," the soldiers, the statesmen, the adventurers, are no more than the framework of history; and in the last analysis Alexander has conquered, Octavian disputed the mastery of the world with Antony, Louis XIV and Napoleon have schemed and agonized, only in order that the common man might till his land and barter his wares and marry and beget children and be gathered to his fathers in peace. In his heart the common man knows this. He spares for the great ones of the earth the attention of an idle hour, and then turns with renewed zest to the ordinary pleasures and personal cares which fill up the measure of his days:

"Brightness falls from the air; Queens have died young and fair; Dust hath closed Helan's eye";

but Hodge will enjoy his beans and bacon and Alypins and his friends sample their roast pig with none the less gusto on that account.

Unfortunately the further we get from our own days the more difficult does it become to discover what were the activities and the mental attitude of the average man, and for the greater part of ancient history we have no material whatever. Society in classical Athens finds, in varying degree, some illustration in the comedies of Aristophanes, the dialogues of Plato, the Memorabilio of Xenophon, and the speeches of the Attic orators; but their evidence is fortuitous and partial. For Athens of the third century a.c., we have the New Comedy, whether in the still scanty Greek fragments or in the imitations of the Roman poets; but the New Comody is too conventional and too limited in range to be a satisfactory source of information, and we may be sure that there were wide circles of Athenian society as little represented there as the world revealed to us by Mme. Craven's Le Récit d'une Saur in Balzac's Comédie Humaine. The correspondence of Cicero, invaluable for the life of the official and upper classes in the last days of the Republic, throws no light on the lower grades of the social order. Only in the Greek papyri have we a fairly representative mass of evidence for the social life of almost all classes, from the well-to-do circles represented in the papers of the strategus Apollonius to the small peasant and artizan. Their letters show us something of their religious and moral ideas and social habits, while the miscellaneous documents reveal the sconomic processes, the legal transastions, the communal life, the administrative practice of Graeco-Ronan Egypt.

True, even here, the evidence is not as complete as we might wish. There are many points on which we would fain have more light, and the fumbling sentences and conventional formulae of the private letters often leave us in doubt what the writers meant or how far they really meant it. Nevertheless, the paperi are of inestimable value, a rich quarry of historical material, and it is a quarry still but little worked. Various legal and administrative questions have been treated in detailed and valuable monographs, and of late, especially in Italy, good work has been done on the broader and more general questions of social life and mental atmosphere; but far more must be done before we can pretend to

have exhausted the field.

Moreover, the papyri do not illustrate merely the life of the common man; they illustrate also the life of the common woman, and that is perhaps an even greater service when we consider how little we know of the daily activities and the point of view of women in the ancient world. Prof. Schubart has recently published a brief survey of the papyrus material illustrating this subject?, while Signorina Mondini\* has dealt with the letters of women in Egypt; but these articles are only brief and provisional. A really systematic investigation into the whole of the evidence would be an invaluable contribution to social history.

But the evidence of papyri does not end with women; it extends also to children, several of whom it brings before us with a considerable measure of concreteness and individuality; and it furnishes precious material for the whole life of the Graeco-Egyptian family, in its various aspects. Now the "spoilt boy" of Oxyrhynchus writes that if his father will not take him to Alexandria "I won't write you a letter or speak to you or say good-bye to you"; now a boy of a different kind, and with an enthusiasm for study which would perhaps strike the average school-boy of to-day as morbid, implores his father to visit his schoolmaster "in order that he may teach me, as he is eager to do," but conforms more closely to the modern type in his postscript, "Remember our pigeons." In one papyrus a father urges his son to devote his whole attention to his studies; from another we learn that the son of the house was studying the sixth book of the Riads, and those of as who remember with what delight we first heard the "strong-winged music of Homer" will feel an instinctive sympathy with this long-dead Egyptian boy. That dark blot on ancient life, the practice of exposing unwanted infants, which was among the stock motives of the New Comedy and which we might easily come to regard as little more than a literary convention, acquires for us a sudden actuality when we find the writer of a papyrus letter telling his wife, with reference to an expected child, "if it is a boy let it live, if it is a girl expose it," or when we read the report of a trial concerning a foundling "picked up from the gutters." One letter introduces us to a family dispute concerning the feeding of a newly-arrived infants; and references to birthdays and family festivals are not infrequent. The squabbles or mutual affection of husband and wife, the good or ill fortune which followed marriage, find frequent illustration. A letter, by no means accomplished in style but of an extraordinary vividness and emotional intensity, brings before us a prodigal son, repentant in his utter ruin"; in another a young soldier, with a satisfaction which has more than a tinge of sangness, thanks his father for his good appringing, which encourages him to hope for speedy premotion in his military careers, and the writer of a letter recently acquired by the British Museum, reproving his brothers for their inconsiderate treatment of their mother, declares, "we ought to reverence our mother like a goddess, especially such a good mother as ours"."

Of course, the paper concern only one portion of the ancient world, and that a portion which, in many ways, occupied an exceptional position; but many of the persons we meet in Ptolemaic paper; especially in those of the third century h.c., were Greeks, who had not changed their psychology with their place of residence; while in the Roman and still more the Byzantine periods there was a strong tendency to a certain cultural unity throughout

<sup>1</sup> Die Fran im griech. rom. Agypten, in Intern. Monatuschr. f. Wiss., Knust n. Techn., 10, pp. 1503-1539.

Letters fomminili nei papiri greco-egist, in Studi d. sc. pap., 2 (1917), pp. 0-28.

P. Oxy. 119.
 P. Lond. Inv. No. 1575 verso.
 P. Oxy. 531 = Wilcker, Chront. 482.
 P. Oxy. 930.
 P. Oxy. 744.
 P. Oxy. 37.
 P. Lond. 951 = Wilcker, Chront. 483.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> BGU, 846. <sup>11</sup> BGU, 422=Willower, Chron. 480. <sup>12</sup> P. Lond. Inv. No. 2102.

the eastern part of the Roman Empire. We can use the evidence of papyri for the general life of the Greek East only with the greatest caution; but with due caution it can and ought to be so used.

I spoke just now of the light thrown by the papyri on administrative practice; and this suggests another direction in which they are of value to the student of ancient history. The administrative system of Egypt was too individual, in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, to furnish direct evidence for other parts of the Gracco-Roman workl, and even in the Byzantine period, when a fairly high degree of uniformity was attained throughout the eastern half of the Empire, we have to allow for local peculiarities; but the number of possible—or at least of convenient and obvious—methods of notarial and administrative procedure is limited, and in any age there is usually a tendency to a general similarity. The papyrus documents written outside Egypt, like the well-known boxer's diploma in the British Museum, and even those on other materials than papyrus, the Dacian wax tablets for instance or the parchment deeds from Avroman recently published by Mr Minns' along with obvious differences, show striking resemblances to the papyri from Egypt; and Prof. Preisigke, in a recent monograph on the inscription of Scaptoparene, has used Egyptian evidence, to very good effect, in elucidating the various problems he discusses. Moreover, Egypt was pre-eminently the home of bureaucratic administration, and Egyptian methods were not without influence elsewhere - a subject, by the way, which requires and would doubtless repay more detailed investigation than it has yet received.

Thus, despite such differences as I have admitted, students interested in the subject of ancient administration, not only in the Roman Empire and the Hellenistic monarchies but even in the city states of Greece, may profit considerably by a study of the paperi. Nothing gives so clear and vivid an idea of the actual machinery of government and daily life as to see and handle these documents, to observe the hands and the arrangement of the text, the subscriptions and dockets and registration marks, the methods of folding and scaling; and teachers of ancient history would be well advised to acquaint their students with facsimiles of characteristic texts and even to visit with them any exhibition of papyri which may be accessible.

But the value of papyri in this sphere is not confined to matters of detail. Here again they bring in the human factor, the concrete as opposed to the abstract. In no department of history is that danger of excessive schematization to which I have alluded so obvious as in the treatment of administration. When we have constructed, whether from law-books, enactments and historical works or from actual documents, the general scheme of organization, we are upt to think that we know, without more ado, how a country was actually governed; and we sometimes find it difficult to understand why a system which looks excellent on paper should have worked so badly in practice; or, conversely, why a system obviously clumsy and imperfect should not have been more conspicuously unsuccessful. The fact is, administrative theory and administrative practice do not often coincide very closely, and did so far less in the ancient world than with us, for the simple reason that the system has to be worked not by machines but by men, with all the unaccountable element for which we have to allow in considering human activities. Now, the papyri show us the actual working, not the abstract scheme conceived by the legislator. Perhaps I may be excused if I again take a somewhat trivial instance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Paralements of the Parthian Period from Acroman in Kurdistan, in Journ. Hell. Stud., 25 (1915), pp. 22—63.

In Gracco-Roman Egypt the temples were subjected to a very strict state control, and were periodically visited by government inspectors. A papyrus found at Tebtunis' contains a second-century letter from one temple official to another concerning one of these inspections. The relevant portion is as follows:

"You must know that an inspector of finance in the temples has arrived and intends to go to your division also. Do not be disturbed on this account, as I will get you off. So if you have time write up your books and come to me; for he is a very stern fellow. If anything detains you, send them on to me and I will see you through, as he has become my friend. If you are in any difficulty about expense and at present have no funds write to me, and I will get you off now as I did at first. I am making haste to write to you in order that you may not put in an appearance yourself; for I will make him let you through before he comes to you. He has instructions to send recalcitrants under guard to the high-priest."

In those of us who during the war were employed in a Government office-and the number of those who were not must be small—this very human document will strike a sympathetic chord. We shall doubtless recall how on such-and-such a day the word was passed round the office that Colonel So-and-So or General Somebody Else was bound to us on a visit of inspection; how in a moment a department which had shown, let us now confess it, only too evident signs of what we may perhaps call "war weariness" was transformed into a hive of industry; how we developed a zeal and a power of concentration which we had never before suspected in ourselves; and how, after a more or less perfunctory inspection, the Colonel or the General departed in a glow of patriotic enthusiasm, more than ever convinced of the starling qualities of the British race. We know in our own experience that official inspections may all too easily degenerate into a farce; the papyri show us that it was not otherwise in antiquity. They show us indeed more; for they reveal, as does by implication, the letter I have quoted, the presence of a factor which, we are entitled to believe, is wanting in our own Government offices, that of deliberate and persistent corruption. And apart from corruption, as we read the documents themselves, and note the little carelessnesses, the accidental omissions, the signs of hasty and perfunctory work. we shall realize more clearly the part which human fallibility plays in the drama of history.

Another point to which attention must be drawn is the utility of papyri for the history of law. On the importance of this subject it is hardly necessary to dwell. Law may seem, to a layman, very dull, and sometimes, be it confessed, very foolish; but it is, so to say, the cemant which holds society together, and though it usually has behind the more advanced moral consciousness of a nation, it yet furnishes invaluable evidence for the history of civilization and for social and economic progress. Law-books, however, are by themselves an unsafe guide, since the law as actually practised usually differs in some degree from the prescriptions found in them. Historians have, for example, from the Brehon Laws of Ireland or the Laws of Hywel Dda in Wales drawn far-reaching inferences as to the state of culture in those countries during the Middle Ages; but if one reads these codes critically one is forced to the conclusion that, with their artificial symmetry, their triads and heptads and fantastic classifications, they represent rather the theories of jurists than the actual practice of the courts. The Celts have of course always been given to rather airy theorizing, but they are not peculiar in this want of correspondence between legal theory and legal practice.

Thus Mr J. C. Davies, in a recent paper on the law of felony in Edwardian Wales', says, in discussing his sources, that the Statute of Rhuddian "expressed the ideal which was to be aimed at rather than any condition that really existed. When medieval legislation is being considered it is execution rather than emergenent which is important."

It might indeed be thought that though all this is true enough of medieval society, with its rather primitive law and the amarchic tendencies of the feudal or tribal system, yet under the Pax Romana, and with the imposing structure of Roman law, the theory would correspond more or less exactly with the practice. As a matter of fact, the study of documents, and particularly of papyri, proves that this was not so; and it has been the special service of Mitteis and his followers to show how tenaciously the local and national maintained itself against the Imperial law; that indeed it profoundly influenced and modified the Imperial law itself. Not only after the Constitutio Automina, when the sudden admission to citizenship of so many non-Romans might be expected to cause some disorganization, but even before that event, Roman citizens in Egypt did not by any means always follow in their logal transactions the rules of Roman law; and every new papyrological study of some particular legal problem brings additional evidence for this:

But this is not all. Our legal authorities, the Codes, the Institutions, the Digesta the Novellae, do not even furnish a complete idea of the Imperial law itself. Their evidence heaves many points obscure and must be supplemented, if possible, by that of documents. Moreover, changes in the law are not always recorded in our extant legal sources. One illustration of this fact may purhaps be quoted. The late Joan Maspero, in the first volume of his catalogue of the Cairo Byzantine Papyri, published a sixth-century text relating to the old Greek institution of apokeryzis, by which a man might disown and disinherit a child, in this particular case a daughter. Though a popular subject of rhetorical declamations, apokeryais was not recognized by Roman law; and since the document in question has no dating clause, omits the names of the parties, and has many corrections, the editor, followed by most jurists, took it as a mure rhetorical exercise. Prof. Cuq of Paris, however, in an elaborate study of the text, maintained that it was a draft of an actual deed, and suggested that Justinian had legalized the institution in a lost Novella. Sure enough, in his third volume M. Maspero was able to publish another deed of apokergais, about the documentary character of which there can be no doubt whatever. Thus it appears that Justiman did introduce a Novella recognizing and adopting into the Imperial system the institution of apokerysis, but that all trace of it has disappeared?

There are other subjects on which the papyri provide us with evidence of more than local significance; but with these I must deal very briefly. One of them is that of popular religion in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Concerning the most interesting phase of this, the oriental mystery cults which during these periods were the most vital part of paganism and proved the most formidable rivals of Christianity, the papyri tell us disappointingly little; but a few noteworthy texts have been discovered, chiefly in the last

Stift., 37 (1916), pp. 177-230, or V. Abangio-Ruiz, Applications del divito giustiniamo in Egitto, in Asgyptus, 1 (1920), pp. 21-36.

<sup>1</sup> Felony in Edwardian Wales, in Transactions of ..... Sec. of Cymerodorion, 1916-17, pp. 145-196.

Sec. for example, Taunes Educate article Die Patrio Potestas im Recht der Papyri, in Zeitsche, d. San-

<sup>\*</sup> Praisibly, indeed, no Novella was ever smeeted introducing the institution into the Imperial law; it was accepted only as a local practice or perhaps oven was merely recognized as customary law in the local courts. See, e.g., Ananno-Rutz, op. cit., pp. 25 fall., P. M. MEYER, Jarvinische Pappyri (Berlin, 1920), p. 25.

three or four years. Such is the hymn to Isis published in Part XI of the Oxyrhyachus Papyri', a document of the first importance for the Isis worship. Such, again, is a recently published decree of Ptolemy Philopator, ordering all celebrants of the Dionysus mysteries to proceed to Alexandria and produce their credentials'—apparently an attempt to establish a sort of "apostolic succession" for this cult. Evidence of unusual value for the Mithras cult has, according to one view, been found in a large portion of a litargy embedded in a late magical papyrus"; part of an Orphic ritual is preserved in a papyrus at Dublin, the publication of which is expected shortly; and the Sarapis cult is illustrated not only by several invitations to cult meals "at the table of the lord Sarapis" but by a recently-published letter of the third century e.c., the writer of which relates to the Finance Minister, Apollonius, how Sarapis had repeatedly appeared to him in dreams and ordered him to urge Apollonius to build him a temple, and how, owing to his failure to comply, the god had visited him with sickness.

Most often, however, it is not such details, the ritual or what we may call the theology of paganism, that the papyri reveal to us, but the popular attitude to religion. No doubt their evidence is often ambiguous; for conventional phrases were as common then as now and the mere expression of gratitude or devotion to the gods may carry little enough of genuine religious feeling; but sometimes the note is unmistakeable. Thus, when Apion, newly arrived at Rome after a perilous voyage, writes to his father, "I give thanks to the lord Serapis because when I was in danger at sea he saved me immediately," we can recognize a real emotion. So too in Serenus's words, " By the help of the gods our sisting has taken a turn for the better, and our brother Harpocration also is safe and well; for our ancestral gods always help us, giving us health and safety," or in the letter of Tays, the slave of the strategus Apollonius, to her master!, "I was terribly anxious, muster, on hearing that you were out of sorts, but thanks be to all the gods that they preserve you beyond our expectation ... Would that we could fly and come and make obeisance to you "-in niterances like these there is clearly far more than more convention. And on the other hand we get vivid illustrations of the strictly commercial attitude towards the gods so typical of primitive societies, the expectation that the gods will requite their worshippers devotion with a quid pro quo; as when one of our ancient letter-writers declares, " As the gods have not spared me, so will I not spare the gods," or another, still more pradential, says, " Know that I am not going to pay the god any attention if I do not first get back my son." The subject of popular religious sentiment has recently been discussed in an interesting article by Signor Chedini, but he by no means exhausts it, and much more can still be done by a study of the papyrus evidence as a whole,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. Oxy. 1380.

See Schubart, Prolomaios Philopator and Dionysos, in Amil. Berichte and den Kgl. Kunstsammlungen, 38 (1917), 189-198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See A. Dietericu, Eins Mithrasliturgie, 1903. This view is, bowever, opposed by Camont and Bider; see, e.g., Rivez, La liturgie des mystères cher les Nún-plataniciens (Bull, de l'Acad. Roy, de Balgique, 1919), p. 2.

PSL rv, 435 and P. Edgar 7 (Ann. de Service, 18, 1918, pp. 173-6).

<sup>\*</sup> P. Oxy. vi. 935 = Wildiam, Chrost. 480.

<sup>7</sup> P. Giss. 17 - Windgen, Closest. 481. It is not indeed curtain that Tays was a slare, which is only an inference of the editor's, and, though probable, not a necessary one.

<sup>\*</sup> P. Oxy. vit, 1005 (=Witchen, Obvest, 120) and note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ui alemai elementi religiori pagani nell'opiatale private grache dei papiri, in Scull della scuota papirelogica, Milan, 2 (1917), pp. 51-76.

The religious significance of the papyri does not, however, cease with paganism. They throw much light also on the earlier history of popular Christianity, and are all the more valuable since monasticism, so important in medieval history, derives its origin from Egypt. On the churches and monasteries, their organization and methods of administering their estates, on the place taken in the general life of society by monks and clergy, and on the gradual permeation of Christian ideas into the general consciousness, they contain a mass of evidence still very largely unused by historians. Moreover, it is of great utility to trace, in papyri and other documents, the borrowings of Christianity from paganism; how Christian saints, like Cosmus and Damian or the Archangel Michael, succeeded to pagan gods, how the pagan consultation of oracles was adapted to a Christian setting, how the pagan practice of seeking a cure for sickness in the temples was extended and ennobled in the Christian hospitals. On the other hand it is interesting to compare and contrast pagan and Christian sentiment, as, for example, in two letters of condolence which chance has preserved for us. The first is the letter of Irene to her friends on the loss of their child, a document which is very well known but which I must quote again for the purpose of comparison:

"Irene to Taonnophris and Philo, good cheer. I was as much grieved and wept as much over the blessed one as I wept over Didymas and I did all that was fitting and so likewise all my household, Epaphroditus and Thermathion and Philion and Apollonius and Plantas. But nevertheless one can do nothing against such things. Therefore comfort yourselves. Good fortune to you."

The other is a much mutilated letter to be published in the forthcoming sixteenth

part of the Oxyrhyachus Papyri, of which I can quote only the middle portion:

"By God, my master, neither just men nor sinners ever suffered what you suffered; and nevertheless your sins are nought. But we glorify God because it was He who gave and He that bath taken away; but pray that the Lord may give them rest and may grant you grace to sing among them in Paradise when the souls of men are judged. For they are gone to the bosom of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob. But I oxhor! you master, not to.....ruin your fortunes, but pray that the Lord may set (?) you in His favour. For the Lord has many good things and makes the sorrowful [to be of good cheer (?)] if they desire a blessing from Him, and we hope in God that through this grief the Lord may send joy to you and to your blessed brother."

Again, the papyri furnish much valuable evidence regarding that economic decay which was one of the prime factors in the decline and field of the Roman Empire. Each province had, of course, its own special problems, but the main processes at work were everywhere similar, and a study of the conditions prevailing in Egypt will help greatly towards an understanding of this very perplexing question. On a small department of the main subject, the debasement of the coinage and the consequent extraordinary economic slump at the end of the third century, papyrus documents throw much light; and it is surprising that numismutiats have hitherto, with a few exceptions, made so little use of them. A vivid illustration of the state of affairs about the middle of the century is given, for example, by the following proclamation, found at Oxyrhynchus and published in Part XII of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri<sup>2</sup>:

"From Aurelius Ptolemaeus also called Nemosianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite

nome. Since the officials have assembled and accused the bankers of the banks of exchange of having closed them on account of their unwillingness to accept the divine coin of the Emperors, it has become necessary that an injunction should be issued to all the owners of the banks to open them, and to accept and exchange all coin except the absolutely spurious and counterfeit, and not to them only, but to all who engage in business transactions of any kind whatsoever, knowing that if they disobey this injunction they will experience the penalties already ordained for them in the past by his highness the practeet."

Egypt has, moreover, given us many documents, not papyri only but wax or wooden tablets, ostraca, and the like, which illustrate the educational methods of the ancient world. Here, more even than elsewhere, we must be cautious in generalizing the evidence, since it is unlikely that the provincial schools of Egypt can have resembled very closely the best of these established in the great centres of Greek culture, still less the institutions for higher education, like the Universities of Athens or Alexandria; but they were probably typical of the more elementary schools throughout the Graeco-Roman world.

Lastly, this immense mass of documents, ranging over a period of more than a thousand years and proceeding from persons of every degree of culture and social status, contains evidence, whose value can hardly be exaggerated, for the history of the Greek language. Here too reserves must be made; we have to allow for local peculiarities, for the influence of Egyptian idious and pronunciation; but the fact that the language of the papyri has so many features which characterize medieval and modern (freek shows that in the main the Greek of Egypt conformed to tendencies operative throughout the whole of the Hellenic world.

I have in the foregoing pointed out several subjects which require further investigation. The science of papyrology now covers so wide a field, the number of published texts is so great, the problems they raise are of so special a kind and concern so many matters of minute detail, that few but specialists can hope to deal adequately with the vast mass of material; and it is to the specialist we must look if the papyri are to be utilized to the full. It should be his task to study them from different points of view, to summarize and digest their evidence on various points, and to present his results in monographs which will relieve the non-specialist from the task of examining the thousands of documents available. The question naturally arises: what is our own country doing towards this work? I have had the curiosity to collect, from the bibliographies compiled by me for the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, some statistics bearing on this point, with the following results. I find that in the four bibliographies bitherto published I have noticed the appearance of twenty-nine separate volumes or parts of volumes of papyrus texts, literary or non-literary. Of these seven, or a little over twenty-four per cent., were published in this country; and the percentage is really more favourable than appears at first sight, since several of the foreign volumes were quite small, whereas all the British ones were of substantial size, one, the second volume of the Rylands Papyri, being the second largest yet published. Here, it will be seen, we have no cause for shame; we are certainly doing our fair share-indeed more than our share-in the publication of texts.

When we turn, however, to the work of research into published papyri, the picture is a very different one. In my fourth bibliography, the longest of all and probably to be

See especially P. Bruten, Qua ratione Gracei liberos docuerint, pappris, astracia, tabuliz in Acypto inventis illustratur. Diss. Monasterii Guestfalorum, 1971.

regarded as fairly typical, I find references to thirteen separate volumes devoted to papyrological questions connected, wholly or in part, with non-literary texts. Only one of these, a very small one, was published in this country, or a little over 74 per cent. Finally, of articles dealing with such questions we may reckon sixty-four, of which nine, or just over fourteen per cent, were by British scholars; and whereas the latter are for the most part fairly short, the foreign articles include several which involved extensive research.

The responsibility for this not very satisfactory state of affairs does not rest upon the few British papyrologists. There is still in this country a vast mass of papyri whose publication, owing to the perishable nature of the material, is a matter of urgent necessity; and if this duty is to be discharged it is obvious that the existing aditors can find little time for researches not directly connected with the texts they actually publish; though it must be confessed that Professors Grenfell and Hunt, in addition to editing more papyri than anybody else in the world, have managed to do a great deal of extremely valuable work on single problems of papyrology. Even their titanic energy is, however, subject to human limitations; and if the national output is to be largely increased we must look to the efforts of new workers in the field. Abroad the importance of papyrology is being more and more widely appreciated. France had for several years before the war a school of papyrology at Lille, whose activities, we may hope, will now be resumed. In Germany there is a similar school, directed mainly to the legal side of the subject, at Munich; another has now been started at Heidelberg; at Marburg Prof. Kalbfleisch and his papils have published a series of papyrus texts with elaborate commentaries; and scholars like Wileken, Mitteis and P. M. Meyer have not only done a vast amount of work themselves but have trained pupils to undertake the task of research. In Italy there is a school of papyrology at Milan, which publishes periodical volumes of Studi; and before the war the number of Italian papyrologists, both editors and workers on the published texts, was growing steadily and included several ladies.

In this country, on the other hand, which has done so much for the discovery and publication of papyri, the documents, once published, are treated with indifference. Only Oxford and Dublin have shown any appreciation of their importance; though we ought now perhaps to add Aberdeen. Cambridge apparently regards non-literary papyri as too late and unclassical to deserve its attention. London University, so progressive in some directions, takes no interest in papyrology; and the provincial Universities, even those, like Liverpool and Manchester, which have done excellent service for Egyptology, are equally indifferent. I cannot help feeling that these facts are by no means creditable to British scholarship, and that it is not merely the unbalanced enthusiasm of the specialist which makes me think it high time for a change to be made; for British Universities to give more encouragement, and British scholars to devote more attention, to a branch of history which holds such vast possibilities and gives promise of such valuable results.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I ignore, here and below, items which concern papers only incidentally, and under the heading "articles" have taken no notice of these which are little more than brief notes. The difficulty of drawing a hard-and-first line makes the figures a little uncertain, but the general proportions are not seriously affected.

## THE BARKAL TEMPLES IN 1916

(continued from Vol. v. p. [12)

#### By Professor GEORGE A REISNER

#### V. THE BUILDINGS B 800 AND B 900

The site of the two buildings, B 800 and B 900, begins about 25 metres in front, or to the "west," of B 700 and extends about 60 metres towards the river ("west,"); see Plate XXIX. Before excavation, the great bank of débris (see this Journal, Vol. IV, p. 213) crossed the "south-western" quarter (B 901-902), while the lower "northern" part was covered by a confused and tumbled layer of broken stones, potsberds of all dates, dirt and sand—the result of treasure-hunting, merôg-digging, and the removal of building-stones. Thus in some places the hard subsoil was exposed and in others the débris was piled up to a height of 200 cm, above the subsoil. The excavation was simple, requiring only the removal of all dead material so as to leave everything—walls, pavements and columns—in site.

After excavation, the site was seen to be nearly level, sloping very slightly towards the river, and to be occupied by two closely related buildings bounded on the "south" by the Roadway. The number of the rooms in B 800 (on the "north") was recognized early in the work, and these were numbered correctly 801—804 from the front; but the plan of the "southern" part was obscure, and for the purposes of registration the rooms were numbered 901—908 from the back. Ultimately, it was discovered that B 903—908 really belonged to B 800, and the two buildings consisted respectively of the following rooms:

- (a) B 800 = B 801—807 and B 903—908 (Cailliand u, Lepsius E and F).
- (b) B 900 = B 901-902 (Cailliand u, Lepsius G).

The building B 800 was clearly a temple, and presented three different periods of construction and occupation:

- B 800-first,—a crude-brick temple including rooms 801 to 807-first and 903 to 908-first.
  - (2) B 800-second,—a red sandstone temple consisting of rooms B 801 to 804-second.
  - (3) B 800-Meroitic,-fragmentary and intrusive walls.

The building B 900 presented also three periods;

- (4) B 900-first,—a red sandstone structure consisting of rooms 901 to 902-first.
- (5) B 900-second,—a real sandstone chapel of one cell, B 901-second, built of re-used stones.
  - (6) B 900-Mercitic,-a red sundstone structure over B 902-908, built of re-used stones.

### (1) TEMPLE B 800-FIRST (Plate XXX).

The remains of the stone temple recorded by Cailliand, Lepsins, and other early travellers had been carried away except for the floors, bases of columns, and parts of the foundation walls. This destruction had laid bare a series of crude-brick walls, i.e. walls of sun-dried mod-brick. The foundations were preserved almost everywhere except under the "western" pylon of B 800-second, and in some parts the superstructure wall was still standing to a height of from 10 to 100 cm. The tracing of the plan was a long task, as I did not wish to cut away the remains of the later temple:

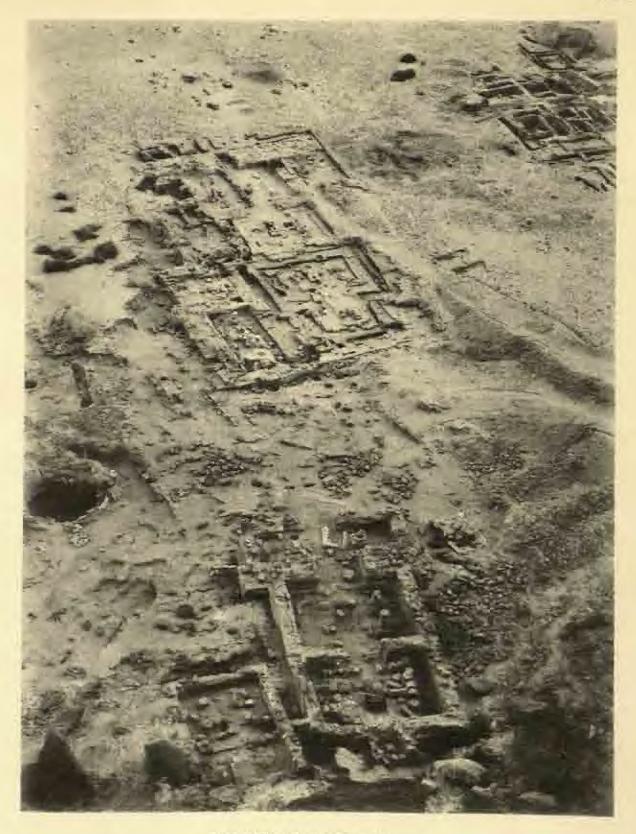
This crude-brick structure consisted of a typical temple and a series of subsidiary rooms on the "south" of the first two halls of columns. Structurally there were two parts—a nucleus building (B 803—807) and the rest of the rooms (B 801 to 802 + 903 to 908). The actual temple consisted of pylon, three halls of columns, antersoon and three cells. All walls were of crude-brick measuring about 35×17×8 cm., but the bricks were so fused by moisture and pressure that exact measurements were difficult. The walls were coated with white plaster. The floors were paved with small slabs of grey, yellow and red sandstone mixed irregularly. The columns were built of drams of yellowish sandstone with foundation discs (sub-bases) of grey sandstone. The discs rested on the hard gravel subsoil. The pavement sloped slightly and gradually from back to front, having a level of 252-47 m. in the "castern" and of B 805-first and of 251-77 m. in the "western" part of 801-first. The fall is thus only 70 cm. in a length of 50 metres, and there was no necessity for a step between any of the rooms. Nor could I find any trace of a step.

### a. The Nucleus Structure, B 803-807-first, Plan I (p. 249), with Plate XXX.

The continuous, interbonded walls of the rooms B 803 to 807-first were separated from the front of the temple by a joint along the "western" face and thus formed a nucleus structure which was built before the outer rooms (B 801 to 802 + 903 to 908-first, see Plan II. Plate XXXI). But the brickwork, the pavements, and the columns were so much alike in the two parts of the temple that there was probably little, if any, difference in that of construction.

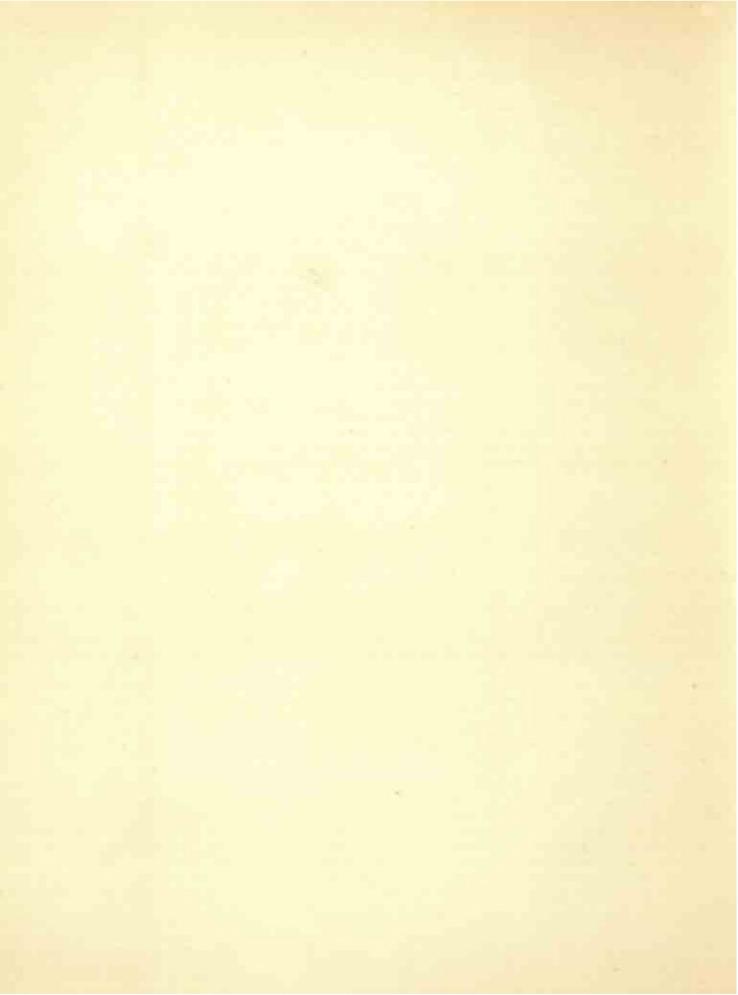
The axis of 803-first was not aligned with the axis of the back part and the axes of the three cells were certainly not parallel. These variations were no doubt due to the striking irregularity of the outside wall. The "northern" wall has an entrant angle, and of the four outer corners, only one, that at the "N.W." is a right angle. The curious slant of the "southern" wall is noteworthy. These irregularities can hardly be attributed to anything except limitations of space imposed on the architect by the presence of older buildings on each side. On the "north," the older building was clearly B 1100 of which we exposed the margin in the present excavations; but on the "south" no trace of a building was discovered, since B 900-first was later in date than B 800-first. It is possible that there was some building of crude-brick which was destroyed when B 900-first was built.

The room B 803-first showed a departure from the original plan as indicated by the lines of the foundations (of B 500-first). The foundation walls, sunk about 40 cm, in the hard subsoil, marked an irregular quadrilateral with an average size of 1300 × 820 cm;; but the superstructure walls (the broken line in Plan I), built partly on the foundations and partly on the hard subsoil in front of the foundations, formed a smaller rectangular room of about 1160 × 630 cm. Thus the faces of the superstructure walls rested on the hard subsoil.

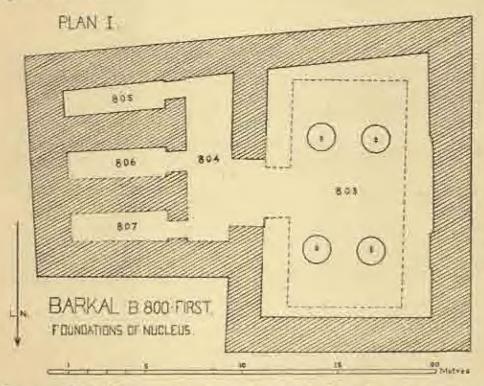


THE BARKAL TEMPLES IN 1916

View of B8co and B9co, looking down to "west" from the top of Gebel Barkel. In the foreground B6co and B7co; in the upper right-hand corner part of B12co.



not on the foundations. Another and probably a later alteration in plan was the re-setting of the columns. There was a difference of 11 cm: between the centres of the foundation discs and the centres of the columns afterwards erected. Each column has been moved 11 cm, nearer the axis than were the discs. The pavement extended only up to the faces of the superstructure walls.



There were in 803-first two rows of two columns each. The columns had a diameter of 82 cm. each; the bases, 125 cm.; and the discs, 160 cm. The centres of the columns of each row were 280 cm apart and 305 cm from the nearer side. The middle aisle was 550 cm, wide between the centres. In the middle, between the two "castern" columns, an altar, built of blocks of red sandstone, stood on the pavement.

The antercom and the three cells were not strictly rectangular, as they followed the times of the outer walls. The smaller dimension of 804-first was about 240 cm., while the cells were about 140—150 cm. wide. The pavements were well-preserved, but could not be entirely followed out owing to the later pavement. There was no alter in 805-first.

## b. The Pylon of B 800-first. Plan H (Plate XXXI).

In a temple of the form presented by B 800-first, an outer pylon is to be presupposed at the entrance. This was probably of crude-brick, of about the size and in about the place of Pylon I of B 800-second. In Plan II, I have restored the crude-brick pylon so as to cover with the "south" wing the subsidiary rooms, B 903—908. It is clear that the construction of the later stone pylon of 800-second necessitated the complete or nearly complete removal of the old crude-brick pylon. In searching for the foundation deposits, we found no trace of crude-brick under the stone pylon, and if there be any traces, these are now inaccessible under the later masonry. The stone stairway, however, which ascends "southwards" from

the "S.W." corner of B 801-second must have belonged to the older temple, and had no doubt been continued through the brickwork of the old pylon to its top. The slabs composing the steps are of grey sandstone, a material used in B 800-first but not in B 800-second.

#### e First Hall of Columns, B 801-first. Plan II.

The first hall of columns, B 801-first, had been largely destroyed in building the stone temple, but the bases of the columns, pieces of the stone pavement, and the cores of the crude-brick walls were visible. The interior faces of the crude-brick walls had been out away to make room for the later stone walls. The exterior or "southern" face of the "southern" wall was visible in rooms 905, 907, and 908, where it was supported by a dividing wall and two buttresses. There was no joint visible in the brickwork.

The columns stood in two rows of four columns each. The columns had a base diameter of 105 cm, on a base of 125 cm. The column-centres in each row were 270 cm, apart and 275 cm, from the neutrer wall (as restored). These spaces are by no means too great to have been roofed with stone slabs, but I would not exclude the possibility of a wooden roof. The middle siste between the centres was 900 cm, wide and was of course open to the sky.

### il. Second Hall of Columns, B 802-first. Plan II.

The wall between 801 and 802 was not a pylon; it was indeed only 200 cm. (4 cils) thick. The second hall was 70 cm, less in width than the first hall. Also the axis as shown by the columns was shifted about 30 cm, to the "north" of that of 801-first. This shift was not imposed by the widening of 904 but rather by the effort to approximate the end of the axis of 803-first. Thus the question is not why was axis 802 shifted to the "north," but why was axis 801 shifted to the "south"? To that question I have at present no answer, except the presence of an older building on the "north,"

Hall 802 was nicely squared except on the "eastern" side. That side was formed by the face of the irregular nucleus structure which passes across 802 on a slant so that the axis 802 makes an angle with axis 803. This change of angle must again be due to an older building on the "north," perhaps the front part of B 1100. The joint between the sidewalls of 802 and the face of 803 was quite clear.

The foundation lines appeared to coincide with the faces of the superstructure walls and were traced on all four sides. On the "south," the white-plastered face of the crude-hrick wall was preserved to a height of over 80 cm, behind the later stone wall. From this white-plastered face the stone pavement extended "northwards" under the later wall and was found intact with only a few penetrations over the whole hall.

The columns were in two rows of three each, each having a diameter of 82 cm, on a basis of 110 cm (more slender than in 801). The centres of the columns in each row were 310 cm, apart and 345 cm, from the nearer side-wall, and the aisle was 680 cm, wide between the centres. These spaces are too wide to have been covered with single slabs of sandstone, and the only possibilities are (1) wood, (2) stone corbel, as in tombs at El-Kurruw, (3) crude-brick would with leading courses or (4) the vault formed by two rows of inclined stone slabs (as at Nūri). The aisle was of course uncovered.

Opposite the space between the first and second columns in the "southern" row, a doorway led through the wall into B 904. This doorway had been roughly blocked with rubble and walled up by the "southern" stone wall of B 802-second.

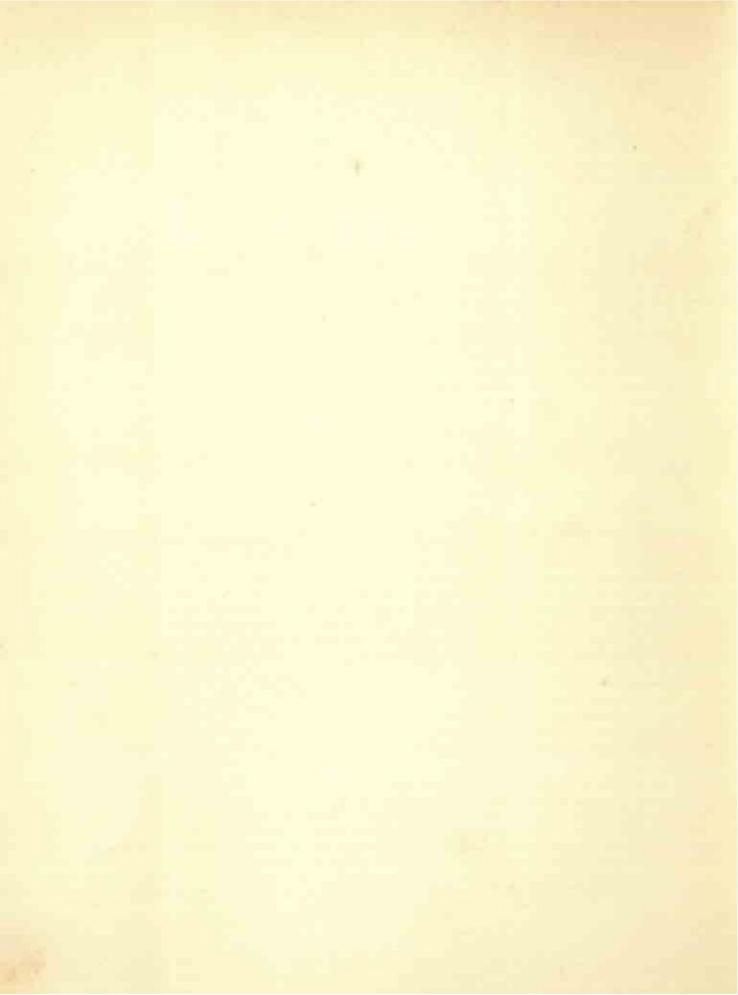


BSo;-first and second, seen from the "north"



BS00, from the "south-cast" corner, looking towards the river

THE BARKAL TEMPLES IN 1916



#### e. The Subsidiary Rooms, B 903-908-first. Plan II.

The crude-brick walls of the subsidiary rooms, 903—908, were continuous in structure with the walls of B 801—802-first, but were separated from 803-first by a joint. The rooms as far as excavated were connected by doorways and room 904 was connected by a doorway with B 802-first. Thus these rooms, although not part of an ordinary temple plan, are structurally a part of the temple 800-first and contemporary with it in occupation.

Unfortunately it was not possible to complete the excavation of the "S.W." part of this complex in 1916 owing to the lateness of the season and the long earry to the dump. During the two seasons at Nuri, nothing could be done at Barkal; but work was resumed between B 500 and B 900 last winter and I expect to reach this complex from the 'south' during 1919—1920. At present the description of the rooms is, therefore, not final.

The chief room was B 904 with a doorway into B 802-first, another into B 906 and probably a third into the small room, B 903. The plan of 903 was obscured by the holes excavated in digging merog (sebals). B 906 was a long narrow room which probably led to an outer doorway in the "southern" wall. Room 904 was 840×540 cm in size with one row of two columns down the long axis. The "western" column is still preserved to a height of 175 cm, above the pavement of the room, and has a base diameter of 85 cm, on a basis of 125 cm. This type of room with a row of columns down the long axis is presented also by B 901-first, B 504 a, and B 504 b.

Rooms 905 and 907—908 (given two numbers for purposes of registration) are each broken by a buttress supporting the wall of B 801-first. Both however are paved with stone like 904 and must have been accessible. The dotted lines in Plan II show the approximate reconstruction.

The most interesting point about these rooms was their use as a dumping place during a restoration of B 500. On the floor of B 904 we found twenty large fragments of six granite statues of Tirhaqa, Tanutaman, Senkamanseken, Anlaman', and Aspalta; see Plates XXXII. XXXIII, XXXV. Among these, a head of Tirhaqs fitted on the torso found in B500-Trench-A; two other fragments fitted on the Anlaman and Aspalta statues from B 500. A; a leg fitted on the Tanutaman statue from that place; and a head of Senkamanseken found in B 500-A fitted on a torso found in B 904. These pieces were mainly in the "north-western" quarter of 904 to the left of any one entering through the doorway from B 906, but the head of Tirhaqa (a very heavy piece) lay beside the "eastern" column, and one fragment lay directly in front of the doorway to 906. The undermost pieces rested on the pavement and the others rested on these. They had not fallen as if thrown from the tops of the walls but rested in the position of objects which had been carried into the room and been dropped from the height of the hands of bearers. At that time, the floors were practically clean as oriental floors go, and the dark earth in which the fragments were embedded had been deposited later (perhaps on the same day). The dark earth rose nearly to the tops of the walls as now preserved and was there covered with about 50 cm. of the coarse disturbed debris found over this area. There were abundant evidences of merog-digging including penetrations in the walls; and one trench about a metre wide, apparently the work of some European, crossed the room from "N," to "S," passing over the second column and missing the head of Tirhaqa by about 10 cm. The second column had apparently been removed after the deposition of the

This is avidently the king whose name was spelt Amanaral in Vol. v, p. 100.—En.

fragments and before the excavation of the European trench. None of the fragments was too large or too heavy to have been carried through the doorways now exposed.

There were no large fragments of statues in the other rooms, but 905.—908 were filled with the same dark earth. Now all this dark earth in 904—908 contained many small objects and fragments—conical offering vases of faience, cylinders of blue and red frif, faience annulets, faience beads, potsherds (none of them Meroitic), a few pieces of bone (large animal), charred palm-wood, small fragments of statues, etc. Now it must be remembered that (1) debris of decay is usually free of objects (never so full as this debris), and (2) debris dumped from a height such as the tops of the present walls forms a layer of coarse debris (such as the faience vases, cylinders, etc.) along the floor. This debris was carried into the rooms in baskets and thrown out in 904 on top of the statues. Thus it is clear that at the time of the removal of the broken statues from B 500 there was a certain amount of dirt and rubbish also cleared away. At this place, which had been cleaned up, there had been a fire made with palm logs or pieces of palm-wood.

The doorway into 802-first had been roughly blocked up with a thin rabble wall. Then the "southern" wall of the stone room, B 802-second, was built across in front of the doorway. The rubble wall is of so shabby and manifestly temporary a character that it cannot have been made long before or long after the closing of the room by the later temple wall and was certainly earlier than the deposit of statue-fragments. It seems to me most probable that the rooms 903—908 went out of use when the stone temple B 800-second was built, and that the rooms were used to take the fragments of royal statues and the débris cleared out of B 500. For all practical archaeological purposes the construction of B 802-second and the clearing operation in B 500 were contemporaneous.

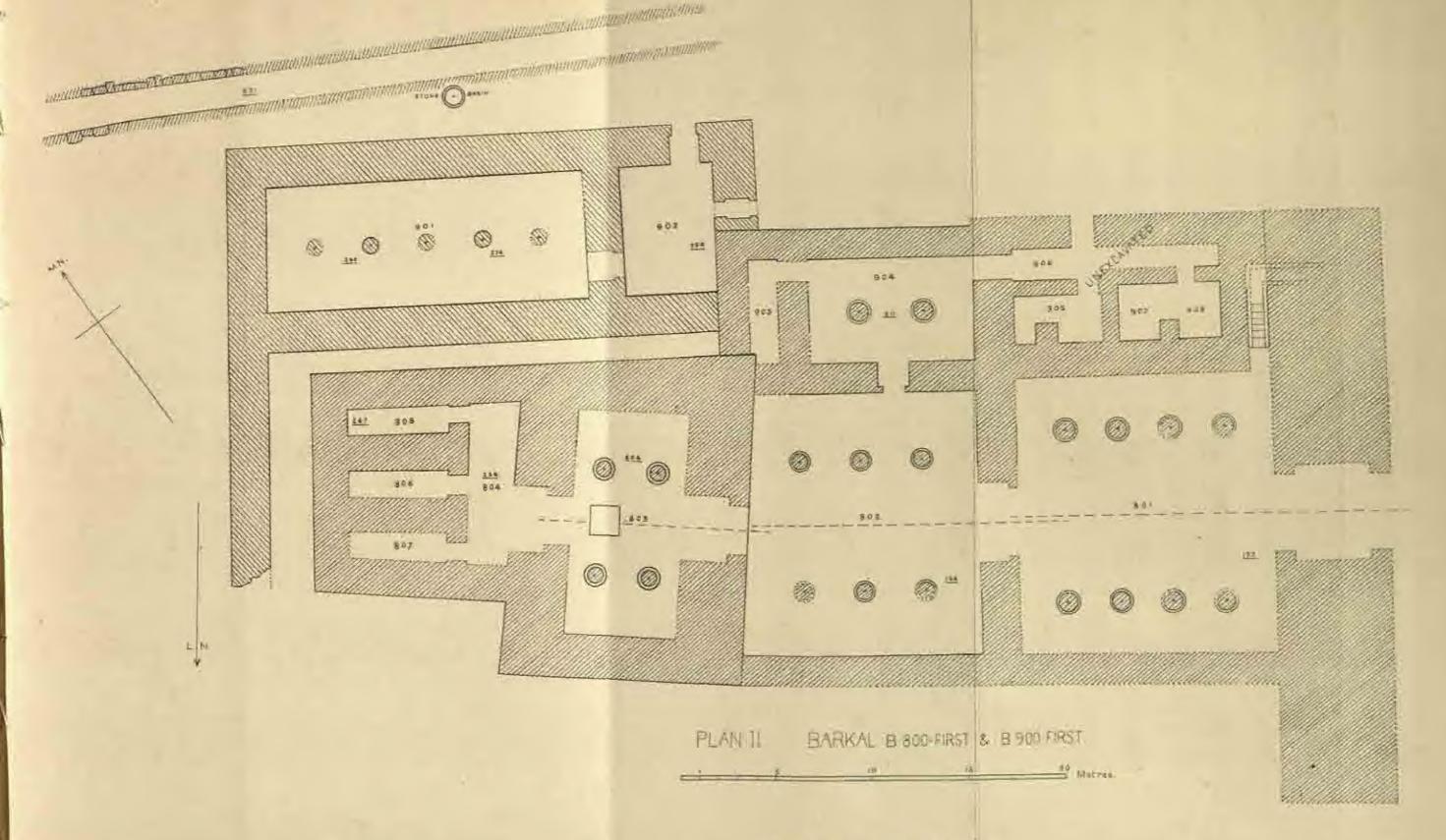
The deposit in B 500-A and that in 904 were contemporaneous, as appears from the presence of the fragments of the same statues in both. The reason for the use of two dumps is clear from the fact that the pieces in B 500-A were larger and more difficult to handle than those in 904. For the larger pieces it was more convenient to use the broad doorway through B 500-Pylon-I, while the small doorway in the "northern" wall of B 502 permitted an easy passage for the smaller pieces in 904. The pieces carried through the Pylon doorway were thrown down in the nearest spot out of sight, a place just beyond the "southern" end of Pylon I. The pieces (and the débris) which went through the narrow doorway in the "northern" wall of 502 were carried straight across the intervening space to the doorway assumed to exist in the "southern" wall of B 906, and so into B 904. The level of the floor of B 502 near its "N." doorway is 252 82 m. and that of 904 is 252 12 m. or 70 cm, lower, I estimate the level of the Roadway surface on this line at about 252 30 m. Thus the place of origin of the statue fragments was probably B 502 but may have been B 501, and it is needless to add that the statues were broken before the fragments were carried out to B 500-A and B 904.

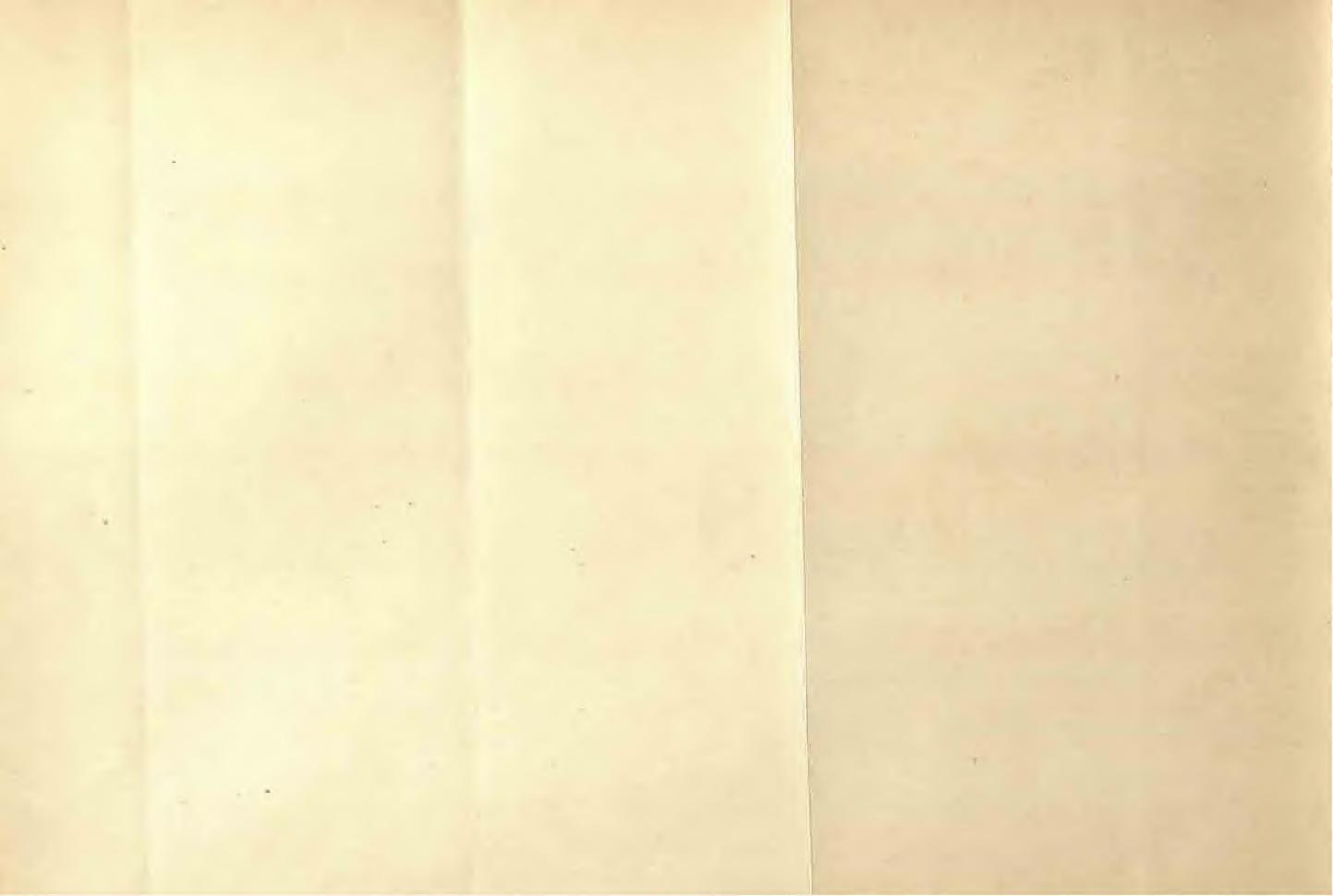
A few other granite fragments were found which must be mentioned in connection with this deposit:

<sup>(</sup>a) A fragment of the crown of the Aspalta-status (in B 500-A) was found at the "S;W." corner of the pylon of B 901-second, under the great bank of debris and 80 nm. lower than the bottom of the pylon but not under it.

<sup>(</sup>b) A fragment of a statue, not yet joined to the others, was found in a merog-hole in the "northern" and of B 903.

<sup>(</sup>c) The head of one of the statues of Senkamanocken (in B 500-A) was found in B 801-second, in distorted debris above the payment of that hall.





- (d) A granite deer-jamb (or section of an obeliek!) inscribed on two sides with the names of Atlanarsa atood in a leaning position in B 801-second in the debris of the "south" alab between the second and third columns. The base rests on debris above the second pavement, and the top rises above the late Mercitic floors. This rathe so-called "altar" reported by Lepsins (L., D., Pt. v, Pt. 15-b and Textband, Vol. v, p. 206); but not transported to Berlin (cf. Gaursins, Lieve des Roie, iv, p. 53). It is possible that the stone may have been moved slightly by Lepsins, but the top must have been visible in his day.
- (c) A granite stone uninscribed and of irregular form, lies in front of the "southern" wing of the pylon of B 800-second, practically on the surface. This stone was also seen by Lepsins (loc cd.).
- (f) A grante deor-jamb for section of an abelisk?) inscribed on three sides with the names of Sankamanseken. This is the second sa-called "altar" found by Lapsius and thus was transported to Berlin (L., D., Pt. v., Pl. 16 a and Texthend, Vol. v., p. 268). According to the vagos description of Lapsius, this was found, I take it, "south-west" of the pylon of 800-second but nearer to the pylon than to B 500. It must have been on the surface.
- (g) A large fragment of a granite shelisk(!) of Senkamansekon, inscribed on four faces, was found in the doorway through the pylon of B 700.
  - (A) A smaller fragment similar to (g) was found in the debris in B 520.
- (i) A buidless statue of Akhratan (reigned between Harsiotef and Nastasan) was found on the hard subsoil about 20 metres "south" of the pylon of B bot-second (half-way between that and B 500). Discovered in 1918—1919.
- (j) The favorus Backal stelos were, according to my view, found not in the temple B 500 (half 501) but in the distarbed area along the "north" wall of 501 or 502.
- (4) A date with steps, of dark hasumittic samistane, was some by Calilland about 20 metres "west" of the well (B 1000), see this Journal, Vol. v, Pl. X, p. 90. This date is still in place, and has decorations in a style which is unmistakably early Mercitic.

It is clear that the objects a, b and c belong to the deposit in B 904 and have been fortuitously displaced. The objects i, j and k came from a clearing which took place after the reign of Nastasan. The position of i and k prove that this clearing was not the same as that from which our deposit came and thus we have to assume two separate clearing operations—one soon after the reign of Aspalta, and the other after the reign of Nastasan but affecting monuments as early as Piankhy. The position of object f (if correctly ascertained) and the distribution of objects f and g make it probable that f does not belong to the deposit in 904. Object c, the great stone slab, certainly cannot be from 904, and its present position is inexplicable as a stone derived from B 500. Thus it becomes very doubtful whether the Atlanaesi stone in B 801 has any connection with the deposit. It is difficult to conceive, moreover, how this stone could have reached its present place until after the destruction of the Mercitic structures (B 800-Mercitic and B 900-Mercitic).

To sum up, statues of Tirhaqa, Tanutaman, Senkamanseken, a queen of Senkamanseken, Anlaman, and Aspalta stood in B 500 (probably B 502) and were broken in pieces there, probably owing to, or by the use of fire made with palm-wood. The broken fragments and other debrie were afterwards cleared away. The larger fragments were carried out through the first pylon of B 500, and thrown down out of sight to the "south" of that pylon. The smaller fragments (and the other debrie) were carried out through the doorway in the "N," wall of B 502, across the intervening space, into B 906 and so to the rooms new put into disuse, namely 904—908. These rooms were then clear of debrie. This clearing took place not long after the reign of Aspalta, and the temple B 800-second was built about the same time.

### f. General Remarks on B 800-jirst. Plan II.

A thorough examination of all possible places failed to reveal any foundation deposits under B 800-first. Foundation deposits were made under temples by Tirhaqu and Atlanarsa; but none has yet been found made by other Ethiopian kings under temples. One explanation is to be found in the fact that such sacrificial foundation deposits were made only under the original building. Thus B 700 has deposits of Atlanarsa, but none of Senkaman-seken, and B 500 has only those of the original nucleus building and no others. But B 800-first is the original building on this site and the only possible explanation is that the builder knew nothing of the custom. The custom of making sacrificial deposits under the corners of pyramids was introduced by Senkamanseken (Pyr. HI at Nûri) and from the work at El-Kurruw in 1918—1919, we now know that none of the kings from Piankhy to Atlanarsa practised this custom. Taking these facts into consideration, I would conclude that B 800-first, having no deposits, must be the work of a king previous to Tirhaqu.

Only a few objects, none of them exactly datable, were found between the pavement of the stude-brick temple and of the stone temple. Six crade scarabs, a few beads, and fragments of gold foil certainly belonged to the period of occupation of B 800-first. Possibly something might be found if we removed the stone pavement of the second temple, but that I have been loath to do. The objects in B 004—908 come from B 500, as shown above. The only bearing they have on B 800-first is that the facts prove that B 800-first was built some time before the deposit and was replaced by B 800-second about that time. This was soon after the reign of Aspalta.

The walls of B 800-first are of the cheapest available material, crude-brick, and are poorly built even for that material. The nucleus building is of remarkably careless construction. The entrant angle in the "northern" wall was no doubt due to the presence of B 1100 on the "north," but the siant of the "castern" and that of the "southern" wall with the resulting angles at three of the corners can be attributed only to poor or careless workmanship. The weakness of the walls of B 803, caused by the diminution of the size of the room and the laying of the interior faces of the walls on gebel, is also noticeably bad work. It is clear that B 801—802-first and B 903—908-first were built after B 803—807-first and were of better work. It is therefore possible that B 803-first was rebuilt at that time and that the original nucleus building may have been erected a few years earlier than the final building. The nucleus building is certainly far too shabby a structure to have originated with any of the great kings between Piankhy and Aspalta, but the final building might very well have been an early reconstruction by Piankhy.

The plan of the nucleus building and of the final temple presents the main lines of the temples of the New Empire and the Early Ethiopian period at Barkal and Abu Sanam, i.e., B 500-first, previous to Sethos I; B 500, Ramesses; B 300-first, pre-Ramesside; B 300-second, Tirhaqa; B 200-first, Tirhaqa; Griffith's temple at Abu Sanam, Tirhaqa.

It would thus appear from the above considerations that the temple B 800-first was built previous to Tirhaqa (absence of foundation deposits), and that the nucleus building at any rate was built previous to Piankhy. I infer that the probable builder of the nucleus rooms (B 803-807-first) was Kashta or his immediate predecessor.

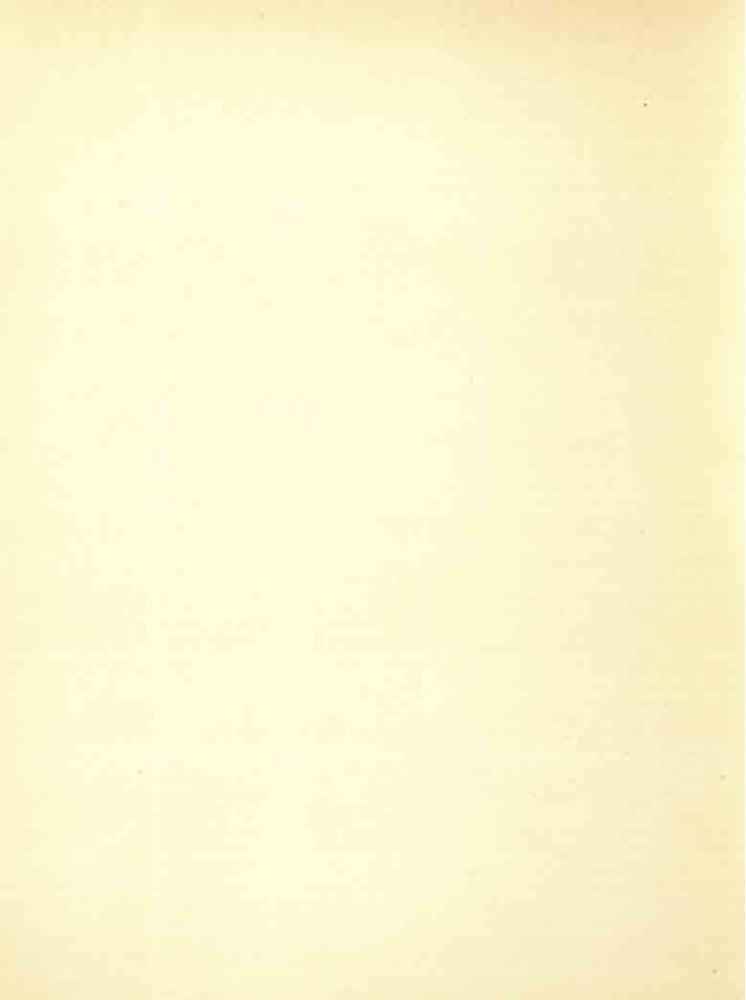


Room B904, zere from the "east", with fragments of statues in whi



Room B904, wen from the "south-west" corner, with fragments of statues in wils

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### (2) TEMPLE B 800-SECOND. Plan III (Plate XXXIV).

Temple B 800-second is the red sandstone temple of which the back part, B 803—804-second, was so well-preserved in the time of Cailliand and Lepsins. This part has now been nearly completely destroyed, but owing to the material what is left is easily distinguishable. The walls, pavements and columns were all of the same material—a comparatively good red sandstone—so that no difficulty was experienced in tracing the temple "westward" to the pylon-which formed its "western" extremity. This stone temple was built directly over the grade-brick temple at a height of from 60 to 40 cm., and followed the plan of that temple except in the sanctuary. Thus the plan presents a pylon, three halls of columns, and a single cell (omitting the antersom and two cells of the older plan), and appears to be a restoration of B 800-first. The stone-paved floor slopes gradually from back to front like that of the older temple, but falls 90 cm. in the 50 metres instead of 70 cm. That is, the floor of B 804-second is 60 cm, above that of 805-first, while that of 801-second is 40 cm, above that of 801-first. But still there was no indication of a step. The foundations of B 800-second were laid wherever possible on the stone pavement of B 800-first.

Judging from the plans of Lepsins and Callhaud and the present scanty remains, B 800-second consisted of a nucleus building (Pylon II, B 803, and 804) and an outer part (the two halls of columns B 801—802, and Pylon I).

# a. The Nucleus Building, Pylon II, B 803-804-second. Plan III.

The nucleus building of B 800-second is that previously reported, as follows:

- (a) Wandington and Hannung: Journal of a Finit to Some Parts of Ethiopia, p. 166 (temple D) and General Plan (opp. p. 158). In December, 1820. "And there are some sculptures on the walls; we partiamlicity observed the arms of a woman, beautifully soft and natural." Refers to B 803.
- (b) Canadaun; Voyage a Mored, Vol. in, p. 218; Pi. XLIX (temple a); Pis. LIX, LX, LXIII. In 1821.
- (a) Hossias: Truccle in Ethiopia, p. 140 (temple D), Pis. 17, 18, 25. In March, 1833. "It is much injured, and the sculpture and the hieroglyphics which ornamented the interior are quite defaced; scarcely a vestige of the latter remaining to tell that they existed."
  - (d) Larsius: Deakmüler, Pt. 1, Pt. 127 and Testbend, Vol. v. p. 296. In 1844.

In the time of these travellers the walls stood to a considerable height, but now all that remains is fragments of the foundation walls, the greater part of the stone pavement, the bases of the four columns in B 803 and the ahar in 804. Moreover, the foundation trenches can still be roughly followed where the wall itself is entirely gone, and the face-lines of the walls are marked by cut lines on the foundations where preserved. The lines give us the front of the pylon, the exterior line of the "S." wall of 804, and the interior lines of that room. Thus the material is sufficient to permit an approximate reconstruction of the nucleus, but for the details the measurements must be taken from the plans of Lepsius and Callliand. Unfortunately the condition of the rains did not permit either of these two scholars to obtain accurate measurements, as is proved by the discordant figures which they give. For example:

my River tot examine.		Lepense		Calliand		At present
(a) Distance between column centres		asal emi	gran.	300 cm.	***	280—285 cm.
wall	-	245 cm.	-	230 cm:		
(d) n n n n n s SN." n	PWE	320 cm	9.91	405 cm.		
(d) Width middle siste between centres	200	652 cm		470 cm.	12.0	645 cm.
(e) Thickness of Pylon II	447	353 cm.	441	370 cm.	1135	(355 cm.)

There are other discrepancies, but these suffice to show that Lepsius' measurements are usually, but not always, the nearer to the mark. I doubt very much whether the mouldings at the corners of the building as shown by Lepsius ever existed, but I have taken them on

trust for the pylon.

The size of the pylon is still roughly indicated by the foundation trench, by the faceline of the foundation stones on the "west" and by a few foundation stones on the "east." The width was clearly somewhat greater than that given by either Lepsius or Cailliand, so that the distance in room 803 between the "western" wall and the nearer column centres could not have been much different from that between the "eastern" wall and the nearer column centres on that side (i.e. 230 cm.). The latter distance is imposed by the measurement from the alter in 804 to the column centres, both of which are still in place.

Room B 803-second had two rows of two columns as in the crude-brick temple. It was built at an angle to the older room, probably in an effort to straighten the temple axis, and was somewhat larger. The columns have a diameter of 87 cm. on a basis of 105 cm., and consisted of whole drums. The foundation of each was an irregular block of five or six stones of the same size as those of the f.c. of the walls. Those were laid on the older stone pavement. The column centres were 280—285 cm. apart in each row, and 230 cm. (estimated) from the nearer wall. The width of the middle aide was 645 cm. on the "east" and 655 cm. on the "east." This indicates that the room was slightly wider on the "west" than on the "east," and on re-drawing the plan according to Lapsius' measurements alone I found that the result was a room so distorted:

The wall between 803 and 804 was very thick (both Lepsius and Cailliand agree on 295 cm.). The single cell was larger than one of the old cells, and fell directly over 807-first in the axis of the new nucleus. Near the middle was an altar made of a single block of reddish sandstone (not "polished green stone"), set on the pavement. The inside measurements, as indicated by the lines on the f. c., show the width of the room to have been 435 cm. instead of the 477 cm. of Lepsius. In my plan I have kept Lepsius' measurement; the bottom course may have projected to form a narrow ledge around the base of the wall.

## b. Second Hall of Columns, B 802-second. Plan III.

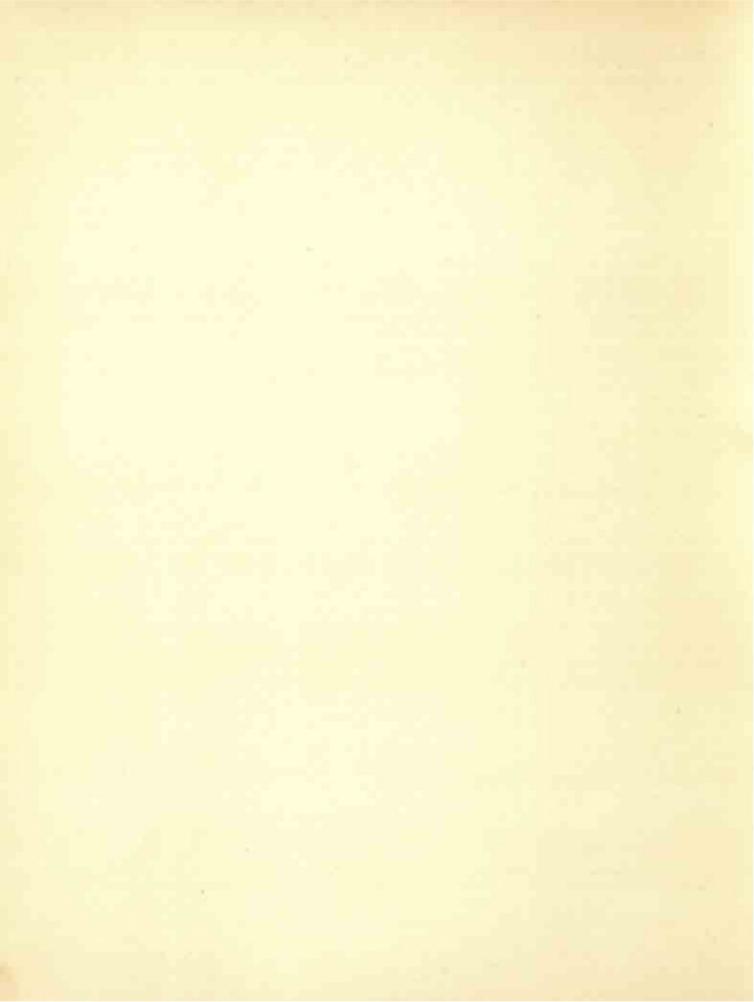
The stone nucleus building had not been turned quite enough to bring its axis in alignment with the axis of the outer crude-brick temple, and so the axis of B 802-second which was parallel to that of 802-first makes a slight angle with the axis of the stone nucleus building. But the "eastern" end of the axis of B 802-second had been brought in contact with the "western" end of the axis of the nucleus. Thus the face of Pylon II crosses room 802 at a very slight slant. Otherwise, 802-second is nicely squared and is rectangular.

The "northern" wall was built partly on the floor of the old temple and partly in a cutting made along the face of the old crude-brick wall. Thus it was built as a sort of casing to the old wall, which appears to have remained in place. There was plenty of room to have made 802-second as wide as 802-first, but the shift of the axis and the size imposed by using the old "N." wall brought the "S." of 802-second wall in front of the old crude-brick wall. The foundation stones were laid on the older stone pavement. The inner face was marked as usual by a line on the f.c., but there was no line for the exterior face, and the latter face was no doubt left undressed, as it was hidden by the old crude-brick walls of 904. The "western" wall was built like the "northern" wall as a casing to the old crude-



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- Granite head of Tirhaqu, found in Bonq.
   Headless statue of Queen Ammunitaira, found in Boo-A
   Granite head of Aspalta, found in Boo-A.
   Bedy of statue of Sankamanseken, found in Boo-A
   Head belonging to 4 found in Boo-second.
   Smaller grante statue in Senkamanseken; head found in Boo-A, body in Bonq



brick wall. The "S," wall passed in front of the old doorway to 904, while the floor of the new temple was about 40 cm, above the old floor in 904.

The columns were in two rows of two each, instead of the three of the older temple. This arose from the diminution in size of the room due to the thickening of the walls and the shift of axis. The columns had a diameter of 105 cm on a basis of 125 cm, but the basis was cut down from a larger basis of 165 cm.; or to put it another way, the disc-basis and the basis of the column were formed by one stone, which rested on the old pavement. This basis was composed of two half-drums but the column above was of whole drums. The space between the column centres in each row was 395 cm, and that between the centres and the nearer side-wall was 220-230 cm, while the middle aisle had a width of 645-650 cm, between centres. The difficulty of finding a sufficiently strong piece of sandstone 450 cm. long to cover the space of 395 cm. is manifest. It could be done, but it would be an enormously thick block. Heavy beams of good hard wood (acacia) were certainly available and it may be that the roof was partly or wholly of wood (of the remark on roofing under (1) d, above).

The remains of a screen wall, 42 cm. thick, were found connecting the columns of the " N." row and the "western" wall. Probably a similar screen is to be restored on the " S." alsa.

v. First Hall of Columns, B 801-second. Plan III.

The wall between 802 and 801 was 400 cm, thick, but was not a pylon. The thickening seems to have been due to the manner in which the crude-brick wall was eased with stone on both sides. The width of the doorway could be calculated from a fragment of the face preserved on the "S."

B 801-second is about the same width as the old hall, but was shortened by the thickening of the wall between that and 802, just mentioned. Therefore the axis of B 801second was nearly the same as that of 801-first, but as B 802-second had been shifted "N." on 802-first, the difference between the axes of the two stone rooms was greater than that between the two crude-brick rooms.

The "southern" and the "eastern" walls were built by easing the old crude-brick walls, which had been cut back for that purpose. The "northern" wall was of a different character. There the first course of the wall was laid across the top of the romains of the core of the old crude-brick wall, while the outer stones in the foundation course were laid as headers on the ontside of the old core. This wall was dressed on both faces.

Only one course of the masonry of the wall was preserved, but that was in place almost all around the three sides of the hall. On the fourth side the pylon was better preserved. The foundation course consisted of headers. The course was about 45 cm. high. The stones were about  $80 \times 50 \times 50$  cm, and the masonry was not much different from that of B 700.

There were two rows of three columns instead of the older four. The column had a diameter of 105 cm. on a basis of 125 cm. and a sub-basis of 165 cm.—like B 802-second. But the sub-basis, although circular, was built of small stones; and the basis and bottom drum of the column were of one stone. The distance between the column centres in the same row and that between the centres and the nearer side-wall were the same, namely 350 cm. The width of the middle aisle between centres was 730-740 cm. The room widened slightly towards the "west."

As noted above pp. 252-3, the black stone of Atlanarsa was found in the "S." aisle, and the head of the statue of Senkamanseken between the third column on the "N." and the "E." wall. The head had come into its place after the destruction of the stone temple, perhaps in modern times. The black stone (not an altar) had been deposited after the destruction of the Moroitic walls.

### d. Pylan I of B 800-second. Plan III.

Pylon I of B 800-second is preserved to a height of two courses above the foundations, or in some places three. The facing courses are stretchers, breaking the joints above and below, while the core is badly built of shores laid irregularly. The foundation course is of headers, like the rest of the temple, but carelessly laid towards the outer ends of pylons.

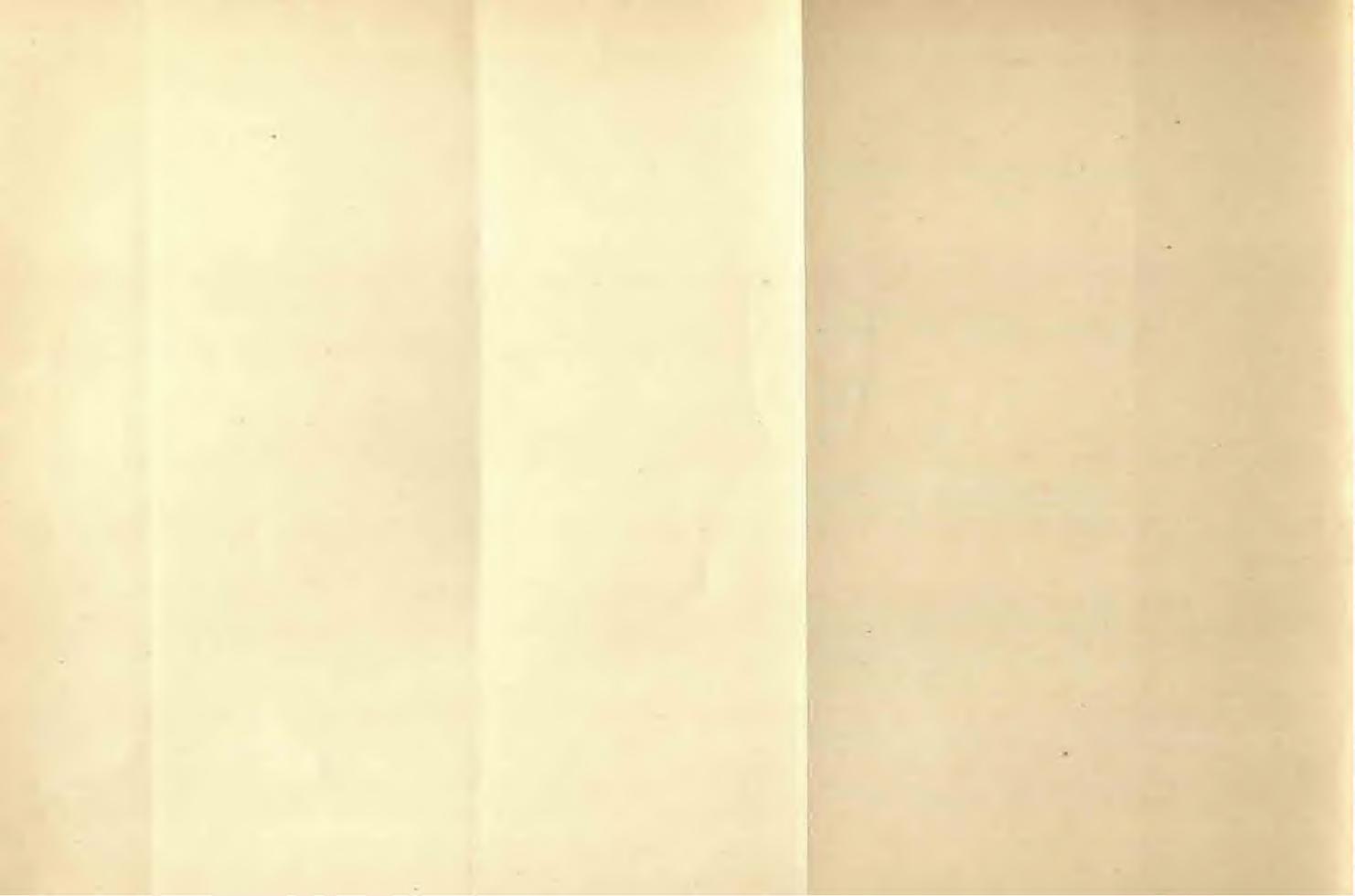
On the "north" side of the niched doorway there was a re-used block of grey sandstone in the top course, on which was incised a Horus-name, "Ka-nekht . . . . " (end missing). No contemporary inscriptions or reliefs were visible, but these would have begun above

the part now preserved.

As stated before, the old crude-brick pylon appears to have been carried away to prepare for building the stone pylon. But the top of the crude-brick wall of the subsidiary rooms behind the "S" wing of the stone pylon was leid bare and was found to have been cut back 10—15 cm by the foundation trench in which the stone pylon had been built. Along the older grey stone stairway, however, and for a metre or so to the "S." of the present end of the stair, the pylon masonry descended close beside the stairway. An entrance to the stairway had been constructed in the masonry of the "S." wall of E 801-second directly over the older entrance, but about 12 cm, wider, and the wall continued "southwards" to form a wider stairway. Thus there is a gap between the old steps and the "castern" side of the second stairway, and it becomes probable that the older grey stair had been replaced by a red stone stairway during the construction of B 800-second. This red stair may be presumed to have followed the lines of the older stair and to have passed up through the masonry of the pylon. At some period during the occupation of B 800-second, the stairway had been closed by a wall of red sandstone, which projected slightly into room 801-second and was faced on the side towards that room.

#### v. General remarks on B-800-second. Plan III.

It is obvious that B 800-second is a reconstruction of B 800-first in red sandstone instead of crude-brick—an example of the reconstructions of brick temples in stone which are often mentioned in the Egyptian and Ethiopian temple inscriptions. It is more difficult to decide just how far the old crude-brick temple was in decay at the time of the stone reconstruction, but the topography points to the probable answer. The course of the rainwater after the time of Aspatta (drawn from excavations of 1918—1919) was along the "N." side of 801, and must have acted on the "N." wall of that room and the "N." wing of the pylon. Now this "N." wall is the only one which was entirely reconstructed, not cased (cf. 802). Thus it appears to me that the "N." side of B 801-first and the "N." wing of the crude-brick pylon had been brought down by running water before the stone temple was built, but that the rest of the temple was practically intact and in use. The floors were practically clean and the foundations of the stone walls and of the columns were haid directly on this pavement. The intervening spaces were filled in with dumped débris on which the second pavement was then laid. The only change in plan was the omission of the subsidiary rooms and the simplification of the sanctuary.



The distinctive feature of the stone temple is the single cell preceded by a wide hall of columns. One looks in vain for an exact parallel. The later Mercitic temples have the cell and the preceding hall of the same width. A rock-cut temple which we discovered between Merawi and Barkal on the "east" bank in 1916 and dated to Senkamanseken presents the nearest approach, but differs essentially. And Tirhaqa's temple, B 300, omits the antercom, but has three calls (and a small room off the middle cell). The temple B 700-Mervitic does indeed present the form of B 800-second, but the reconstruction to which it belongs was so clearly a makeshift that the example has little value. Possibly the form of the burial chambers of the royal pyramids may bear on the question. We have now (1919) a complete series of all the royal tombs from Kashta to Nastasan; and the exact duplicate of this plan of 803-804 (a wide room and a narrow cell) occurs in the tombs from Senkamanseken to Malenaqun (i.e. Senkamanseken, Anlaman, Aspalta, Amtalqa, and Malenaqun) but neither before nor afterwards. I mention this merely for the sake of completeness, not because I would venture to draw any conclusion from the fact. It is possible that the simplification of the plan in the stone temple was due entirely to lack of room. Between B 1100 and B 000-first, both of which were in existence at this time, the available width for B 800-second was only 15:40 m., of which the single cell 804-second fills over half.

No foundation deposits were found, nor any inscriptions. But the early travellers report (see above) that the walls of B 803 at least were covered with reliefs and inscriptions. The Meroitic walls in B 600, B 700, and most of those in B 500, have neither reliefs nor inscriptions, and the Meroitic reliefs and inscriptions (Amanunitek /) found in a few places in B 500 are all in very crude fat relief (poor work).

The reddish sandstone used in B 800-second is of good quality, as far as I can judge from the same bed of stone as that in B 700-Ethiopian and B 500-Ethiopian. The masonry is very like that in B 700-masonry core cased with stretchers. It is in any case of an entirely different type from the Mercitic masonry at Barkal.

It is clear that the reconstruction of this temple in red stone took place previous to the Mercitic period. Above the conclusion was reached that B 800-second must have been built about the same time as the deposit of statues in B 500-A and in B 904-first, and that this was soon after the reign of Aspalta (see (1) f, above).

### (3) В 800-Мевортю.

In B 801-second there was a long rubble wall running the length of the hall and passing through the pylon-doorway to join with other contemporary walls of rubble and crude-brick in front of the pylon. These walls were built on a surface of decay 50—70 cm. above the stone pavement of the second temple and seemed to belong to the same period as B 100 and the late walls in B 500-A (later than the first century B.C.) but might have been even later. The conditions precluded the assumption that B 801 was still in use, but the walls may have been partially preserved and so utilized for damestic structures, as happens so often. These walls do not seem to be connected with those over B 902—908 (see below).

## (4) B 900-FIRST. Plan II (Plate XXXI with Plate XXXV).

The building B 900-first, consisting of the two rooms B 901 and 902, has never before been recorded except by vague indications. No one had excavated it, although Dr Budge remarks (The Egyptian Sudan, Vol. 1, p. 138): "We turned over large numbers of stones and dug a few trenches here, but we were just as unsuccessful in finding any traces of the plan of the building as Cailliand, Hoskins, and Lepsins were." The only trench of European character which we picked up was that across 904, and probably Dr Budge's other trenches had been obliterated by the subsequent digging of merity.

The building which I distinguish as B 900 first consists of a long hall still showing a pair of columns (probably originally five) down the middle and a smaller untercom.

There was no pylon.

The foundations were well built and set in trenches in hard subsoil. In the "N," wall alone, the f. c. consisted of slabs of greyish sandstone (like pavement slabs); in the other walls, the foundation wall consisted of one or two courses of heavy stones. These were laid usually as headers in the faces of the courses with two stretchers between, but in some places there was a header between as the wall was three stones wide and exceeded the superstructure wall by 20 40 cm. The stones averaged about  $80 \times 50 \times 50$  cm. In some places the bottom f.c. had stretchers on the outer face, but the interior was anattaxuable,

On this solid foundation the superstructure walls were built to cut lines as usual and dressed back to the lines after construction. Thus the actual wall was about 200 cm. in width with a margin of 10-20 cm. of the Lc. projecting beyond the wall. The stones were the same as in the foundations, namely a reddish weathering sandstone. The wall was two and a half stones wide, and the bonding was unusually good. The bottom course consisted of five stretcher-stones side by side echeloned so as to break joints; the second course consisted of three header-stones (shortened on the outer faces of the wall by dressing) laid end to end and breaking joints with the bottom course; the third course was like the bottom course; and although no part of the fourth or higher courses was preserved, the alternation was probably continued. At the "S.W." corner of 902, where the third course is preserved in both the side and the end walls, the stretcher-stones of the side wall are continued straight across the end wall. The walls were dressed on both faces except on the "N." face towards B 800-first, and the "E." wall of B 901 was continued "northwards" behind 800-first as far as the side of B 1100. Thus this wall served as an enclosing wall for B 800-first

Both 901 and 902 were paved with irregular slabs of reddish weathering simistone or of red sandstone. This pavement was preserved over the whole of 902-first but only under the two columns in B 901.

## a. The Anteriorn, B 902-first. Plan II, with Plate XXXV.

The "western" and "northern" walls of B 902-first were built against the crude-brick masonry of B 800-first at the "S.E." corner of the subsidincy rooms (B 903, etc.). Thus B 900-first was built after B 800-first (the crude-brick temple).

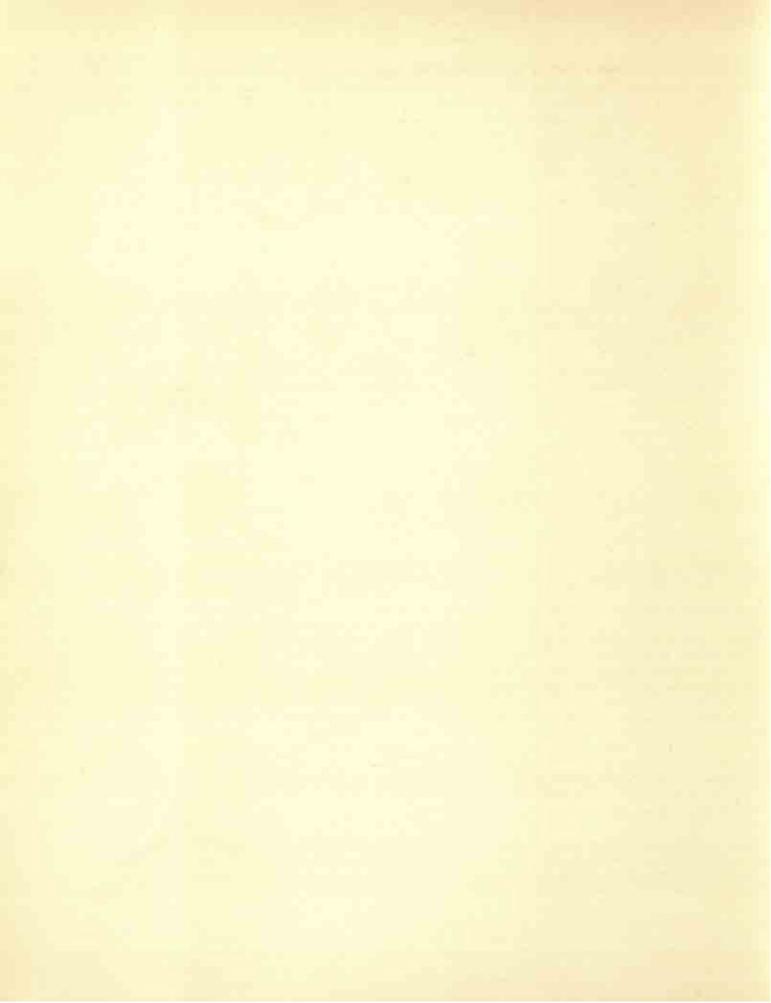
The masonry part of the "western" wall of B 902 was not a pylon, but its "western" face between the older crude-brick wall and the "S.W." corner was decorated with two large standing figures in sunk relief facing towards the "S.W." corner of B 902-first. Of these figures the feet only are preserved, but the scene was clearly original to the wall, and of the usual character of large wall-scenes (as on pylons). The doorway in the "western" wall of B 902 cuts through this wall-scene on the outside and is therefore not the original doorway of this room. It has a double rabbeting like a pylon doorway. The original entrance must be the doorway in the "N." wall of 902. This original entrance was blocked up after the other doorway was opened and we found the lower courses of this blocking wall in place.



Building Booc-first, seen from the "east"



Room 902-first, seen from the "south". B802 and 803 in the background.
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The room was paved as stated above, but the pavement showed no trace of columns. Now the columns would have been set on the pavement as in B 901-first, and all traces of centering may will have been weathered away. The width of the room ("E.-W.") seems to demand a single "N.-S." row of two columns. In addition to these hypothetical columns, there had been in the "S.E." corner of the room some structure built of masonry, but whether a rectangular basis or a stair, I could not make out, nor indeed its exact dimensions.

The wall between 902 and 901 was of the same width and of the same type of masonry as the other walls. The doorway was not marked but was certainly in the "northern" half of the wall.

#### b. The Main Hall, B 901-first. Plan IL

The paved floor of B 902-first was a few centimetres (about half the thickness of the slabs) higher than the top of the foundation walls of the hall, and rested on the hard subsoit. On the pavement stood the columns without any intervening basis. The remains of two columns were still in place, desperately weathered since their exposure by mardy-digging. In the disturbed debris in the room, there were a large number of column-drums and a capital (open papyrus flower) which were better preserved. The tops of the columns, as preserved, were a little lower than the base of the later wall of 900-second. Their diameter was about 82 cm. The distance between the centres of the two columns is so great (575 cm.), and the number of drums in the debris is so many, that I conclude the number of columns to have been originally five (as shown in Plan II). This would give 285 cm, between the centres of the columns compared with the 340—350 cm, between the centres and the two side-walls.

## c. General Remarks on B 900-first. Plan II.

The pavement slopes slightly from back to front as in the two temples B 800, being at about 252 90 m, in the "eastern" end of B 901 and falling about 40 cm, to 252 50 m, in the "western" part of B 902. The Roadway, which had a level of 252 77 m at the "S.E." corner of 901, was probably about on a level with the floor of 902 at a point opposite the doorway of the latter room. Thus the Roadway and the building 900-first had the same living level and must have been in use at the same time.

In addition to the fact, already noted, that B 900-first is proved by its relations to B 800-first to have been later in construction than B 800-first, it may be mentioned here that the re-used stones with which B 901-second was built probably came from B 900-first. The material and the size of the stones are the same, and some of them have reliefs and hieroglyphics in the same workmanship as the part of a relief-scene on the "western" wall of 902-first. The name of Piankhy occurs on one of these re-used stones, and thus B 900-first is probably to be ascribed to that king.

# (5) THE CHAPEL WITH PYLON, B 901-SECOND. Plan III (Plate XXXIV).

On top of the second and third courses of B 900-first, a later building had been constructed consisting of a single room with a pylon. The remnants preserved showed the "southern" wing of the pylon, the foundations of the "northern" wing as far as the "N." wall, a small part of the "N." wall, and nearly the whole of the lower courses of the "S." wall. The "northern" part had been saved from total destruction by the great bank of débris already mentioned several times.

The material consisted as far as could be seen entirely of re-used blocks of the same

size and of the same reddish weathering sandstone as those of B 900-first. Some of the re-used stones here sunk reliefs and inscriptions of the same workmanship as the reliefs on B 900-first, and the inscribed faces of these were all placed out of sight either inside the wall or in the back face of the wing of the pylon. It is to be noted that the re-use of dressed stones produces a greater irregularity than in the original masonry. Yet the bonding was again very good at any rate in the wall. In the "S," wall, the three preserved courses were laid as follows: the bottom course resting on the third course of 901-first consisted of stretcher-stones on the inside face backed by two rows of header-stones end to end, so that the outside face showed as a header course; the second course had headers on each face and stretchers between them; and the third course had stretchers on the outside face backed by two rows of headers, the exact reverse of the bottom course. The pylon was much wider, and the masonry was of the type of B 700, headers in the core with a casing of stretchers on each face.

Around the outside of this chapel, on the "N," the "E" and the "S," there were considerable stretches of a course or two of undressed sandstone blocks (headers in the bottom course), apparently lined against the outside of the wall. These stones appear to have been laid as a support to the wall of B 901-second. They rest on from 60—100 cm, of débris and cannot be connected in any way with the older building.

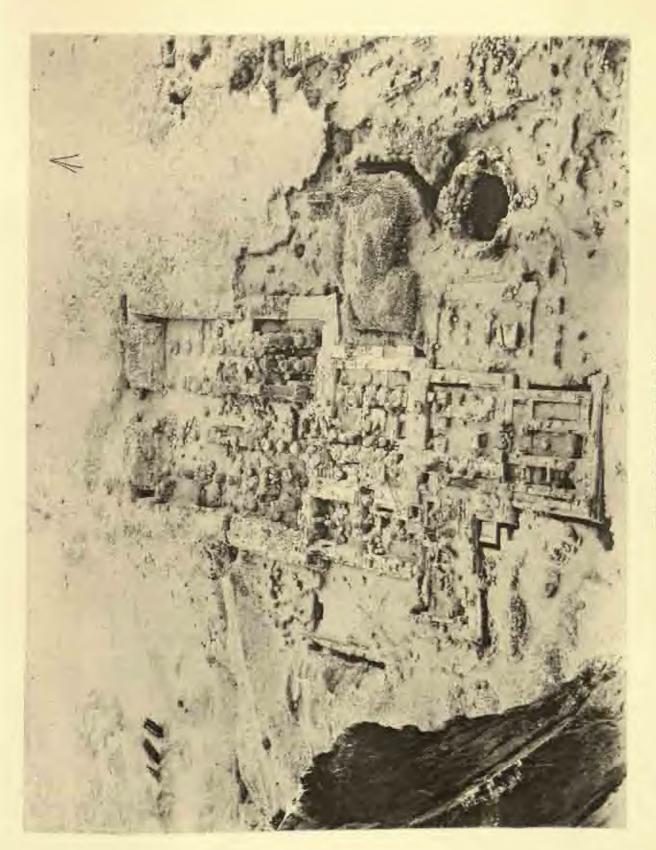
The floor of B 901-second was not preserved nor indicated by any marks on the walls, but it certainly lay above the third course of B 900-first and above the tops of the stamps of columns still in place in B 900-first. That means the level was 253-80 m, or more,

The single cell chapel with pylon was common enough in the Mercitic period, but in B 700 sub we have an example which was certainly previous to Atlanarsa and may have been as early as the Ninebeenth Dynasty. I would reconstruct B 901-second on the general lines of the Mercitic chapel (cf. the chapel at cl-Mesawwerât, Camaraup, Voyage, PLXXX, No. 8) with two rows of four columns each. The re-used stones of Piankhy proved that the chapel is much later than his time, but I would not merely on the basis of form put it as late as the Mercitic period (i.e. later than Nastesan). The mesonry would be against so late a date, I think; but the only Mercitic mesonry I have seen is that of the first century n.c. at Barkul.

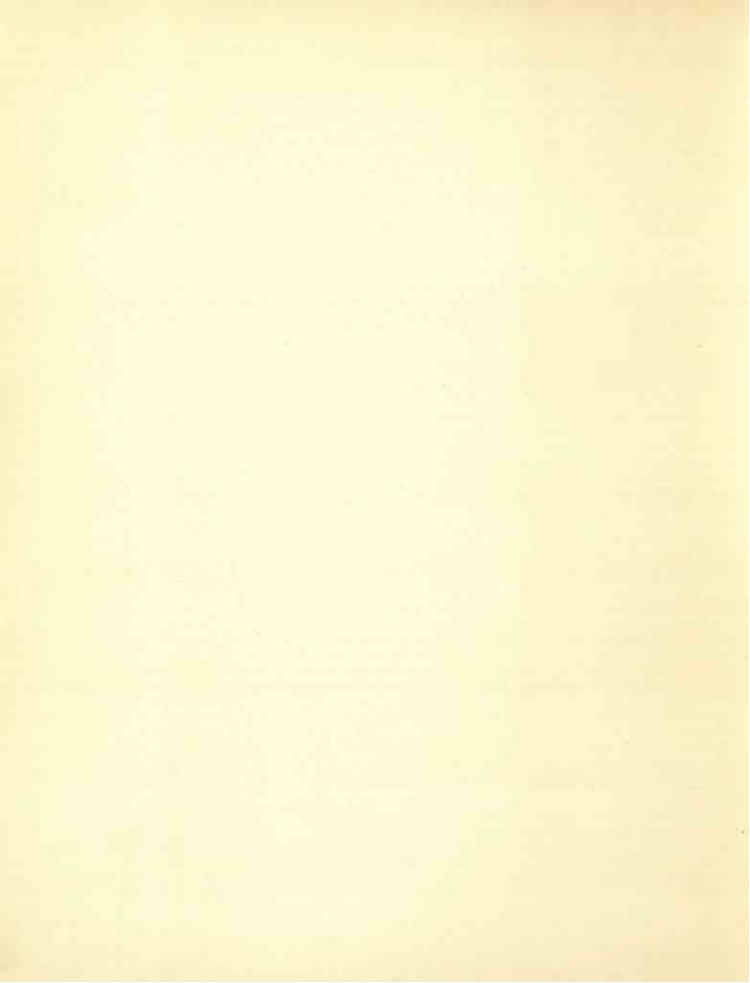
# (6) THE ROUGH WALLS, B 902-908-MERCITIC Plan III.

Projecting into B 902-first and covering the subsidiary rooms B 903—908, we found a very poorly built structure of which only the foundations were preserved, and these by no means complete. The "S" foundation wall was fairly straight, as it followed the outside of the old crude-brick wall, but the cross-walls were askew. There seemed to be two rooms, a long room on the "east" and a small room on the "west." The entrance appeared to be in the "eastern" wall while the "western" end was formed by the "S." wing of the Pylon I of 800-second. Thus the orientation is towards the "east" in a direction opposite to that of all the temples at Barkal. In 1919, however, we found in B 1200 a series of temporary structures (coronation halls?) some of which had this orientation:

The wall projecting into 902-first descended to within 30—40 cm, of the old floor, where it rested on debris. The rest appears to have been built on the surface of decay formed by the weathered rains of B 903—908-first, but the "S." wall had been sunk in the debris beside the old crude-brick wall. The floor must have passed over the top of the column stump standing in B 904 (i.e. more than 17.5 cm, above the floor of 904). The foundations of the cross wall rested partly on the tops of the remains of the old walls.



THE BARKAL TEMPLES IN 1916 Temple B500, Photograph taken May 18, 1919



The masonry of red sandstone was extremely poor even for foundation walls. In the "E." wall, there were a few re-used stones, one of which bore the cartouche of Harsiotef (Sa-mery-Aman Har-si-iotef, in one cartouche). This was in a different style to the sculptures on B 902-first and on the re-used stones in B 901-second.

Considering the orientation, the plan, and the poor masonry of B 902—908-Moroitic. I am inclined to see in that building a temporary structure of the same nature as those found in 1910 in B 1200. The situation and the high level indicate a late period, but one in which B 800 second was still standing. The re-used stone of Harsiotef proves that the time was long enough after that king for a stone building of his to have fallen into decay. All this seems to me to point to the period of the Barkal pyramids, or the first century is c.

### (7) Conclusions on the History of B 800 and B 900.

The relative order of the different buildings which are included in the numbers B 800 and B 900 is clear, but evidence as to the fixed dates depends on the re-used stones of Plankhy, that of Harsiotef, and above all on the deposit of statue fragments in 904. This last point needs some further discussion. The statues stood in B 500 (probably 502)1, where they were broken through fire or by the use of fire, the pieces then being gathered and carried out with other rubbish, partly to B 500-A and partly to B 904. The fragments come from ten statues of five kings of Ethiopia and one queen. These five kings form a succession from which only one king, Atlanarsa, is omitted, and he had only a short reign, died unexpectedly and left his monuments in an unfinished condition. These five kings (with Atlanarsa) cover a period beginning in 688 a.c. and ending according to my last estimate about 563 a.c., or about 125 years. We have no proof at present that the temple ever contained statues of Piankhy, Shahaka and Shahataka; but statues were made at Napata for Amtalga and indeed for so late a king as Akhratan (between Harsiotef and Nastasan). It is, therefore, significant that the destruction of these statues involved the monuments of these successive kings and none of a later date. Now B 502 was built in its present form (except. for some repairs to one wall) by Piankhy, and the kiosk in the centre was built by Tamutaman. The hall is a vast lofty compartment with 46 columns, and 501 is a similar hall with fewer columns. We have thus two alternatives: (a) the statues of these kings stood in one part of 501 and were damaged by an accidental fire or one made by a foreign enemy, or (b) the statues of just these kings were wilfully broken by fire by a dynastic enemy. In such a vast and lofty room as 501 or 502, an accidental fire, even if the roof had been of woodwould have been well-night impossible. A foreign enemy invading the country might have plundered the temple freasury, but would hardly have troubled to lairn the temple, and as a matter of fact there is no sign of a conflagration involving any of the walls from the "eastern" side of 501 to the very back wall of the temple. There remains only the rest of 501 which I have not yet examined. The conclusion to which I have come is that the statues were deliberately broken by a dynastic enomy. We know that Aspalla was followed by Amtalox, Malenagan, and Nalma'aya. The queens of Malemajan and Nalma'aya were buried in the cemetery of the queens of the blood royal (Nansalsa, Madikani, etc.) who belonged to the family of Anlaman and Aspalts. Indeed, Hemuttakhabit (7), the daughter of Aspalta, was buried by Nalma'aya and was probably his queen. The tombs of the queens

For a view of temple B 500, discussed in Prof. Reisson's first article in this Journal, Vol. tv. 198-213 fell., see Plate XXXVL—En.

which must on archaeological grounds be connected with Amtalqa were in the "southern" cometery at Núri. The evidence is all very indefinite, but it seems to me that we have here an indication of circumstances which might possibly fit the facts. I consider it as practically certain that the statues were broken intentionally soon after the reign of Aspalta I infer provisionally that this was done by Amtalqa, that the remains and the rubbish were cleared away by him and that temple B 800-second was built by him. In no case would I agree to a date later than Netaklahataman, the successor of Nalma'aya, for the events in

With this result as a basis and taking into consideration the other conclusions reached in the course of this article. I would set forth the history of this group of buildings as

(1) B 1100. Not yet excavated.

(2) B 800-first. Built by Kashta (6, or partly by Kashta and partly by Plankhy. Crude-brick

(3) B'900 first. Built by Piankhy (b. Reddish sandstone.

(4) Rondway. Made during the occupation of B 900-prst.

(5) Breaking of statues. By Amtalya (1), but not later than Netaklabataman.

(6) Deposition of statues in 8 500-A and in B 900. By Amtalqs (f), but not later than Netskiabatamen.

(7) B.800-second. Built about the same time as (6). Reddish sandstone.

(8) H 901-first Built by Harsiotef (7).

(0) B 102-9-Maroitic. Built in First Century B.c.

(10) B 800-Meroitic Built after First Century s.u.

With this I close my report on the temples at Barkal as I left them in April 1916. After that, excavations were suspended until the end of December 1918, when I resumed work and continued until Feb. 20, 1919. The general course of the history of the sacred area beside Gebel Barkal was in 1916 quite clear, and has only become more certain during the later work. Nothing was found which might be previous to the New Empire except the two contracted burials in front of B 600. In the Eighteenth Dynasty at least two temples were built; they were small, but of first-class masonry and decorated in characteristic royal style. The great temple was founded by Turcankhamun or Haremhab on a plan which omitted only the Ramesses chapel and the First Hall of Columns. By this act, the site was first established as an important religious centre. The great temple was restored by Sethos I, enlarged by Ramesses II, and probably received support from all the later kings down to the Libyan period; but no other temples appear to have been built at Barkal until the Ethiopian period. If I am right in my deduction as to the builder of B 800 first, then the revival of construction at Barkal began under Kashta, but Piankhy was the first to do great things. He made the earliest considerable reconstruction of the great temple of Amun and probably built B 900-first and the Roadway, if not the outer part of the temple of Kashta. No trace so far has been found of the work of Shabaka or Shabataka; but Tirhaqa worked on B 500, rebuilt the old New Empire temple B 300, and made the new rock-cut temple B 200. Tanuraman built the screen-work in the middle of B 502; Atlanarsa began B 700; Senkiunanseken rebuilt B 503 and finished B 700; Anlaman and Aspalta are only known at present from the temporary coronation (?) halls in B 1200: and Amtalqa probably rebuilt the Kashta temple (B 800-first) in stone (B 800-second). It is clear, as indeed was to be expected, that the Early Ethiopian monarchy was the period of the greatest architectural activity at Gebel Barkal.

# WHAT IS THE KA?

## BY N. W. THOMAS, M.A.

UNDER the name ka is understood an element that played an important part in the conceptions of the ancient Egyptians; but, if the literature of the subject is a guide. Egyptologists are by no means agreed as to the real nature of the ka. It is most commonly represented as a double, or a genius, or the image of a genius; but it has also been regarded as an image, or funerary statue of a deceased person, as the unbodiment of the life principle or as a totem. I am not concerned to set out here the precise signification of the term, nor to scour the literature of Egyptology for all references, important or unimportant, to the subject; I therefore content myself with appending a few of those which have come to my notice1,

I will however point out that the conception of the ka as a totem appears to rest upon a misconception. Moret, one of the upholders of this view, says that "primitive societies in their early stages believe in a supreme force which unites all the attributes attributed to the ka; the totem is an ensign, a distinctive mark, a name, substance, source of life from which a man comes at birth and returns at death, and finally it is human food,"

It may be possible to find at one point or another on the earth's surface all these ideas associated with the totem; but it would be very safe to say that nowhere are they all found in the creed of any one people. Not only so, but some of the features assigned to the totem by M. Moret are definitely non-totemie; such is, for example, the idea that the totem serves as food to the members of the clan-

The view has indeed been put forward that the totem was originally eaten and then came to be tabu, but it is a theory and nothing but a theory; except among the Aranta, if we heave out of account decadent tribes whose totemsm is no longer a living force, the totem is not enten by the members of the clant, and even among the Aranta he eats of it sparingly, not as food for himself, but in the course of ceremonies intended to increase the numbers of the totem for the benefit of non-clausmen-clearly a very different thing from the use of the totem as food by the clan, which is implied by the words quoted above.

It may be true to say that primitive peoples believe in a supreme force, but if they believe, they do not recognise it; the supreme force is in fact an idea brought out by an effort of synthesis on the part of the armchair sociologist; at the same time it is possible that the idea is, from the standpoint of logic, to be justified.

Again, to say that the totem is the source of life is true, at most, in a very restricted sense; violation of totamic tabus is believed to entail barrenness in women, perhaps; but I do not recall any direct statement that the life of the individual is due to the totem whether by way of incarnation or as a creator who implants in the future mother the germ of a new life. The Arunta it is true, associate pregnancy with the incarnation or reincarna-

<sup>1</sup> Revue de l'Histoire des Religious, EXVII, 181-191 (Muret) : Zeitsche, f. ug. Spruche, XLVIII, 152 sq.; op, ett., x13x, 196-7; Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vi, 404 foll. 1 Auction Egypt, 1, 28.

I allimbe below to the ritual eating of the Edo toteum.

tion of totemic ancestors or their emanations; but there is good reason to believe that the Arunta philosophical system is a comparatively late product; which has everthrown an earlier totemism of a more ordinary type; in any case it is illegical to argue from a single exceptional case.

This brings me to another point: M. Moret ways that totemism is associated with primitive peoples in their early stages. With that statement in view, it is natural to expect in his article some justification of his assertion of the existence of totemism in Egypt, which was certainly not primitive at the time when we first learn anything of the ka. He however accepts the view that totemism cannot be shown to have existed in Egypt, at any rate so long as better evidence is not brought to light.

The term totemism is, in spite of an enormous literature, a vague one; and writers on the subject hover between two opinions, making the essence of totemism alternately the social side, i.e. the association of sections of a tribe into definite groups, and the magico-religious side, i.e. the performance of rites like those of the Arunta in virtue of a bond of union between the kin and the totem. On the whole the tendency seems to be to throw overboard one after another all the ideas originally associated with totemism and to recognise that no definition can be given which will hold good for all areas in which are found institutions which we term totemic. There is certainly much to be said for the view that there is no single origin to which we can trace all such forms it is prima facie for more probable that, as with secret societies, elements have combined in different proportions in different areas and, by a process which anthropologists term convergence, have come to bear similar or somewhat similar aspects without being in reality referable to identical causes.

Even if it were possible to lay down with some definiteness that totemism was known in Egypt at some early stage of development, it would still be a very different proposition to argue that any Egyptian institution of historic times can be referred to totemism for its origin. There may be parts of the world where totemism has developed into a cult of local gods or into ancestor worship or into some other form more in keeping with later ideas; but such cases are, so far as our evidence goes, infrequent: in the ordinary way totemism, when decadence sets in simply disappears. There are considerable remains of totemism in West Africa; the Edo of Benin City\*, for example, have different burial rites for each totam kin, and the central feature of their rites is the ceremonial eating of the flesh of the totem; in certain families the rite is degenerate and the food is simply thrown away; yet in spite of this the mention of, or questions about, the totem of a family will often provoke a smile on the part of the informant at the idea of any one being interested in anything so insignificant. If this is the case with a people among whom the totem still plays a part in ritual, still more is it true of the peoples, and they are the majority, among whom no such rôle is or has ever been, so far as can be seen, attributed to it.

Even if then totemism were proved for primitive Egypt, it would still be far from proven that the idea of the ka was derived from it. Before such a proposition could be admitted it would be necessary to treat from a historical point of view the notion of the ka

To has now been shown that in Fiji two kinds of toteraism guist which cannot be referred to a single origin.

In tarkropes, XXI, 234-18, there appeared a paper on this subject ever my name; but I never received a proof, and I observe that at least one table and possibly a partian of the MS. has been unitted or lost in some way.

and show that it existed in something like the form assigned to it in later times, at an epoch when totemism was still, if not a living force, at any rate so near the common stock of ideas as to make it a fruitful source of secondary principles.

As I have pointed out above, the procedure adopted by M. Moret is to summarise the ideas associated with totemism in every part of the world and to assume that, if totemism existed in ancient Egypt, the picture thus drawn would be a true portrait of Egyptian totemism. It is, as I have said, a composite photograph; and the types from which it is built up are so different that we can hardly recognise the traits of a single one in the

picture thus drawn.

It may not be out of place to observe that from the point of view of method, M. Morat's procedure was indefensible. If one desires to draw with some amount of realism a portrait of an institution, the natural procedure is, if direct evidence as to its control features is not available, to collect evidence as to similar institutions in the peoples contiguous to the area whose social organisation is in question; and then, if there are no reasons for supposing that they differed widely from those of which a hypothetical sketch is to be constructed, to evolve the latter from a consideration of the relevant evidence. In other words, if we wish to arrive at an idea of what ancient Egyptian totemism was like, if it ever existed, the proper procedure is to sift the African evidence—and the evidence from any other area which may have left its impress on Egypt, and on this basis to evolve a sketch of the Egyptian creed.

If this method had been adopted, M. Moret would have found himself short of many

of the concepts which form his totomic parallels to the ideas expressed in the ka,

In point of fact it can hardly be said that one single point of all those enumerated by

M. Moret is characteristic of African totemism.

At most there is a vague resemblance to a protective genins to be found in some of the actiological myths that are told to explain the association of the sacred animal with the kin. A family that respects the python tells, for example, a story that one of its ancestors once crossed a river on the back of a python, on which were growing plants, so that he thought it was dry land; after he had crossed, the python sank with a great noise into the depths of the river and the man was amazed; hence his descendants respect the python to this day. In the Ibo country some towns account for their sacred animals by saying that once when their forefathers were pursued by enemies, the sacred animal, a squirrel in two cases, obliterated the tracks of the fugitives and saved their lives.

This is however by no means the same thing as regarding the animal as a genius; and it is this that M. Moret's theory requires. In order to come into that category a totem must be supposed to act as a living helper to the kin at the present day. It must be remembered that an actiological myth by no means corresponds to an event in the history of a tribe; it is a story invented to explain an association of an animal species with a human kin; and has no more claim to authority than has a folk-etymology among ourselves

to a place in the Oxford Dictionary.

Not only so; but in other cases, so far from the totem being regarded as a benefactor, the actiological myth explains its sanctity as being due to its once having brought disgrace on an ancestor. One of the Edo awaight, thinkie (black beams), was being eaten by a man when visitors came to see him, and fragments clung to his beeth when he went out to see them; here there is no vestigo of the totom as genins.

Apart from stories of this sort there are two main features in West African totemism-

respect for the totem and asually, but not invariably, an exogamous rule for the kin; neither of these figures in M. Moret's list of essentials. There is, therefore, not even remote evidence of a totemic origin of the ka, if we survey the facts which should throw light on the subject.

Even were it otherwise, the difficulties raised by the theory would be only beginning. If it were argued that the ka began by being a royal emblem which was later extended to other men, the gods and material objects, the theory might be unintelligible; but it would be possible, from the point of view of totemism. We have evidence that the totem of the chief may be taken by his people as a national emblem; or that for some reason the whole or greater part of a kin may be segregated and give rise to a form of local totemism, with the same ultimate result. But this is not the contention; in fact M. Moret says that in protohistoric times we find represented on the most ancient monuments as "enseigne de collectivité" the ka. But this signification appears to have been lost.

What we have to account for, then, is the use of the ka as a universal emblem for individuals; and it is here that totemism clearly leaves M. Moret in the lurch. The totem may be common to a local group, but it is not common to the tribe; a tribal emblem is not a totem, nor is the sacred animal of a tribe. Much less is the sacred animal of a whole nation a totem. But this is precisely what M. Moret's theory demands. If the ka was evolved from a totem, it was evolved presumably from more than one totem simultaneously. Or are we to suppose that one totem kin evolved a ka, that the others followed suit, but, instead of taking their own totems for their ka, agreed to adopt that of another, possibly remote, perhaps hostile kin! Now that is not the way in which the totem is honoured and where totemism is a living force; a man respects his own totem, not that of another man, not even that of his own wife. This is an objection that does not seem to have occurred to the supporters of the ka-totem theory; but it is a solid one and fatal to their hypothesis.

Even if this objection could be avaded, there is another form of so-called totemism to which the ka is far more akin than to totemism proper. I need not go into details as to the "bash soul," which will be found in the Golden Bough; I will simply quote one early authority to show the kind of belief to which I allude. Writing of the Nalu and Baga in 1594, Alvarea d'Almada' says that they "say that they put their souls in animals, such as beopards and lions and all the most courageous animals; and that if the animal dies in which they say they have put their soul they also die." This belief appears at times to be associated with true totemism; but its real kinship is with the double or "life-index," to which I shall have occasion to allude below.

It is of course improbable that all the Egyptians would have had the same soul animal; but there are concrete instances in which this is found to be the case; if M. Moret had advanced his theory in this form it would have been far more plausible. At the same time it would not have explained why a ka is attributed either to a god or to a material object. In order to do that we must turn to another West African belief which is in various forms found from Calabar to near the Atlantic Coast in the west, perhaps not in every tribe, but at least in many, and those the tribes on whose beliefs we have the most reliable data.

If any one familiar with West African customs—or even with the literature of the subject—were asked to say which side of them comes nearest to the notions embedied in the Egyptian to, he would probably refer the enquirer, among other authorities, to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Traindo brave del Ries de Guina, Linkon, 1841, p. 69; cf. Authropsa, XXI, 195.

summary of the beliefs of the Mandingo and other tribes which is found in the work by M Delafosse, entitled Hant-Senegal-Niger | From that work, which is itself a summary of unpublished reports, we learn that there are two central conceptions—the breath of life and what we may term the soul-that go to make up man, as he appears on earth-

I will not attempt to summarise the account given by M. Delafossa; I have dealt with the subject in an article on Reincarnation in the next volume of Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion, to which I will also refer for a more detailed presentation of the other West African beliefs to which I allude in this paper.

But a much nearer parallel to the Egyptian view is found among the Agni-Twi, Ewe-Ede and Ibo tribes, which inhabit the coastal area from the Gold Coast to the Kamerun boundary. I have summarised these beliefs in the article alluded to.

If we examine the Ewe ideas, we find that, as in Egypt, we are sometimes dealing with a genius, sometimes with a double, sometimes with the image which represents these personages. Among the Edo it is impossible to say whether the central feature of the mative idea is that the chi is a tutelary spirit of a man or that it is a counterpart of a man who remains in elimi, when the man is on the earth, and at his death takes in his turn a human body and makes his appearance as a man.

But before I go into detail on the subject it may be well to say a few words on the terminology of the native languages. The words to which I am referring appear in three sub-groups, the Agni-Twi, the Edo-Ewe and the Ibo-Efik: the Yoruba intervene between the Edo and the Ewe at the present day; they appear to share the ideas of the tribes which I mention, but do not belong to any of the sub-groups mentioned, though, like the others, they form part of what is sometimes called the Kwa group of Sudanic languages.

In this group of languages and also in other groups of Sudanic tongues there is a suffix 6, which is of unknown meaning; it is especially in Ewe, Twi and Ga, added to nouns without, so far as can be seen, altering their meaning. This suffix h is found to undergo various changes; added to a word with a root vowel a, the vowel of the suffix may be assimilated, so that the word takes the form bala; this again takes the forms bla, ba'a, ba, bal; there are other possible variations with which we are not now concerned.

Now in Ewe the word for genius or double is aklama, in Twi kra, kara, or okra, in Ga kla or okla. These words have been derived by Westermann's from a root meaning " to promise," and associated with the idea that the spirit of man, when he leaves the other world to be born on earth, gives a solemn promise to return to the other side within a given period. This promise has, according to Westermann, been personified and is now the double or genius of the man.

It is quite possible that the idea of a promise is associated with the word and with the genius in the Ewe area; but so far as my experience goes it is not a feature either of Edo or of Ibo beliefs.

In the Efik language of Calabar, which is an older branch of Ibo, so far as can be seen, the akana is a solemn promise to return; but it is not associated with any idea of a double or genius. The Ibo denga, a personal tutelary spirit, is perhaps to be associated with this

<sup>1</sup> M. DELAFOSSE, Hant Schopal Niger, 3 vol., Paris, 1912.

See also N. W. THOMAS, Edo Report, vol. 1, 40-41; Ibo Report, vols 1, 30-34, 1v, 18-27; London 1910, etc.

Die Sudmanwashen, Hamlung, 1910, p. 147.

Efik belief; but here again there is no idea of a double; the *Reaga* is in no way associated, so far as I recall with reincarnation beliefs. If therefore the promise is in the Ewe area personified and incorporated in the genius or double, it is far from improbable that syncretism has been at work. This view is borne out by the account which is given by Christaller of the okra. He takes the view that the natives believe it to exist before a man's birth and that it may be the soul of a relation or other person already dead who obtains leave to visit the world again; when he is sent down from heaven be takes with him his fate and the assignment of his fate is in Fanti described by the world kra. There is a double view as to the nature of the okra, or kara, which figures both as a soul and a genius; when a man dies, it leaves him gradually; but once gone it becomes a seen or osamba.

In another sense the okra is the same as the krabo, a young slave taken by his or her master to be a confidant and sacrificed on his temb when he dies. This slave is looked upon as the soul of his master or mistress.

It seems therefore to be quite open to question whother Westermann's derivation, though plausible, is correct.

If there were no traces of Egyptian influence in Africa, it would undoubtedly be imprudent to look for an Egyptian origin for the kla. It has been pointed out above that, so far as the morphology of the word goes, the form kla is precisely what we should expect to find. But even this is a stender prop for a far-reaching speculation. If however we turn to the Fang language, of the N-W. Congo area, although we do not find the word ka, the circle of ideas associated with it is represented by terms whose intimate connection with the corresponding Egyptian words it is not easy, bearing in mind that the correspondences are comparatively numerous, to dismiss as a theory devoid of foundation. We find for example  $khun \ (=khu)$ , spirit or ghost,  $ba \ (cf.\ ba,\ soul) = creative\ principle, sele <math>(=sebe)$ , circumcise, not to speak of more doubtful correspondences such as sdsa-ran, name, or ki (cf. sekhem), power.

Even if we had only the single case of khun = khu, it would surely be highly improbable that both this and the kla should by pure chance correspond so closely to Egyptian words and ideas.

If we turn to customs, we find much in the burial rites of West Africa which recalls mummification. In one of our earliest records of native customs, at the opening of the XVI century, we find that in Sierra Leone, the body of an important man was opened by an incision in the side; the entrails were taken out and washed, and sweet smelling herbs, meal and rice used to fill the body cavity. Again, in the present day in the Ibo country a blacksmith is hippered for fourteen days, instead of being buried immediately; his body is placed over a slow fire as a means of drying up the fluids. From linguistic evidence it is clear that there is an element in the Ibo people which came into the country from the north-east; they are probably to be identified with the people of Aguku or Nri, in the Ibo country, who regard themselves as the spiritual lords of the Ibo, and distinguish themselves from the people by whom they are surrounded. I do not of course suggest that this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Westernaks, Sadauspraches, p. 147; Christaller, Dictionary of Fanti and Asharti Languages s.v.; T. J. Hutchisson, Ten Years in Ethiopia, p. 129; J. Adams, Remarks, p. 27; H. C. Moneau, Bidging til en Skildning, p. 247.

C. Zeitschr, f. Ethnologie, XLIII, 1-70.
 Abb. Hest. kl. Buyer, Akad., ix. 1, 133.

stock was of Egyptian origin; but it may well have been the bearer of Egyptian culture, and both the rites alluded to are reminiscent of Egypt; but probably the migration in question was the last of many, and occurred too late to account for the facts.

The archaeological results of the Frobenius expeditions appear to have provided the necessary testimony for those who ask for more than inferential evidence from resemblance of customs. If the heads dug up in the Yoruba country do actually afford proof of contact with Egypt two thousand five hundred years ago, it is not going beyond our evidence to argue that the reincarnation beliefs with which I have been dealing can be traced, at least in part, to Egyptian influence.

I do not suggest that there is no native element in the beliefs; on the contrary, it would be astonishing if they were transferred from one culture to another without undergoing all serts of modifications, to which it would be easy to find anthropological parallels elsewhere.

Take for example the confidential slave, which represents an element unknown, so far as I know, in Egypt. The double or genius was known in Benin as the and there was a person known as Elioba, the king's the; in the rites of Ake at Idumowina, close to Benin, when the priest was absent from the ogwarbo or shrine, a woman sat in his seat; and I was told that she was his the In Sierra Leone some of the chiefs, when they succeed, choose their nearest friend to occupy a certain position; this man must not live in the same town; he may demand money or anything else he pleases from the chief, with whose life his own seems to be bound up; if the chief refuses his demands he may take a palm nut and crush it; and the chief will find his life in danger; if the "friend" draws his sword half way from its sheath, the chief's health is affected; and so on.

In these three cases the "life-index" is associated with a person of rank or functions above the common; in the case of Sierra Leone there is no suggestion that a belief in reincurration has anything to do with the enstom; in fact reincurration is not part of the creed of the tribes of that area. It is therefore probable that the "life-index" element of the custom of the Fanti, to which the authors allude, is associated with the kra complex by a process of syneretism. And the same may be true of other features; the development may have been parallel, complicated by lateral influences.

I give the Sierra Leone facts, mentioned above, only in the merest outline, as my notes are for the time being not accessible; but similar facts as to other less noteworthy cases were published in my report on Sierra Leone. In one chiefdom was a man who was called the krife (spirit) of the chiefship; he was not to live in the same house as the chief and at the death of the latter another man was chosen. At Make the name given to this personage was Sanko; when the chief died he was compelled to remain indoors. In both these cases we have a dim reflection of the Gold Coast custom.

There is an interesting series of facts as to customs in which when a man is dead one of his relatives represents him and sits in his chair; in the Edo country this man is called the nodiruia; I have dealt with some of the cases in an article on Secret Societies in the next volume of the Encyclopaedia of Religion and will not deal with thom here; but it is clear that they are parallel to the customs under discussion.

Both in the Yoruba country and among the Temne if one of twins dies, it is the custom to make an image; without it the remaining child would probably die; this brings

us very near to the doll; and in the Ibo country the doll does in fact seem to perform some magical purpose in the hands of full grown women or betrothed girls. By the side of the

facts as to the use of images of the kra these customs are very significant.

It may therefore be taken as established that there is in West Africa a wide-spread custom or belief as to the association of a living person, an image, or an imaginary being with a living person, and that the two elements are so closely bound together that their lives or existences depend, in large measure, on each other. If need be, further facts could be quoted from Ibo beliefs; the ci is associated with the birth of a child; it corresponds in part to the ago or spiritual ancester of another part of the Ibo area; from another point of view the ci is a tutelary deity, the emblem of which is cut in pieces when the owner dies. But enough has been said to establish beyond question the point at issue. If these facts had been known to M. Moret I cannot but believe that he would have found nearer home a parallel to the ka, and would have explained it from African data instead of ransacking the world for parallels of doubtful validity.

I speak advisedly when I use the term parallels; it is conceivable that the ku has developed in Egypt uninfluenced by native African beliefs; and that the latter have again gone on their allotted cycle without interference from the higher culture of Egypt. That is a question which will be ripe for discussion if, one day, an American millionaire wakes up to the fact that the traces of Egyptian influence in West Africa are worthy of study, and sends out an expedition to collect the necessary data before they vanish into the limbo

of forgotten creeds and rites.

If native tribes have left an impress on the more developed ideas of Egypt, it is perhaps by gradual infiltration and moulding of germs already in existence; if Egypt has influenced the wilder peoples, it may have been by the slow spread of ideas from tribe to tribe; but trade, the search for gold and more direct influences cannot well have failed to play a part. One thing is certain, if there was anything like direct transference of ideas or customs, they would remain comparatively unchanged in their new home only if something closely analogous were already in existence there.

We have to recken with two other possibilities besides simple transference; they are parallel development (i.e. of something in the nature of an *Elementargedanke*) and descent from a common source. If the facts are related in minute detail, both these theories can be ruled out. It is a question on which further research may throw more light. But logical alternatives do not mean that we must in practice trace our facts to one source or expect to find uncontaminated data. We may find parallel development or descent plus lateral influence.

If I am right in supposing that the bla can be traced back to the Egyptian bu, it can only have effected a lodgement and confirmed its position because it found kindred ideas in the native mind, perhaps in a less organised form. But I bay less stress on the phonetic and semantic equivalence of the terms than on the maxim that parallels on which to base explanations of Egyptian beliefs must be sought, not in ideas drawn at madom from the whole wide world, but from the cultural areas most intimately associated with Egypt. This would hold good even were the data invoked from distant continents good in quality and indisputable in interpretation; still more does it hold good when, as in the parallels cited from totemism, the supposed facts are either non-existent except in the imagination of arm-chair ethnologists, or are, at best, neither wide-spread nor normal elements of the complex which they have been taken to represent.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above was written the study of Trilles, Le Totémisme cher les Fang, on which I relied for the parallels quoted above, has disclosed that he has understated the case for the connection with Egypt. The absence from the list of any word related to ka, though it might be explained away, was a puzzling and somewhat disconcerting feature of the case; if there were no trace of the ka in Fang beliefs or vocabulary, the inevitable result was to weaken the force of the argument from the half dozen words quoted.

I find however in the work cited (pp. 349 foll., etc.) an account of the akamagon, or "aka of the nation" or clan (ayou) by which is meant, according to the author, the "materialised totom" or the totality of objects which constitute the totom and are related to it.

It would take me too far to discuss the question in all its bearings; I therefore content myself with putting forward the hypothesis that this aka, made up of a number of different objects, but in its essence the material representation of the totem, is derived from the ka and can be correlated with the various West African forms of the genius. A recent study of West African totems mhas led me to the view that, in some of its forms, it is intimately connected with the reincarnation complex; the hereditary totem was probably the "bush soul" of the family or, at least, derived from some closely related belief.

So far as the Fang was concerned, the probability of this view is increased by the fact that a part of the aka is known as the meamagn or "spiritual ancestor of the tribe," represented as a rule by a fragment of his skull; in fact the chief constituent of the bian-akamagon is this very fragment of skull surrounded with nine other objects destined to reinforce its power.

It is an important point that the meame is concerned, like the kra, with the things of this life, there is no meame in the future life. As a working hypothesis therefore there is, it appears to me, ample justification for regarding the aka as a derivative of the ka and my argument from the Fang parallels, put forward in the body of my paper, gains correspondingly in force. If I am right in taking this view, it is not less, but more, probable that the kra can also be equated with the ka. On the other hand, the fact that among the Fang the ka complex is associated with a form of totemism lends no support to M. Moret's view as to the origin of the ka. Where reincarnation beliefs are associated with totemism, the latter appears as a derivative of the former; it may be possible to maintain the opposite view; but whereas the theory put forward here accounts for the origin of one form of totemism and explains how the contradictory views as to the ka came into existence, the opposite view leaves totemism anexplained and gives us, as I have shown above, a theory of the origin of the ka which is full of difficulties for the student of totemism.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY 1918-1920: ANCIENT EGYPT

### BY F. Lt. URIFFTTH, M.A.

Tax following pages are intended to record principally the printed output of the last two years; they include however many lients which appeared earlier but had escaped note in the Journal coving to the war. Doubtless the record is still far from complete; it would have been more so but for the kindings of the Editor and Prof. Rosrovrzeer in lending me books and furnishing references.

The British Museum has published a small and very convenient Illustrated handbook and written by a group of experts especially for travellers in the Near and Millie East. It is entitled How to charge in

Archaeology. Plinders Parene contributes the special section on Egypt.

Professor Burastate writing on The place of the near Grient in the cureer of man and the task of the American Orientalist (Journal Amer. Or. Soc. xxxxx 150) pants out the analogy between the bridge uniting North with South America and that joining Europe and Asia as the midi of divilisation for their respective creas. He urges that the Orientalist should pay attention to material remains and conditions equally with language, and amounces the foundation of an Oriental Institute in the Haskell Meseum at Chicago for the study and collection of material of all kinds in the Ancient East. In a further article entitled The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Assertion Jose nat of Semitic Long, and Let XXXV 196) Renastro calls on America to do what impoverished Europe cannot so justly be expected to accomplish, namely to explore the perishing records of the mother of our civilisation in lands formerly under Turkish rule now more open to research. Mr Roczerencen has given an endowment of 10,000 dollars annually to the Institute for the object of tracing the rec of man in the Near East from savagery through various degrees of civilisation, and the transmission of this civilisation to Europe.

It is earnestly to be desired that Prof. BREARTED's views may provail not only in America, but also zontan's mentandis in the British Empire, so that its government may at length range uself with those of European countries in the fostering of historical research in the Near East. A note on the petition to the Treasury for the establishment of a British Institute in Cairo is printed in Journal v 303. The stirring and judicious Presidential Address of Sir Charles Hercules Rean to the Society of Antiquaries, 1920, with the subtitle Andrewlogy after War may be commended to the attention of the British untion; in repreducing General Mande's Proclamation regarding antiquities in Mesopotamila as an encouraging sign of the times. Warnwritter makes some apt remarks on the destructive effects of ignorance and treasure-housing upon historical and artistic remains, Ann. Egypt, 1920, 88.

Amongst the British Museum Guides written by Sir K. A. W. Budun to one on The Book of the Doub. explaining its name and purpose, with Illustrations of deities, vignettes and writing, and another on The Resette Stone with a sketch of the deciphorment of Egyptian and a summary of the exmemts of the decree of Epiphanes.

Mrs Ucant Wildams gives an account of the beginnings of American interest in Ancient Egypt, entonizating in the acquisition of the Abbett collection after a prolonged effort in 1860. It appears that the dissignation Amerikani was hardly known in Egypt before 1832, in which year an American consuler agent was appointed for the first times. The place of the New York Hist. Soc. in the growth of American interest in Egyptology, N. Y. Hist. Soc., Quarterly Bull. 18 3.

Miss W. E. Howe has written a History of the Metropolitan Museum of Are (which was founded in

1869) with an introduction on early institutions for Art in New York.

Buxaxta reports on work at the Alexandria Museum during the war; the stone pylons and alter of the temple of Paepheres were transported from Theadelphia to the Museum where they were re-crected in 1915-10. A large musule from Thinnis was transferred from Caire. Municipalité et Alexandrie, Rapport me la Marche du Service du Musée 1914-15, 1915-16, 1916-17, 1917-18.

The Institut Egyption, founded in 1859, on 1 Nov. 1915 changed its designation to Institut d'Egypto, the title which had been adopted in 1799 by the savants of Napoleon's expedition. Its Training Liere

of Or has just been imblished, containing the names of members, list of publications etc. for the period a May 1900 to 31 Oct. 1918.

A review of Egyptology and Papyrology entitled Acceptus has been founded at Milan. The officer is Prof. Calculated who is assisted by P. do Francescu and G. Farina. It is to be published in four parts annually; of the first volume two have already appeared.

The publication of Assists Egypt has now been resumed. Consequent on the absorption of the Society of Biblical Archaeology by the Boyal Asiatic Society, Laranz has contributed a sketch of the history of the former society to the Journ. R. As. Soc. 1919 p. 25.

The Revve Egyptologique, which ceased to appear in 1914 owing to the death of its Editor Engine Reventions, has made an excellent beginning in a new series edited by Monne and Jounney.

Bibliographies are numerous:—of Africana for 1916 by Ashennes Hierard African Studies it 205; systematic bibliography of Egyptian research during three or four years past including papyrology, Caliberal Aggress (11); of Amient Egypt 1915—1917 by Fantsa in Himsels degli Studi Orientedi 1919 viii pp. 01—011. A General Index to the "Proceedings" of the Society of Hibbinal Archaeology, vols. xxxi—xi. is compiled by W. L. Nasa.

Butters received received for the remarkable results of Russian's Harvard-Roston expeditions in Egypt and Nutria since 1912, and particulars of the extraordinary find of temple silver-work at Denderch, of Ptolemaic time; unfortunately the silver is poor in style and in very poor preservation. Jegapher : 83.

Of books of travel in Egypt, Bullous Through Egypt in War-lins contains some illustrations of archaeological interest on the El 'Arish road, the Siweh Casis etc. Human's Im Reiche der Pharuman 500 pp. is condemned by Whenzinski as a waste of good paper Or. Lit. Zeit. XXII 89. The human side of an expanator's life in the Near East is pleasingly portrayed by t. L. Woolley Dead (Nies and Living Man. In two well-illustrated volumes By Nie and Tigris Sir E. A. W. Burder records his adventures as a collector of Egyptian and other transuces for the British Museum from 1886—1913; one of the plates figures a volumn from a papyrus of precepts of Amenophis IIII, a new delight in store for scholars.

Lieunars's Longar sans to Phorous is reviewed by Monny Rev. Egyptologique N.S. 1 129. Computer Memonthis Aboutie by Faivne, translated into English by A. Guanville, is a guide to the history and remains of those places.

The following contributions to African anthropology etc. have been met with in preparing this Bibliography, and seem of interest in connaxion with Egypt: in the Harmerd African Studies vol. it p. 105 a detailed account of The Kababish, a Sadan Arab trobs by C. G. and B. Z. Salindan: p. 104 some Biblioth bushes in the Peabody Masson by Steines; p. 200 Simila politry (nand-made, by woman) by O. Bates: p. 310 green public in a gold harmess said to be from Gebolian (Editorial Notes): p. 317 Nubian bolief that certain men can change into crossellles: p. 329 walking sticks of case from Sennar with roots trimmed, making rode hand and ages as of the Jacoptre; the Jacoptre can be illustrated from Maxican prayer sticks (Editorial Notes). In Sadan Notes and Records at 8 H. C. Jacobox refers to the use of a dag that has been offered at a holy man's grave to protect cultivation and property left by the way-side [cf. ].

Hans STURME, the well-known authority on Berber languages, reviews the state of our knowledge of the Siwan dialect. The materials (recabularies only) are all very imperfect, owing largely to the luck of consecutive tests and of phanetic precision in the recent. He publishes the vessibility made by Freiherr von Gruwar in the two winters 1898—1900. Eles Samulang über des berberitehen Dialekt der Oass Sloss (Ber. Silchs, Ges. in Leipzig, 1914). To these materials may now be added a short vocabulary with phrases etc. collected by Mr Quincit and Mr Tweeder published at the end of Quincit's Visit to Sloss (Jun. du Service xviii 97).

#### EXCAVATIONS AND EXPLORATIONS.

Having purchased the portfolios of drawings made on G. A. Hoskins' journeys in 1833 and other years, Dr A. H. Gamman amounces that these interesting but not very skilful records are available to any student who may wish to consult them in London. Journal v 304.

BUTANA. J. W. CROWFOOT describes Meroitic and other sites visited in 1916, in the region which lies between the Atburn and the Blue Nile and eastward of the broad sandstone belt on the right bank of the Nile, and gives a drawing of the remarkable Meroitic rock-carring on Jobel Geili. He considers that the

habitation, sultivation and abandonment of ground and settlements at different periods are due to political rather than elimatic changes. Old Siles in the Butana (Sudan Notes and Records tri 85)

NAPATA. In Harvard African Studies II. REISER publishes a Prelimenry Report on the Harvard-Baston arcusations at Nari: the bings of Ethiopia after Tirhaqu. A systematic though summary account, with illustrations of the brilliant results of Reisear's excavation of the pyramids at Nari in 1917, giving us 20 sepulchres of the Ethiopian kings (vieven of the names were previously unknown) as well as many queens. Literary sources and inscriptions touch only a few of the kings, but from the position of their pyramids and the changes of style in the archaeological remains, Dr Raisea r is able to arrange them in a provisional order which seems more than plausible. Wonderful series of minabite, and of foundation deposite consisting of plaques and model tends, and a little jewellery were found. These 20 kings appear to represent practically the entire Ethiopian dynasty from Tirhaga down to the resolution of Enganesis

who slow the pricate of Napata.

Since then Prof. Rrisker has had the good fortune to discover (Feb. 1919) the sepalatures of Plankhy, Shabako, Shabakaka and Tanutaman in the remains of four small pyramids at al-Kurrit, on the right bank of the Nile a few miles down stream from Gebel Barkal, thus completing the last of imitals of Ethiopian kings. As Tanutaman was not buried at Nart, the pyramid attributed to him there in the previous year can now be assigned to his missing successor Administra. It is very important to have proved that Shabako and his successor were buried at Napata and not in Egypt. Moreover it is evident that el-Kurrit had been the seat and buried-place of Shabako's accessors for several generations. The pyramids were almost absurdly small, but the funerary deposits but been valiable, and even the remnants left by tomb-robbers comprise much precious metal. A number of arrowheads of find and chalcedony were among the finds in several of the ancestral tunnell. The dynasty was of Libyan origin. Russian Discovery of the Tombs of the Egyption XXVth Dynasty at el-Kurruse in Dangolo Province (in Sudon Notes and Queries in 237). Important facts and suggestions regarding this dynastic family and their ourtal places are given by Russian Note on the Harvard-Boson Excavations at el-Kurruse and Barkal in 1918—1919 in Journal vi 61.

Lower Number. Second livraison of Les Temples immergie de la Nubie, Documents sur l'Etat numero des Monuments, tenne 1, completing the volume and the valuable series of plane and views of the temples etc. made between 1826 and 1838 and preserved in the Hay and Burton MSS, in the British Museum. The first part, published in 1912, contained twelve plates of the temples of Dakkeh and Kalabsheh with Hay's very brief notes; the present one, 23 plates of other nonuments from Amada northwards, with remarks by Mr Somers Charke.

KURANIER. A righly illustrated memoir publishing in a very complete and detailed manner a prehistoric necropolis a cometery of Dyn. XII, and another of the Christian period. The first included Early, Middle and Late Prehistoric graves, and in the carry of stons vessels etc. resembled the Nubian more than the typical Egyptian remains of the kind. Juneau Bericht aber die tirabungen der Akad. d. W. in Wien unf den Pricillaten von El-Kubanich-Sud, winter 1910—1911 (Denkubriften of the Viguna Academy, Bd. 62 no. 3).

THERES. West Bank. Danies publishes a report written in 1888 of the elementee of the tembs of Bamesses VI and Ramesses X, in the course of which large numbers of outrans were discovered, Rapport pur to deblaicement des Tombes 6 et 9 de Riban el-Molonk (Ann. du Service XVIII 270).

The work of the French Institut in the spring of 1917 and the winter of 1917-18 inclinded character of tunies at Gurnet Murrai, where were found the temb of Amenomatical (see Journal V p. 288) and some others; the temb of Amenomatical (see Journal V p. 288) and some others; the temb of Amenomatical (see Journal V p. 288) and some others; the temb of Amenomatical (see Journal V p. 288) and some others; the temb of Amenomatical (see Journal V p. 288) and some others; the temb of Kha-bekhoun (with a curious scene described by Foundar) and another were discovered, Gauthian Rapport somewire sur isofounded of Fast. Fr. data for new, Thiborna en 1917 of 1918 (data du Service XIX ). Functory comes, many of them new and interesting, discovered at various points In. Comes Functories transfer & Thibes rates 1918 (Bull Inst. Français XVI 185). In the present year on the hill behind Shelkh (Abd el Kurnah Wixnocs working for the Metropolitan Museum has found a temb of Dynasty XI craumed with an uncampital variety of weeden models of sacrifice, etc. Journal VI 220; muth of the entrance of King Museuptali's tomb, Lord Carnaryon and Howard Carran have found some large alabaster jars with the names of Ramesses II and Memptah, Journal VI 231.

East Bank. Darksey reviews Lyonath's results from clearances, between the Luxor temple and the river, in the light of his own notes made in excavations of 1885 and subsequently. Legenin's interpretation of the Roman resonancests found in 1917 as belonging to a forem has not been justified by the subsequent

work; tests of two hieroglyphic stellar of Trajan found here in 1887 and 1891. Notes sur Lourse de la

periode Remaine et Conto (Ann. du Servier 313 150).

AMARNA. The work of the Doutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in the two seasons 1911-1913 was mitired in Journal 1 208; The excavations were resumed on 16 Nov. 1913. Boughaster's report shows that the builders of Akheraton were not deterred by the possibility of terrents from covering the low-lying ground with buildings; in such situations the ruins are completely hidden by a compact layer of detritus, over a metre thick. The city was continuous for about 7 kilometres from north to south with a maximum breadth of 14. The building began on either side of the usual road track (still the main road between the modern villages of Et-Till and Haggi Qandil) and was then extended by parallel roads with cross streets at right angles. The main excavation has been along the wealthy quarter of the broad "Street of the High Pringle," and ward of and parallel to the original road which has only been touched here and there by the excepations. Outside the town the reads are seen to be (1) the very appears and well-made desert read to the distant abbaster quarties of Hat-nub; (2) two late roads, both leading to a Roman alabaster quarry not previously observed; (3) toxus roads made in the Tall el-Amarna period, leading to various touries. boundary stellie and other monuments; also circular ways around the outskirts, probably for guarding and policing. Research for further boundary states was fruitless; if the precise statement of the me scriptions that the measures on the east and west sides were alike is to be accepted literally, Boncmanur can only suggest that they were taken along the river courses, of which a second may have existed then at the edge of the Libyan desert. The excavations of 1913-1914 were mostly among small houses previously examined or plandered by excessions and natives. A new point recognised is that while the private gardens of great liminess were about off by high walls, trees were planted outside these walls for the benefit of the public. The doors of one house had been bricked up by its owner, evidently when he left Tell el-Amarua for Thebes, showing the same precautions that are taken now-a days when a house is left empty. Sculpture' workshops yielded evidence that modelling was done in wax mixed with clay. Two cunofform fragments, a syllabary, and a literary text entitled "King of the Battle," afford hope of further finds of tablets in the future. Assymbunges in Tell of Amurna 1913-14; Mitteil d. deutsch. Orient Ges. un. 55 Dex.

At the beginning of these emivations in 1911 a very complete and precise survey of the site of Tell el-Amarus on both sides of the river was made, and was unlarged subsequently to include the alabaster quarries etc. many miles away in the Eastern desert. Paul Timen, Tell of America for der Deutschen Ausgrabang in Jakre 1911 one of the large memoirs of the Society, published in 1917, gives a reduction of the whole survey and a sectional map in eight sheets on the large scale of 1-25,000, with an account of how it was made and a detailed description of the ground illustrated by many photographs. It forms a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the capital of Akhanaton and its surroundings. Reviewed by WHESZINSKI Orientalist, Lit. Zait X21 97-

Landa. The results of Parair's excavations in 1920 include a Prehistoric (7) and First Dynasty cemetery at Lahun, a gold amous inlaid with carnelian, lapis-lazali, and garnet from the rubiash inside the pyramid, a very first inscribed alabaster far accompanied by pottery from the tomb of the princess whose jewellery was discovered in 1914, remnants of the totals of the chief architect of the pyramit, the sarcophagus of a crown prince variously named Pro'messe and 'in a cartonche) "Banicsses beloved of Trutta whose identity is discussed Parata Exercations at Luken ( due, Egypt 1920 1).

FAYYUM, Bain Harm (Theadelphin). Description of the site and the temple of Preferie with its

Inscriptions. Buxcola Theadelpa (Bull. Soc. Arch. Alax, N.S. IV 91).

SARRABER. Excavation of pits with coffins etc. of Saite period. Chanas Fouilles dans la micropole de

Suggerah (Ann. du Servier XIX 208).

Anusin. After an armed conflict with some illegal diggers Tewiik Bouta's found many wooden ushabits in the sand (some in little coffins) of the XVIIIth Dynasty official Amerikas whose tomb is at Thubes, Digging at Zacciet abu Massalliam (Ann. do Service XIX 145), described by Danissa Les Statuenes fundraires transfer à Zarriet Abru Mesullien (ib. 149).

HELIOPOLIS. Tomb of a Musvis bull dated in your 26 of Ramssess II, with stella canopic jars ofco CHARAS Repport our la découverte de la tembe d'un Madris de Ramois II (Ann. du Service XVIII 1931, Danessay La tembe d'un Muéeis de Ramsés H (ib. 196). It lay close to another Muevis tomb (reported on by Ansien bey Kanat as of Ramesses III) of which the component slabs are in the Cairo Museum and are now republished by DARESSY who shows that it was built in reality by Rumesses VII Lo Tombe do Moders de Ramson FII (B. 211).

Arexamples. Col. Truster and Lt.-Col. James describe some exceptations in the consequence in the autumn of 1916 An account of Executations at Chatly Hardsmith and Hadre with alcotch plan (Bull, Soc. Arch. Alex. N.S. 11-79). Brazzia reviewing Jonner Poets submorphis de l'encienne De de Pharos and Compus Memorthis Abactic deplores the destruction for building materials of einterns and other ruins on the coast which were found only in 1915-16 (B. 137).

lighted or Suzz. In an interesting article on the military aspects of the north-east frontier of Egypt in ancient times CLEDAY points out that the railway and water-supply made by the British troops emains a permanent population to the Jifar along the sea-border between Egypt and Palestine. He notes that Ostracine was not on the sea but on the south-east shore of Lake Serbonis, at the end of a canal from the Nile, Pour la computte de l'Egypte (Bull. Inst. Egyption XVI 189). In a second paper, accompanied by a map of the southern and of the latherns of Sunz showing caravine-routes and monuments, Clateat states that (1) he has excevated and collected the fragments of the red granite stells of Durins at Kabret, removing them to Ismailleh where he hopes ultimately to be able to restore a great part of the text (which is very good news). He has found the names of the Persian provinces of Egypt and Libya, but others copied by earlier investigators have disappeared. He has examined the quartrite lass and limestone foundations, showing that it was destroyed in Roman times. (2) He has planned the remnants of a Byzantine fortress at Kabret, commanding the passage between the Bitter Lakes—the conte from Scrapin to Channa. (3) On the carevan route from Sucz to the Wady Tümllät, where Linaxy noted two stellar, he has found them to be granite steller of Ramessas II with remnants of a temple close by, dedicated to Hathor. (4) This discovery has a bouring on the route of the Exodus. Casbar makes Simbe reach Palestine by the north rante and Serbonis; the Israelites started along the same road as far as Etham, which CLEDAT places at Tharn (El Kantarch), but then turned south to Piliahiroth (i.e. the newly discovered temple of Hathor) and proceeded to Nakhileh before turning south to Sinai (5) The stella at Suoz is not of Darius like those further worth, but of Xerxes, indicating that the making of the canal proceeded from the Nile to the ses, its progress being marked by stelae of Darius from point to point, but the sea cast was not completed until Xurxes Notes pur l'Isthme de Suez (Bull. Inst. Eg. XVI 201);

A summary account of the Antiquities on the Desert Court between Egypt and Pulartine especially at Fluidych (Ostracine I) on Lake Serbonis, from observations of Mr Honn and Mr Kennerr, is printed in The Geographical Journal to 486.

#### PUBLICATIONS OF TEXTS.

(a) From sittle in Egypt etc.

Aspts. Decree of year 23 of Ptolemy Epiphanes, assentially a displicate of one already at Caro published in 1911. Unfortunately the text of each is very fragmentary as well as ill-engraved and faulty in the most important historical part, comprising half of the inscription. Darkset Un second exemplaine dis décent de l'an xxiii de Ptolèmes Epiphanes (Rec. de True, xxxviii (75).

THERES. Oranite statue of Sety, thief royal scribe, transmer etc., found south of the Birket Halot, near the Roman temple of Isis named Dur esh-Shelwit. Darresty Une Statue de Deir el Chelmat (Ann. du Secrica XVIII 282).

DESCRIBER. Late stells of high priest of Hather: fragment naming Antel-Co, governor of Upper Egypt; statue in Greek costume of a general and high priest in the southern names [named Pamenkh, son and successor of Pakhon, who is called by the Greek name Hierax in the demotic of the pedestal] Dancest Inscriptions Tentyrites (Ann. du Service xviii 183)

Trusten. Endowment of a tomb of Dyn. IV, the children of the decement being the ka-priests under certain regulations as to inheritance. Larkevar and Money Neural Acts de Fundation de l'Ancien Empire a Telenik (Rev. Egyptologique N.S. 1.30).

ABBUIR. Twenty-two fragments from funerary stells of a royal scribe Min-hotp called Hu-tuta (Dyn. XVIII). Danessy Une Stile fragmentis of Abount (Ann. du Service XIX 197).

Fortar. Base of status of Chephren, fragment of obelisk of Sethos I and Rumesses II, and statue of astrologer holding gromon, band in the excavations of Aly-bey Bannar, unfortunately bearing no references to the asciant city of Babylon (Footat). Dancest Antiquités trouvées à Fostat (Aus. du Sarcies XVIII 275).

Kana. Blocks of Menephiah removed to Caira appear to have formed part of a Heliopolitan obeliek, Dansest L'Obdingue de Quha, with remarks on the he-names given to the king (Ass. de Service XIX 131).

Ecre. Stein probably of Dyn. XXII—XXVI but of a style community attributed to the Ptolemaisperiod. Wintock (who remarks that the whole question of date of the later antiquities needs thorough reexamination) A stein of Perusahasies reas Massain near Editi (Journal vi 200).

BESHS (Athribas). Statue covered with figures of deities and inscriptions of annoual length consisting of magical texts and others recording the pions work of Zeho-paloul especially in seeing to the widiare of the sucred hawks and their embalming is lavieli manner. Danussy Statue de Zedher le Squeeur (Ann. che Service XVIII 113, and a supplementary fragment ile XII 66).

Billiar of statue of Nekhtmelns I (Nekhtmeln) In Un debris de statue de Nectanelo II (Ann. du Service

XIX 138

(h) From Missiams etc.

Camo. Transcript of hieranic pupyrus of the Persian period containing a discree of Amen-ra-conther in favour of Carris, Horus, the sacred cities of Osiris and the goddess Isis. Dansesy Un dievet of Amon on present of Osorio (Ann. do Service xviii :18) : late religious texts on boards placed at back of minimies in the bandages to. Planches de manies (1b. x1z 141); base of statue (belonging to a dealer) sculptured with wife and daughters of a Menighite priest of Imhoten with important liet of festivals of the god. Gaureness Un Nouveru Manument du dies Imhotop (Bill. Inst. Français XIV 33).

FLORESCE. Notes on texts including the famous stein of Sesostris I from Wady Halfa. FARINA

Minima (Sphiar XXI 24).

Bestrix. Archaistic tomb-stone with the hawk-headed god of the Antaeopolite nome and unusual texts. BURGHARDT and ROKDER Ein altertumuladur Grabaters der Spittmit aus Mittelägypten (Zeitz. f. itg. Spr. 14 50).

BRUSSELS. Large and fine though injured Book of the Dead of Dyn. XVIII, with rare chapters, reproduced by photography on a reduced scale and described. Segunzas La Pappeus de Nefer-conpet.

Greenomes. Communication of the publication of the small but highly important collection of Egyptian antiquities from the châtean d'Uriage, given in 1916; comprising a fine stala of the end of Dyn. III, two statues and stell of Dyn. XVIII, the famous Kuban stell of Ramesses II, all completely copied and described, with photographs. Morer Monuments Egyptions de la collection du Conte de Seint-Ferrial (Revies Egyptologique N.S. 11).

Pallis. Transcript of letter of Dyn. XVIII in the Louvin first edited by Massenin concerning the abduction of a young weaving-slave. Stimmenmen Ein Brief des Schreibers Amusis des der Zeit der Thatmosiden (Zers J. ag. Spr. 1.7 84). Statue in the collection of the Comte do Braces dedicated by a pastophorus of Osiris with long genealisty. Bracas Une Status d'Osiris de la xxm. Dynastie avec généalogie

(Revue Egyptologique N.S. ( 39).

LONDON. Duplicate seen by OFFORD of the stell from Mediner Habit recording Tahurqu's restoration of an enclosure for "six goda." Claurenten Les stèles de l'an m de Tuhurque de Medinet Habon (Ann. du Service XVIII (90)

(a) Miscellaneous,

ERMAN has collected and edited the short legands which accompany scence in the Old Kingdom, constating of conversations, exclamations and songs, classified according to the character of the scenes. This work is the result of farty years' study of these interesting scraps. The vocabulary used belongs rather to sulgar speech and differs to some extent from that of the contamperary inscriptions of a formal character. Raden, Bufe and Lieder auf Greiturbildern der Alten Besches (Berlin Acad. Able. 1918).

Tablet of year 22 of Sheshood IV for a priest of Hather of Aphroditopsits; he is shown standing naked before the goldess in the character of the child-gold Thy, hobiling sisterim and means. Pres A stella

of the reign of Shothong IV (Journal VI 36).

(d) Hisratio and Damotic.

ERMAN, reviewing Devaup's careful publication Les Maximes de Plabhotep Vol. 1, objects to the author's method of introducing doubtful emendations into the text while MS readings are relegated to feetnestes, a proceeding which is not justified by our present knowledge of the Egyptian language. Destacks Literaturesitung 1917 857; cf. Moret in Revue Egyptologique N.S. 1 115, Whencenski Orientalist. Lit.

Ostracon from Thebes in which Pay appeals to his son for help in an attack of opinionlines sent by the god Amita-one of several documents which display amongst the poorer classes of the people in the necropolis a poculiar piety and personal relationship to the deity. Ennax Der Brief state Kranken an monen Sohn (Amthinha Berichte AL 12).

The difficult "abnormal hieratic" texts, dated in y. 14 of Takeliothis (Dyn. XXII) on the back of a papyrus of hymnes at Berlin, have been published by Monnes, who shows that they are memorantly of marriage contracts at Thebes, the earliest evidence regarding Egyptian marriage contracts yet found.

This interesting discovery is supplemented by Morran's piscing together of a frequentary papers in Cairo, giving a similar text. Two of Dyn. XXVI previously known are compared, showing substantial identity in form for all that precede the Persian conquest. The author takes the apportunity also to define the formulae of various later groups, belonging to the Persian and Ptolemale periods. Zevi agyptische Ebeverrage aus constitueller Zeit (Berlin Acad. Abb. 1918). Seene reviewing the work in Gottingische gel. Ansagas 1918 352 advances the interpretation of the contracts very considerably. Before the Persian time the business was transacted between the bridegroom and the father of the bride; afterwards the contract is between the bridegroom and the bride herself.

Sixteen demotic and other paper in the British Museum are edited by Nath. Reach; uncluding a loan in "abnormal hieratic" dated 7, 20 of Aprics, paper of Amesis, therins, Ptolemy II, III, IV, V, the native ruler Harmakhia, and Ptolemy VI. The publication is based on admirable photographs, the texts are transcribed and translated with claborate commentaries and indices; it was laid before the Academy in 1911 but bears the date 1917 and has been further delayed so that the author in an additional note is able to refer to Monten's above work of 1918. Paper i perinterior Inhalts in hieratischer and demotischer Schrift ans dem British Museum (Vicuna Acad. Deukahr, Bd. 55).

SETHE republishes a marriage contract on an estracon, first dealt with by Spicombero in 1900 and shows that it was with a divorced woman and terminable after nine months if the woman prove to have been with child. Kin apprincher Vertrag über den Absolute niner Khe and Zoit in demotischer Schrift (Göttingen Nachrichten 1918 298).

As was noted in Journal in 273 the Leyden papyros known as the "Kan" (which contains amongst many other things the Assopian fable of the Lion and the Mouse) has been recognised by Prof. Structuses to describe the massion of the aloquent Thoth-ape (Kufi) to bring the fierer cat-gestless Tephenia home to ber father the sun-ged at Heliopolis. It is now edited with a full transcript and translation of the long text and an index of its exceptionally rich vocabulary; a new facaintle of the absource and tragmentary text is due to the skilled hand of Prof. J. J. Hass and is accompanied by photographs of two well-preserved portions. The work constitutes a very important addition to denictic studies. Prof. Spinonianna attributes the MS, to the second century a.b. and the story in its present form to the Hollenistic age. Der apprilache Mathemasia cons Somesanage (der Papyros der Tierfabele "Kapi").

## HISTORY.

BREASTER'S Assist Times is very favourably reviewed by S. R[EINACH] in Rev. Archiologique v Sér. L 257.

Reviewing Capart's Les Origines de la civilization Egyptienne, Giverbina-Rousient takes the view that the Egyptian civilization, originating in the Delta, was essentially Mediterranean, and that the Egyptians were Semitised Nubania. \* Asyptus 1 104.

Gauthies has provided his great collection in five volumes of the Egyptian soyal names (Live der Ross d'Egypte) with an extensive index of names and titles, published in the Ball. Inst. Français av 1, and entitled Répertoire Pharmonique.

Roschanior re-examines in detail the Palermo stone of annals and the early pages of the Turin Pappras, with good results in detail (e.g. the recognition of periods of anarchy, and the litergical (correct character of the bicimial "services of Horns"), and arrives at the conclusion that the First Dynasty began in 4186 n.u., about 800 years earlier than has been generally supposed of late years, but leaving the date of the beginning of Dyn. XII undisturbed about 2000 n.c. Die Annalen and die zeitliche Fextlegung des Alten Reiches der ägyptischen Goodsichts (Quellen und Forzchungen vor Zeithenmunung der ägyptischen Goodsichts Ed. 1). The book is diaborately reviewed by Peer, who finds his chronological work entirely inconclusive, though full of ingenious arguments and reconstructions. Journal vi 149. Cf. Lennann Haurs Zur alleste apppraische Chromologie (Klio XVI 200).

R. WEILL's papers on the Middle Kingdom printed in the Journal Asiatigus are collected in two volumes entitled La fin de Moyes Empire; they are reviewed in Ascient Egypt 1920-22, where the conclusions are severely criticised, though the collection of material is admitted to be useful.

Gauritien adds two middle-kingdom visites Ressenh and Hemm to the list compiled by A. Wett in 1906, and proposes to make one wazir Ankhu out of the two in R. Wetta's work. Trais Visite du Moyen Empire (Ann. de Secrice xviii 265).

HEISTER The Viceroys of Ethiopia (Journal vi 28) gives a catalogue of these great officers of the Empire, establishing their order by the momments from their origin in the reign of Amenophis I to their and in Dyn. XX. This valuable paper marks another great step forward in our knowledge of the history of Nuhis: It contains an interesting suggestion also regarding the expansion of the title "king's son" to "king's son of Kush" under Tuthmeels IV. In a continuation of the paper (Journal vi 73) REISKER unamerates the known officials who acted under the Viceroy, and discusses the Viceroy's titles and insignia-

GAUTHER collects and discusses the titles connected with "the Place of Truth" (i.e. the Theben necropolis), some forty in number, making a great advance on earlier collections. Lo Nécropole de Thébes et son personnel (Bull, Inst. Français XIII 153).

Bonchand gives some of the results of working out the finds at Tell el-Amarna Am der Arbeit and den Panden con Tell el-Amarna (Mittell, d. Orient-Gen. 12. 57, März 1817). The use of was for modelling is certain: "altar pieces" of the worship of the Aton are recognised in earlier collections; and the attributions of the portraits of the kings are somewhat revolutionised. The "normal" faces are those of Akhematen's father Amenophis III with the cartouches altered; the Aton-blocks in the tenth pylon of Karnak date from Amenophis III and in some cases are even earlier; probably the Heliopolitan worship of the sun was brought to Hermonthus and thence to Amarna. The cult of the sun at el-Amarna seems to be as early as Tuthmous IV.

SCHAYER publishes some studies on the Tell of-Amarus art and religion. He points out the survival of some of the older funerary observances, but with many differences; publishes fragments of the sarcophagus of princess Mektaton in Berlin with figures of the queen where protecting goddesses atood later. Vulgar Egyptian is employed for inscriptions even in the brief texts on the coffin of Amenophis IV, and probably many of the old formulas had mov meanings attached to them. He reviews BORCHARDY'S Aus der Arbeit, criticising its tone in regard to earlier views and traversing some of his conclusions. With regard to the portraits Bondmann's has proved that certain figures of normal type have had the name of Amesophis III altered to Amenophis IV; but his attempts to assign others to various members of the heretic's family are less successful, and Scharer reproduces a large number of representations of Akhenaton and his queen Nefertite to show in how many respects they vary among themselves. Boarnagor's discoveries afford clear evidence of independent worship of Aton during the reign of Amenophia III; at that time the god is figured as of human form with hawk's head; the sun with rays is probably an invention of the next reign. The temple of the former must have been at Karnak; Amenophis IV was crowned in Hermonthis, but Borcsaant overstrains this piece of evidence, for ag. the ball of the new cuit was the Heliopolitan Mnevis not the Hermonthite Buchis. Bonchand's view that there was Aton worship at Tell el-Amarna before Akhenaton is in direct contradiction to the statement of the older boundary stelae. Names of buildings connected with earlier kings - Amenophis III. Tain and Amenophis IV simply commemorated those ancesters whom Akhenaton desired to honour. Finally when Borgmannt treats Akhenaton as devoid of originality his arguments are unsound. Alter and News our Kanst and Religion con Tell el-Amornio (Zeitz, f. dig. Spir. tv 1).

Previously to this Sankern had figured the Berlin block from the Karnak temple of Aton used in the construction of Pylon X, portions of the reliefs in the temple of Ramose, and a scene of Amenophis's pylon at Solob, in order to prove that they give no support to Borchand's theory that the works in the style of Amenophis III which have been attributed to the early years of Amenophis IV really belong to the former reign (Die frühesten Bildnisse Konig Amenophis des IV, Amiliehe Berichts XI, p. 211, July 1919); in the September number, however (p. 283), Borchander proved by a large reproduction of Breasted's photograph that the Solob relief indeed belonged to Amenophis III and was altered by Amenophis IV. Later, a thorough cleaning of the block from Karnak has revealed a startling fact; the bast of the hawk-boaded Aton and his titles are in quite a different style from those of the king and show remnants of an earlier design; the king's features are presumably those of Amenophis III. Thus the figure of Aton and his titles do not belong to the reign of Amenophis III and are again to be referred to Amenophis IV. Scriber Eine do not belong to the reign of Amenophis III and are again to be referred to Amenophis IV. Scriber Eine Observaschung beim Beinigen einer Reliefs and the Reformations of (Berliner Museum Berichts XII 158).

Scharm also, discussing the "Akhenaton" portraits of the canopic jars, absolutely rejects their attribution to Akhenaton and suggests that they may represent his queen Nefretite. Zais. f. ag. Spr. Ly 43. He also writes on the slab of Akhenaton published by the present writer in the Journal (v 51); Bournand pointing out that the "pillar" separating the scenes is really a door; the cartonches of the king have been altered to Akhenaton from Amenophis IV, and Scharm would attribute the sculpture to the king have been altered to Akhenaton from Amenophis IV, and Scharm would attribute the sculpture to the king have been altered to Akhenaton from Amenophis IV, and Scharm would attribute the sculpture to the king have been to be well authenticated]. Die Aufange der Reformation Amenophis des IV (Berlin Acad. Situmpher, XXXII 477, 1919).

Caternian collects the known records of "royal some of Ramesses" of whom he distinguishes sowen, one of them a woman, ranging in date from the XXIst Dyn, to the end of the XXIInd. They are evidently the recognised descendants of the Ramesside kings, and it is possible that Paledembesti, whom Emaken makes the progenitor of the Ethiopian kings, was one of them. Varietis historiques V, Les "Fils Reyour de Rameste" (Ann. de Service XVIII) 245).

Mötten, republishing the obscure name on a royal ushabti in the Berlin Misseum (which was read by Wheskinski as Be-Harakhit sub), reads it as perhaps "Khu-tani Seb" and compares the name with that of "Sibu, tartan of Pharach" and "So king of Egypt" in II Kings avii 4 and the Annals of Sargon, the ushabti belonging to about this period. König Sibu, der unapptische Gegner Sargons (Gr. Leit. Zeitung xxii 145).

REINKER contributes to Sudan Notes and Queries at 35 a paper on the First Kingdom of Ethiopia, the fourth part of his Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan, and the most important of the series for the new light thrown on the history. He derives the dynasty of Piankhi from the Libyan royal family of Egypt and reconstructs it thus. About 775 a.c. Pahedembasti, son of Shesheng III, was governor of Ethiopia, and became semi-independent; Kashta his sen and successor assumed the title of king with his capital at Napata, dispossessed Osorkon III of Thebes and compelled Osorkon's daughter Shpunwood, high priestess of the Theban Amin, to adopt his own daughter Amyrtaeus (Amenertais) as her heir, thus uniting the Thebals with the warlike population and wealth of the Sudan To Kashta succeeded Frankli, who added Lower Egypt to his empire, but left Tefnakhts to rule it. Shabako removed Temakhti's son Boocheris and raind all Egypt himself, and so Egypt continued in the hands of the Ethiopians till Tirbusqa was driven out by the Assyrians. Tirbusqa was the first Ethiopian king buried at Küri. Thereafter Psanmetichus and his successors of Dyn. XXVI roled Egypt, and Ethiopia was cut off from Egypt. About twenty successive kings were buried at Núri : REISVER makes four groups of them, five in the first down to about 600 a.D., five in the second to about the date of Cambyses invasion, five again in the third to about 440; the raising of Merce to the position of political domination is attributed to the first king of the final group of nine kings, the wealthy Malewiyaman, though this is conjectural. A list of Ethiopian kings extracted from this paper is printed in Assient Egypt 1920-39 (see also above p. 61 publication of the finds on which this reconstruction is largely based, and for the further results of later excavations). SAYUR commerates the royal mames discovered at various times in Garstand's Liverpool excavations at Muroe. The Ethiopian Sovereigns at Mores | Auc. Egypt 1920.70;

Restoverer's writing on The foundations of social and expressed in Egypt in Hellowistic times (Journal vi 161) considers that the Ptolemaic régime which he expands was founded on that of earlier times

but systematized by the Greek ganius.

## GEOGRAPHY.

CALTHIER reviews a work by Stean on the sariy geography of Central Africa and pars together the evidence of sarly Egyptian discovery Mélanges (Bullatia de la Soc. Sultaniel de Géographie IX 131): other prographical reviews and bibliographies by the same writer are to be found p. 153, two Bullatins Bibliographie des Ecoles de Géographie des Ecoles de Géographie historique Egyptions p. 200.

Darress' digoes in alphabetical order of names the abundant geographical material of Arab age contained in the "Livre des Perles enfonces," a guide to the discovery of hidden treasures in Egypt Indicateur topographique du "Levre des l'extes enfonces et du Mystère Précioux" (Bull. Inst. François XIII. 175, XXV 1).

Dancsex in L'emplocement de la ville de Benna (Ann. de Service xvin 270) upholds the identification of Tell el-Mokdam with Leontopolis, capital of the xixth nome of Lower Egypt; Beni and Salaragat which the Coptic-Arabic scales give as the equivalents of Leontopolis are both in the neighbourhood, the name of Beni or Bana, a town which was destroyed before the 14th century appearing to be preserved in Binnal, the name of a hod or irrigation basin two kilometres from Tell el-Mokding.

Gampians, having in previous papers enumerated and discussed the towns of Ramesses named in the papers and unceriptions, endeavours in a long section of his essay to fix the position of the Delta capital of the Ramessida kings. The Biblical Shihor is the Egyptian Pahibor on the banks of which that capital shoot, and apparently designates the Pelmono mouth of the Nile, so that the capital ought to be identical with the later Pelmono. The claims of Tanis and other sites to represent Ramesses are discussed and rejected. Incidentally it is suggested that Pitham-Hercopolis is Tall er-Retatch, and that Tall el-Maskhutch.

may have been the firstenss of Theka. The Belta Residence of the Russacides (Journal v 242). Gamuser. collects the evidence of papyri and inscriptions regarding the military road to Palestine, amongst other things discussing its representation in the expedition of Sethos I on the walls of Karnak, and concludes that the regular route must always have followed the line of the present one through Kamaren. The Ancient military read between Egypt and Palestine (Journal VI 99).

Danessy criticises Sir W. Willcocks' view of the Exedus and the passage of the Red Sea with his usual learning in the geography and monuments of Egypt. Bull, de la Soc. Sultanish de Géographie Nouv. Ser. t. vill 361.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The Evolution of the Deagon by G. Elliot Sarra may be noticed here, since throughout the book Egypt is made to play a very prominent part in the origination of ideas and methods. The undeavours of the Ezyptians to combat the effect of death by conserving or restoring the vitality of the corpse gave rise to embalming, statuary, the use of incense and libations, ritual etc. and in combination with other factors led to the notion of divinity and gods. The book is full of interesting matter and ideas, though the underlying principle, that there cannot be independent invention of the same notion in different centres, is hard to accept as an axiom. If nature repeats its developments in form and habit in entirely distinct portions of the realth of the animal world, why should not the minds of men during countless ages produce coincident ideas independently in regions of the earth that are difficult of access to each other! The same writer in a paper on Ships as evidence of the migrations of Early Culture (Journal Manchetter Eg. and Or, Soc. 1915-1910, p. 63) traces the influence of Egypt in wide-spread features of heat exmetraction.

Europe :- R. Wett. discussing Jonner's discovery of parly marine constructions about the island of Pharos, argues that they are not of Egyptian origin but foreign and presumably Cretan. Les ports untibelliniques de la cita d'Alexandrie et l'Empire Celtais (Rull. Lest. Français XVI 1).

In Anc. Eg. 1920 52 the Editor reviews Vivis J Escapsuo La Necrépoli di Ibica, making comparisons with Egyptian examples of pottery, glass etc.

Roussen contributes a valuable article on Scrapes in Greece (Les Sanctuaires Égyptiens de Délos et

d'Eretrie) to Rev. Egyptologique N.S. (81. Aria; Restoverance in his remarkable paperson The Sumerian Treasure of Astrobad (Journal vi 4) points out that the gold objects display an art very closely akin to those of Sumer and Elam, less so to prehistoric Egyptian, but in one perticular, the shape of the resette employed in decoration, the agreement is complete only with prehistoric Egyptian. The whole evidence seems to point to a culture spread widely in the nearer East, and differentiated gradually in the various centres during the fourth millennium a.c.; reviewed by S. B[KINAGU] Roy. Arch. x 382.

CARABY Le : Pseudo-Gillgamesh' figure sur le Conteau Egyptien de Gebel et SArak au Lewere (Comples Bendus de l'Acad, des Inser. 1919 Sept.—Oct. 404) points out the resemblance of the figure strangling two lions to that of the hieroglyphic sign for the name of the city of Cusso at Meir. He suggests that the farmer represents the same deity or genius as the hieroglyph and that it is a truly native figure in spite of its strange appearance and costume. M. BENEDITE however adds a note contrasting the 'keeper' of two tame panthers in the Egyptian hieroglyph with the lighter conquering two furious lions in the sculpture on the knife-handle, and maintains that the latter is essentially Astatic and non-African in its pseuliarities, though a precise equivalent has not yet been found in Asia.

Paron's Egyptian Records of Transl in Western Asia, Vol. 11, is reviewed by Miss MURRAY Journ.

Manch. Eg. and Gr. Soc. 1916-1917.71.

Albander reviews the history of the theory that Egyptian is a Semitic tongue, deals with the connexion of names of parts of the human body and of the numerals in the two languages, and proposes a large number of new equations. Amer. Journ. of Som. Lang. xxxiv 81, 215.

Sarris discusses the Semitic alphabet which seems likely to have originated in the alphabetical characters of Egyptian Des Ursprung des Alphabets (Göltingen Nachrichten 1916 88) and continues the discussion in a further paper Die Neumtdorkte Sinni Schrift und die Entstehung der Smitischen Schrift (65, 1917 437) consequent on GARDINER's partial decipherment of the Sinai hieroglyphic as a primitive form of Samitie writing (reviewed by Fastsa Asypptus 1 235). Hams Batter's pamphlet Zur Entifferung der neventeleckton Sinai-schreft and sur Entstehung des Somitie hon Alphabets criticises the decipherment office ! by GARDINER and Cowier and starts afresh, viewing the title read Baralat as in reality a verb. The alphabet would then appear not to be constructed on the acrophonic principle, and reasons are given for

doubting the probability of that principle appearing in these inscriptions. Lembars-Haury has begun a long and elaborate article Zur Herkunft des Alphabets (accepting the probability of an Egyptian starting point) in Z. d. Mergenlitudischen Ges. LXXIII 51...

Ensure in Biblische Zeitschrift 1918, Heft | calls the inscriptions Kenita, as belonging to the metal-workers of Sinai, and suggests many new identifications of Semitic words in them. His arguments are fully developed in a separate publication Die Kenitischen Weikinschriften der Hydroseit im Berghaugebiet der Sinai-halbisted. Basing his work on the clur discovered by Gardunen the anthor claims to have deciphered all the "proto-Semitio" inscriptions of Sinai together with an allied one found by Param at Kamm as early as 1889. He certainly handles the theme with an extraordinary amount of varied learning, but how far Eisen's decipherment hits the mark can only be ascertained when more and better unterial comes to light (reviewed in Rev. Arch. x 330). Sayon's paper on The Origin of the Semitic Alphabet (Journal Rev. As. Soc. 1920 297) is a review of Eisens's work.

An article by Prof. Prince on the origin of the alphabet was contributed to Sciontia for Dec. 1918 (reviewed in Rev. Arch. x 379).

BREASTEO, after illustrating from the sculptures the two methods of writing by signs painted on papyrus in Egypt and impressed on day tablets in Babylonia and Assyria, shows clearly from Assyrian sculptures of the eighth century the adoption of the Egyptian method in Mesopotamia, the cunsiform scribe with his stylus and tablet being seen side by side with the Aramacan scribe using an outfit resembling the Egyptian. The physical processes of writing in the Early Orient and their relation to the origin of the Alphabet Amer. Journal of Sem. Lang. XXXII 230).

A beture by Mr Perr New Light on Ancient Mining in Sinai is summarised in Josep. Manch. Eg. and Or. Soc. 1918—1919 21. Natural turquoise is very seldom found in Egyptian antiquities. The turquoise of Sinai deteriorates rapidly when exposed to light and must have been mined chiefly to be employed as a colouring matter for glasses and paints. Perr doubts Petrie's view that the worship of Hathor at Sinai was Semitic.

ALBRIGHT suggests that Menes is identical with "Mannu the mighty, king of Magan" who was over-come by Narám-sin, and discusses the names Meluha (Ethiopia) and Magan (Egypt 1) and the chronological question involved. Mean and Nacam-sin (Journal vi 89).

BOSCHARDT has recognised that a much-worn entry on the Cairo fragment of the "Palermo Stone" records a "Smiting of the Sethyt," i.e. Asiatics, in the reign of Athothus of the First Dynasty. A Sethyt param is represented with a full beard on an ivory fragment from the tomb of Ka-a at the end of the First Dynasty. Kinigs Athothis uniativelese Felding (Mitt. d. Vorderux Ges. 1918—Vol. II of Studies dedicated to Fritz Honesex, p. 342).

In an elaborate study of the name of the Phoenicians Serre makes out a strong case for a pon-Greek origin of the word & old its senses; it originally meant "Phoenician" and agrees in form and sense with the Egyptian expression "Feredm" or "Fenchu-lands" which occurs in Egyptian inscriptions from the Fifth Dynasty onwards as a term for (apparently) the lower lands of Southern Syria and Palestine and their people. The word probably died out early from the living language of Egypt, and it is underiable that much still remains that is obscure about the names Fencia, Phoenix and Poeni or Carthaginians. Der Name der Phonicier bei Grieches and Agyptern (Mittell, d. Vorderus, Ges. 1916—Vol. 1 of Studies dedicated to Frits Hommer, p. 305). Penses would connect Fenchu with Assyrian Kall (Kinahli) and the latter perhaps with a Sumerian Kiengi="plain." Zem altesten Names Konalans (Or. Lit. Zeit, xxii 5).

CLAY's The Empire of the America is reviewed in due. Egypt 1920 21, the reviewer suggesting that the invoders of Egypt at the end of the Old Kingdom and again at the end of the Middle Kingdom were America of Syria.

HANDCOCK's Selections from the Toll el-America Letters (Texts for Students, no. 16) consists of translations of ten letters, five being from Abdikhiba of Jerusalem.

Setemberro identifies the Rabia Main as the father of an official of Amenophis III mentioned on a statue in the British Museum. Der Rahis Main der el-America-Tafela in einer ligiptischen Inschrift (Zeite f. Americalogie xxx 200).

Ed. Mayen in 1914 published a work on the Hittites Reach and Kultur der Chetiter, illustrated with many facsimiles, drawings and photographs from monuments in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt; it includes notes on the writing of royal and divine names based on MS, contributions by H. Parsz. In the Minod, d. D. Orient-Gen no. 56 (Dez. 1915) Weber reported on the work of the Society in preparing the cunniform texts of Boghaz-keni for publication; Haozx's described his decipherment of the Hittite texts as

belonging to the Inde-Germanic group of languages, and Ed. MEYER commented on this theory in a judicious manner. There are some 20,000 tablets or fragments from Boghar-keni in the museum at Constantinople, the greater part in Hittite, and others derived from the same source are scattered. The two "Arzawa" texts of Tell of Amarna are in the Hittite language. Weinner copied the texts in Berlin, Wener, Figurea, and Heorn't those in Constantinople.

Messener translates and discusses the treatics etc. of the Babylonian texts, Zur Geschichte des Chattiveiches (95 Jahresber, Schlesischen Ges. f. waterd, Cultur 19(7). He transcribes and translates the treaty with Ramesses II, comparing the Egyptian version Der Stantesertrag Riemses II von Agypten und Hattunite von Hatti in akkadischer Fissung (Berlin Acad Sitsungsb 1917 282). He discusses synchronisms of Hittite, Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian kings.—Khattusii with Ramesses II and Kadasinnan Turgu and Kadashman-enlii II of Babylon; Muwatalli with Ramesses II; Murshil with Sethos I; the long reign of Murshil's tather Shutbiduliuma reached back into the reign of Amenophis III Synchronisms (Or. Lit. Zeit. xx 225) and reviews Figuria and Weidenker Keilschriftteste aus Boghaz-kvi, especially the Rabylonian texts Or. Lit. Zeit. xxi 18. Sehbonder writes on the glosses für and marianu in Ribaddi's letter, both appearing to have the same meaning "noble" Or. Lit. Zeit. xxi 125. Rozone has writted in illustrated account of Egyptian documents concurring the Hittites and the relations of the latter to Egypt; a description of the battle of Kadesh is quoted from an unpublished paper by the late Max Burguard. Rozone Agypter and Hethiter (Der Alte Orient for 1919), reviewed by Wreszenski Or. Lit. Zeit. xxiii 120.

LANGUOR and GARDINER subject the published Babylonian and Egyptian texts of the famous treaty to a minute scrutiny, their Egyptian material being supplemented from a collation by Serrie, and give new translations and historical results. The Hittite king now appears to have taken the position of the combatant who had been worsted. The names of Hittite deities and cities at the end lead to some new identifications. The Babylonian and Egyptian versions differ in detail; probably the idea of signing identifications of international documents had not yet been established and each party hidd his own version of the transaction. The Treaty of allience between Hattaili, king of the Hitties, and the Pharens Ramesess II of Egypt (Journal vt 179).

FARINA I popoli del mare (Asgyptus 18) brings up to date the evidence regarding the peoples named as allies of the Hitties against Ramesses II, those of the Libyana against Menephals, and those against Ramesses III, placing them on and about the S. caust of Asia Minor.

WILLOCKS' From the Garden of Eden to the Crossing of the Jordan is reviewed Anc. Eg. 1920 60; a letter from Geden on the subject of Dr Garden's article on Geshen is printed Journal v 303; H. Wiener has contributed further articles on the Exodus to Bibliothece Sacra Oct. 1917, Oct. 1918 (two articles), Oct. 1919 (two articles).

OFFORD Writes on Some Migdals of Palestine and Egypt, Pal. Expl. F., Q. S. 1920 23.

VERSES argues that the syncrotism of the worship in the Jowish temple of Elephantine was borrowed from that practised at Bothol, where the goddess Anat and other deities belonging to Syrian and Palestinian cities must have been associated with Yaho (Jehovah) after the destruction of the kingdom of Iarael; he relies sepecially on the information given in 11 Kings xvii 24 et seqq. The S.P.C.K. has published a very useful little volume by Cowley containing seviced translations of the principal documents from the Jowish colony at Elephantine. The introduction clearly shows their great importance for the history of the Jewish religion on which the Christian religion was founded, Jewish Documents of the Time of Eura translated from the Armanic. Stunishy proposes to restore contain ignress in a double Egyptian and Jewish date on a Berlin papyrus from Elephantine, in order to obtain a satisfactory correspondence [but apparently quite unjustifiably]. Journal Asiatique t. XI 184.

LIDZBARSKI traces the demotic word milite "army" to the Assyrian middle "camp," an interesting relic of the brief Assyrian occupation of Egypt. Zeits, f. sig. Spr. LV 93.

Rows. An Egypto-Karian bilingual stella in the Nuchelion Museum of the University of Sydney, photograph of the stella and hand-copy of the Carian inscription. Journal R. Asintic Soc. 1920 85.

CLERMONT-CARNEAU records the discovery near Cairo of a Nabataean inscription dated in the reign of one of the Ptolemies. Compts: Rendus Avan 1919 249.

Africa: —Walkwhulur illustrates ancient Egypt instruments and weapons by modern examples from Africa chiefly in the Museum of the Soc. Sult. de Géographe—throwstick, bow (the composite bow introduced during Dyn. XVIII), Kiopesh scimetar, speachead, toutom, harp, lyre, head-rest, revolving fan, basket, mat, sandal, gazelle-trap, bellows, tall fare used in royal processions, polished pottery, wooden bowls etc. Assient Survivals in Modern Africa (Bull. de la Soc. Sultanish de Géographie 12 105, 177).

Morres on the tribal name Maya, Paper in demotic [already noted On. Lat. Zeit. aver 356] quoting the conjecture of the traveller Bouremanner that the name may be preserved in that of the Mckaderah on the East bank of the Nile about of Danner. Zeita f. ag. Spr. 12 70.

Amongst other questions relating to Democrities and his travels. Essans discusses the title of a work, attributed to him by Thrasyllus "concerning the sacred writing in Merce." This, if genuinely his, must be at least as early as the beginning of the fourth century n.c., voi Essans considers that it may well refer to the "Mercitic" hieroglyphic script, finding in the Mercitic alphabet which contains vowel-signs as well as consciously evidence of comparatively early derivation from the Egyptian, quite separate from the use of rowel-signs which began in Egypt under the Ptolemies on the analogy of Greek. He would attribute its origin to the Egyptian Jews who constituted a finarishing colony at Elaphantine on the frontier of Ethiopia aven before the Persian conquest in 525 u.c., Za Demokrit's Wanderjahren (Archie für Greek, d. Philosophia xxxi 204).

Conti Rossixi points out that friendly relations existed between Merce and Akaum about the end of the third century a.n., but were wholly upset to the course of the fourth century. Merce of Almus ad romanic di Eliodore (Rev. degli Studi Orientali viii 233).

## PHILOLOGY.

In the report on the Egyptian Wörterbuch for 1918 Enness abundons for once the statistical statement of progress, and recalls the high purpose of the undertaking as furthering investigation of the beginnings of our civilisation, its origin in 1897 and the lines on which the dictionary is now being prepared in order that the final publication may be within the reach of moderate purses. The working up of material has reached the end of Q, and in spite of the delays caused by the war about two-thirds of the task is accomplished. Eastan refers also to the lexicographical difficulties due to the imperfections of Egyptian writing. Finally, after recalling the names of collaborators of many nationalities, he expresses the fervont wish that the spirit of sacrifice for the common good of science should continue after the war to animate the undertaking. Berl. Acad. Situageberiohs 1919 23.

A specimen of the Wörterbach (Drackprobe for das Warterbach der agyptischen Sprache) was circulated in 1918 amongst contributors; it contains part of the root rå (occupying three folio pages of type and 13 autographed pages of examples) together with an explanation of the system, which aims at compactness and moderate cost;

Sir E. A. W. Burger has published An Egyptian hieroglyphic Dictionary, a very large volume containing, beside the dictionary of Egyptian words, alphabetic lists of kings, gods and places with an Englishhieroglyphic index and a variety of tables of alphabets and other useful information.

Ennax has published a short and cheap grammer (Kurzer Abrica der ägyptischen Grammark zum Gebrauche in Vorkzungen) with table of characters, chrestomathy and glossary in Granow's characterspring On the spelling of the word but as a test of date Iv. Ein Orthographisches Krüerium (Z. f. ng. Spr., 1v 86).

The last part of Masseno's Introduction a l'étude de la phonétique Égyptienne is contained in Reci de Tree. xxxvin 113, a long section expounding with a great wealth of illustration () as a approaching &

This Introduction is the very last piece of work from the pen of the great French Egyptologist, and all that he left of it is collected in a reprint from Value xxxviii and xxxviii of Rec. do True. The momoir was intended to form an Introduction to the study of Egyptian grammar; the existing fragment seems to be nearly complete for Phonology, covering all except four letters of the alphabet. Masseno's mastery of material is directrated here by his abundant use of uncient transcriptions of Egyptian words into cuncilorm and Greek, Coptic derivations etc. etc.

KURSTE suggests that there are uses of the perfect silm a f resembling those of a Semitic perfect to express a certain future, a certain but conditioned future, and an optative future; also that a change from a fact f to a face a f may take place in aithor a consecutive perfect or consecutive imperfect series of sentences, much as in Habrew. Deex points ile Syntaxs Egyptienum (Bull, Inst. François XIV 231).

SETHE Writtes on the auxiliary relative participles in demotic, and traces one surviving in old phranes of the Copie Pistia Sophia. Die relativische Participial amechanism des Demotischen und ihre Veberreste in vers Auxiruction der kellenistischen Mysterieusprache (Göttingen Nachrichten 1919 145).

malike other biliterals terminating with - is written without a phonetic complement. The

apparent irregularities of the verb ir "make" are due to this possiliarity in the use of the sign and the verb really conforms to the rules of verbs me inf. An explanation of the orthographic possiliarity is anight in supermittion regarding the eye. Loant A proposed on protecular carbs irregular (Bull. Inst. Express xxx 245).

Davaun, in laneographical and other comments on a large number of passages in the Story of the Shipstreeked Sallar, makes some distinct advances in its interpretation. Le Conte du Nonfraje (Rec. de

True EXEVER 188).

On a difficult phrase regarding a building dedicated to Horns of Pharbaethus. Chassinat A propos d'un passage de la side no. 8428 de Musee de Berlin (Rec. de Trae. xxxviii 180).

On an ostracon published by WEILL, SOTTAS "MNW" = rocks (Revus Egyptologique N.S. 128). The title

Gw="scholar," rather than "dragoman," "interpreter," READ (Bull Ind. François XIII 141).

GAUTHER studies the title wer-threat with a great wealth of examples, proving that it existed for many offices and departments, and proposes to render it "head of offices" for any department named with it. Le Titre Inview dEhnouté (Bull Inst. Français xv 169).

Animent high-principal of the master-workmen" etc. Serme Zu dos out we "der Grosse" beginnenden

alten Titelu (Zeit f. ug. Sprache LV 65).

Transliterations and translations made by Sir H. Thomrson of several denotic tax-receipts on wooden tablets from Gebelán, together with similar texts in Greek. Minne Wooden Tablets from Egypt (Bodleian Quarterly Record in 314).

Money contributes to Scientia xxv (1919) 94 an article on Egyptian hieroglyphic writing and its

decipherment by Champountos. L'écriture hiéroglyphique en Egypte.

SHIRE and SCHERERO discuss the source of the alphabetic value of the latter quoting the Copus & and Copy and Series contending that the name Widge the Bute serpent is the source both of the Coptic word and of the alphabetic value of the symbol. Due Grandword num Lautorichen (Zeit, f. ag. Spracks tv 89).

Scharen suggests a phonetic reason for the numeral 16 signifying Joy (ib. 93).

DARKSKY quotes an elaborate instance in the Louvre of as three jackals. Le signe mes nur trois charals (Ann. du Service XIX 176).

Dévaut tabulates forms (beginning in the Hykses period) of the hieratic sign for (\ replacing a duplicated determinative just as \ replaces a single one. Un right hiératique per comme (Rec. de Tree, xxxviii 182).

Webbirs:—In 1912—1913 an educated and very intelligent native Christian from the Nuba mountains (Gebel Dair) in Kordofan, but settled in Cairo, gave Prof. Junkun and Dr Chemax opportunities of studying his almost unknown dialect, and the results (texts with grammatical sketch and glossary) were published by them in 1914 (Kordofan-Texts in Dialect sea Gebel Dair). In 1914 these similes were resumed and Cheman found Samuel a most helpful and enthumentic exponent of the planeties of his mother tengue. The native of Central Africa, unhampered by traditions of writing, being naturally eloquent and attaching great importance to fine speaking, has developed the powers and control of the organs of speech to a very high degree. These powers may go to the very root of the language. Cheman has discovered not only "tones" (sumewhat as in Chimese) which Mershov had already found to exist in Africa in the speech of the Ewe, but also another separated element in the Nuba tongue which may be designated as "modes of uttowness" (Ausquachertes). His new work gives as a minute account of these with examples and a glossary in which the Nuba words appear in an exceedingly claborate notation. The language is akin to the Nubian spoken by the Borahus on the Nile. Kordufannabische Studies (Vienna Acad. Sitzwaya). Bd. 177, I Abh.).

SCHAFER prints a letter written in Arabic by a Nubian, showing characteristic phonetic errors recalling those of the Ethiopian-Egyptian inscription of Nashewn. Nubiahas Lopptich. (Zat. f. dg. Sprache tv 82).

In a series of papers Prof. Mainany gives the manife of his linguistic resourches in the Egyptian Sudin, Zeitschrift für Kolomalspraches Band vi—rx. He finds there languages which work by means of profixes, like Banta but not of the Banta group, others Nilotic, and others again Nubian. A long section (viri 17, ix 43, 89, 167) is concerned with the truly Nubian dialects of Kordonia and Darfür and comprises a comparative grammatical sketch and a lexicon of as much as as known. There is also some new material on the Nilotic Berburine dialects of Nubian (ix 226).

## RELIGION.

Articles relating to Egypt in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. x are Points of the Compass by Atkinson, Poles and Poss and Possession by Barton, Posses (Egyptian) by Gairfith, Precious Stones by Petric, a long article Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian) and Portheation (Egyptian) by Blackman, Religio (Primitive and Western) by MacCulloch, Righteomesis (Egyptian) by Blackman.

W. Max McLien's Egyption Mythology is reviewed by Gran, who suggests an explanation of the

Gracea-Roman form of the god Ophois. Journal VI 67.

KRESSLINGER Étailes our l'Origine et la développement de la Vie Religieux, l. Les Primitils, l'Egypte,

l'Inde, la Perse, reviewed Ann. Egypt 1920 57.

Following on his memoir on the Exclus of Hather-Tefaut from Nation (1911) and Setter's on the Ameient Egyptian myth of the San's Eye that was in Foreign Parts (1912). JUNKER resumes the subject in another elaborate and valuable memoir, in which he distinguishes two main themes, (1) the myth of the Eye of the God of Light: the meon, left eye of Horus, is stolen from him and recovered after victorious combats; (3) the legend of This: Onaris, a form of Horus, armed with spear and cord, brings the lion-goddess from the desert to This. These two thomes were varied and mingled together, and changed under the influence of the cult of the sun-god Rest. Pyramid Texts and other early religious texts allude to them, and the inscriptions of Ptolomaic and later temples are full of references to the goddess of many names who was brought or persuaded to come from the Eastern desert amid rejoicing. Several pages are devoted to the long tale of the "little wolf-monkey" lately re-edited by Struckenning (above p. 280). JUNKER's memoir is full of quotations from the difficult inscriptions of the later temples, in the interpretation of which he is an adept. Die Onarislegoude (Vienna Acad. Dealechrift 59).

MERCHA has contributed articles to the Journal of the Society of Oriental Research II I, III I on

Egyptian Morals which are reviewed in Anc. Egypt. 1920 62.

Turally has written an important note on the Gods of the Sea among the Egyptians (in Ressian [probably contributed to a volume written in honour of D. Karsakov, Karm 1913], p. 539). He translates stelle 4130 in the Moscow Museum (Godésischer collection) of a certain Yup, chief of priests of all the gods of the sea (wid-wr), making the name of Aphroditopolis, which nome reached across the desert to the Reit Sea and Sinni. Turally names Hathor, Osiris, Astarte, Neith, Bes, Amount and a monstrous figure in Pup. Salt as possibly the gods referred to. [See also the sarcophague in Perrur's Hawaro Pla 1—111 which seems to show that the Fayyum Lake might at times be included in the name of Aphroditopolis.] Boğestur more a Egyptun.

In 1916 Tunarry published the text of the Salt Magical Papyrus in the British Museum; in the Zapieli of the Classical Section of the Russian Archaeological Soc. 13 231—241 he publishes photographs

of the more poctorial representations and special symbols.

GAUTHER writes a long account of the statues of Sakhmet made by Amenophis III for the temple of Mut and for his own functory temple, tracing their dispersion as completely as possible. The standing figures in the back row of the Mut temple are rough and uninscribed, the seated figures in front of them and elsewhere are inscribed each having its own divina epithet; of these epithets Gauther makes a catalogue. Las Statues Thébaines de la désse Sakhmet (Ann. du Service XIX 177).

Mrs C. R. Williams describes figures of divinities in the Abbott Collection with many Illustrations. The new Installation of figures of Egyptian gods (New York Hist, Soc. Quarterly Bull, 11, 41, 71).

The Solar boats Macanest and Mackett are those of day and night respectively, not of morning and afternoon as is sometimes stated. Marie Charles Le rôle des deux burgues solaires (Bull. Inst. François 2v 139).

On the Apis-bull represented as bourer of the coffin on the footboards of coffins. Wiedemann Der Apis
uls Totenträger (Or. Lit. Zeit. xx 298).

NAVILLE upholds his translation of rest as "sphinx" as against Gardeness "double him" Le Sphinz III (Sphinz XXI 12); reviews Kers Der Opfortanz des ügyptischen Königs (Sphinz XXI 22); upholds the old interpretation as against Serne's of Les premiers mots du ch. XVII du Livre des Morts (Bull, Inst. Français XVI 239).

Spread new translates and explains a long text on a late tembetone in which the dead man asks for prayers from the people of the necropolis on the ground that he died childless, so that there was no one to carry on his funerary cult. Die Bitts eines kinderlosse degypters um Totengobete (Archiv f. Religious-wissenschaft XVIII) 394).

Summaries of three lectures by Dr BLACKMAN "Egyptian conceptions of Immortality," "The Coremonies performed at the Embalming of an Egyptian Manuay" and "The House of the Morning" are printed in Januari of Manchester Eq. and Or. Soc. 1916-17 12, 1917-18 12, 1918-19 15. The same scholar embayours to re-establish the true sequence from various representations and from internal probability seing that the ritual is based on royal toffet opisodes; The Sequence of the Episodes in the Egyption drily temple Liturgy (th. 1918-19 26); and suggests from ritual practice that the true meaning of how in the lists of sacred cels etc. is "continuent for the brow (forchead, or crown of this head)," the the Name of an Uniquent used for Orranguist Purposes (Journal VI 58).

LANGDON contrasts the Egyptian attitude in prayer, raising the hands with palms outwards, with that of the Somites, who generally have the palms inward "throwing the kiss." Gesture in Sumerium and

Balglonian prayer (Journal R. As. Soc. 1919 548).

Les dienes armies dans l'art classique gree et leurs origines by Mrs Le, Lasseun, which discusses the representations of armed goddessa also on Egyptian mamments, and their relation to the Greek forms, is reviewed by S. R[EINACH] Rev. Archiologique v Sor. L. x 262.

## SCIENCE

Food in Egypt (Mem. pres. a l'Institut d'Égypte 1) is one of many treatises for which the late Sir Armand Rerewan had collected notes and begun to arrange them, hoping to find leisure for working them sest after recirement from his multifarious duties. His lamented death in 1917, through the torpedoing of the ship on which he was in the Medisterranean, has deprived us in this case of a memoir which would have given the evidence of the monuments us to the food of the Egyptians, as well as that of the classical authors, and the conclusions based on that evidence. Lady Roppen has here put together the raw material collected by Sir Armand in the hope that it will guide future investigators to the sources of information.

WRESZINSET reviewing Weinglen Geburts and Wochembetts-Durstellungen auf ultrigyptischen Tempel-

reliefs condenues it as the "work of a dilettante." Or. Lit. Zeit. XXI 242.

In an article on Silver in Reman and Earlier times (Archaeologia LXIX 121) Dr Gownand devotes a section (pp. 135-8) to Egypt and explains from Japanese practice Agatharchides description of the Egyptian method of parifying gold (from silver and other things) by means of salt.

MACKAY has observed beeswax laid over or used in painting from the time of Hatshepsowet to Amenophis II, resin in late XVIIIth and in one XIXth Dyn. tomb, and discusses the mode of their

application. On the use of bessear and rens as surnishes in Thelon Tombs (Anc. Egypt 1929 35).

Dr Sonny publishes a skull bearing a remarkable resemblance to the cranum of Akhanaton as seen in the sculptures. Description due crous trouvé dans une tombe a Tell et Amurua (Bull, Inst. François

HOOTON Note on a deformed skull from Sive Onsis (Herrard African Studies (t 101). One of several

ancient skulls procured by the late Oric Barrs in 1910.

Danessy Une memore Egyptionne de 20 (no) hin (Ann. de Service tvini 191). Frequents of a cylindrical measure of black granite with the name of Thutmone III; it apparently contained 20 177 litres, which Danessy equates with 40 hins.

A. Szone semilies Ptolemaio measures and their commaxion with the earlier Egyptian measures from the standpoint of a student of Gracco-Roman Egypt. Misure toleraniche e pretokenniche (degyptus 1 159).

Serne has written a very full and instructive treatise on the Ancient Egyptian divisions of time. Die Zeitrechnung der alten Agypter im Verkältniss zu der der undern Volker, I das Jahr, II Jahr und Sonnoulant, 111 Einteilung des Tages und des Himmelskroises (Göttingen Nachrichten 1919 287, 1920 28, 97).

## LITERATURE

Guarow, who is engaged on the great Egyptian Worterback, has written a small treatise in which ha classifies the similes comployed in Egyptian literature; the author suggests that a corresponding work for the canniform and Biblical literatures would be well worth undertaking. He notes that gold flus were awarded to heroes in Egypt as a symbol of persistent attack. Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrucks im Agyptischen (Der alte Orient for 1926).

A certain famous Leyden papyrus contains a very difficult text of the Middle Kingdom which was interpreted by haror as a Messianic prophecy and by Gamuines as a picture of contemporary troubles prefacing instructions for the guidance of a state in face of internal and external enumies. Enucy now offers a third alternative recognision in it a candid compellor's bold presentment of decline and fall to a monarch too old to govern. He very naturally connects it with the decline of Egypt under Popy II whose portentously long reign of 94 years led to the rain of the Old Kingdom culture; apparently it was the officials of the government that carned the hatred of the people by their exactions and so brought about the catastrophe. Die Makassorie case aggretisches Prophetes (Berlin Acad. Situaranter, 1919 804).

MOLLER reports that in munmy cartonnage of the first century B.C. from Abmir el-Melek be han found a portion of a new story in demotic, placed in the reign of Annais (I) and relating the marvallous discovery of the well-known "Book of Breathings" on the minimay bandages of king Paummetichus. Eins neue demotische Erzählung (Amtliche Berichte 1918 xxxxx (80).

## LAW.

Mount's article Chartes Winnamit! dans l'Ancien Empire in the Journal Acatique (see Journal IV 274) is continued by a third part in Journ. As a x 359 where he publishes or discusses (I) the later decrees of Coptos under the kings Neter-bia (Neferkauhor), Demaitauii (the latter, following Serme, he places in Dyn. VIII with a predecessor Wazkarêt who is named in the same decree but is otherwise unknown).

(3) the Dalishar decree of Pepy I, (3) the Abydos decrees of Neferarkarêt, Tety and Pepy II (cf. Bull. Metrop. Mas. XIV 144).

For the important contributions of MOLLER and SETHE to the history of marriage contracts in Egypt see above pp. 279-80. SPIRIBLERG traces a phrase back to Dyn. XIX (in the complaint of a husband to his deceased wife) Zeits, f. ag. Spr. IV 94, and MOLLER interprets the word blas "bride" or "wife" in contracts as meaning "the wrapped" and quotes the modern Nubian custom by which the bridegroom has to promise all his property to his closely-wrapped bride before she will reveal her face ib. 95.

## ARCHAEGLOGY.

Prof. Scularer, director of the Egyptian design in two volumes entitled Von agyptischer Kunst, besonders der Zeichenkunst. He here endeavours to assign to Egyptian art its true place and to mark its essential methods and features as an art which time after time attained its own ideal of perfection. The Greek realisation of orderly perspective introduced for the first time into the world an antirely new conception and aim. Dealing especially with the Egyptian draughtsman's method of representing objects and scenes, he compares unaided drawings by children, primitive designs and the designs of artists in other countries than Egypt such as Japan which are little affected by the Greek applications of perspective. The second volume consists of comments on individual points and 54 places.

Prof. Capart, director of the Brussels Musée du Cinquantenaire, has published Legous our flat Égyption, which is practically a History of Egyption Art. It is the product of many courses of lectures in Beigian universities and schools. Unfortunately it is only a provisional issue, for owing to difficulties resulting from the war not a single footnote (to give bibliographical references) nor a single iffustration accompanies the text of 500 pages. Though its value is thereby greatly diminished, anyone well acquainted with the subject will profit greatly by roading these Legous in which M. Capaur's wide and start knowledge of the monuments and literature of Egyptian art is well displayed. For example in ch. avii the precise connection and provenance of screen famous statues of the Old Empire preserved in Cairo and the Legove are fix the first time established by documentary evidence and analogy.

The summary of a lecture on Prehistoric Egypt by Prof. Parmis denies the existence of a Neolithic age in Egypt, copper appearing along with flints of Magdalenean type in the earliest graves. Jours. Manchester Eg. and Or. Soc. 1918-19 10.

Prof. Capant in 1914 published an illustrated supplement to his Débuts de l'Art en Égypte under the title Les Origines de la civilisation Égyptienne.

That and chart implements of cave and palacolithic types found by Capt. Cussiscros during 11 months' residence at Siweh; summary raport with figures by Reginald Sarrii Man 213 p. 103.

F. W. READ argues that boats, not fortified villages, are represented on the prohistoric painted vaces.

Boats or Fortified Villages? (Bull. Inst. François XIII 145).

BEXEDITE examines the series of animals figured on the Carmaryon (vory and its congeners) from their limited variety and more or less fixed order in different examples he conjectures that they may illustrate some story or group of ideas. The Carmaryon Ivory (Journal v 237).

Miss Muralay studies The First note-head of Hieracompelia (Ancient Egypt 1920 15) and suggests that if all the fragments belong to one object, the scene represented the competition for the throne in the presence of the doad king deflect.

The Tomb of Peruch (1916 reprinted in 1918) is one of the excellent guides printed by the Metropolitan Mussum of New York. LYPHOOR describes the discovery and excavation of this mastales of Dyn. V. its removal to New York and treatment for preservation from salts, and the re-erection of the façade, officing-chambers and serdab. Miss Caroline Ranson explains the sculptures and inscriptions.

Jégouse has published a second fivraison of his L'Architecture et la décoration dons l'ancienne Égypte, i, des Sanctaniess primitifs aux temples de la veur dynamic, containing about 20 line large plates of the temples from that of Chephren (the "Sphins" temple) to Karnak. Apparently there are to be 80 plates in all.

Mrs C. R. Williams completes her catalogue of The Egyption Collection in the Massace of Art at Cleveland, Ohio; inter alia a group of coffins with papyri and other funerary equipment including strap ands stamped with engloches of Osorkon I; and a very fine temb slab of about the beginning of the third century R.C. (Journal v 272).

The first part of the estalogue of the great Golkerscherr collection in the Moscow museum by Turalerr and Malomners was published in 1917, dealing with the statues and statuettes runging from the Middle Kingdom to Roman times, 120 in number; there are twelve photographic plates of statues and detail, printed capes of the inscriptions, indices of proper names ato, etc. Operate Kylpetricago Sobranic to

FARINA has published eight notable Egyptian monuments in the National Museum in Rome, including the famous Ludovisi "Hyknos" bust. Monumenti Egin in Italia (Ausonia IX 1914 I).

The Musées regain des Arts décoratifs at Brussels has issued a catalogue of its Egyptian textiles by Isabelle Errens. They are of all periods from Dyn I to the Modern times, but none of the examples with designs precede the Roman age. Collection of Auxienness Étafes Étafes Egyptiennes.

The veteran Professor Valdemar Schmidt has published a large work on coffins and other funerary remains in order of date, illustrated by a wonderful collection of more than 1500 photographic and other figures Levende og døde i det Gamis Aegypten, Album til Ordning of Surcephager, Mumickister, Mumickylstre e. lign. With the omission of a considerable number of figures (busts etc.) and a special introduction of 17 pages, it is also issued as a typological atlas of coffice etc. Editions in French and English are contemplated, review by Warszunski Or. Lit. Zeit. XXIII 66.

G. Monten's Das Mussimportrait (Wasmuth's Kanshigh, Heft 1) contains 13 good photographic reproductions of notable was partraits on boards, with introduction and descriptions; it is based at a very moderate price.

Guy Dickers Hellemetic Sculpture, the unfinished work of its lammated author, contains an important chapter on the school of Alexandria, pointing out the peculiarities of its often admirable art, whether serious, humorous, or decadent, and the curious but intelligible persimony in the use of marble by its sculpture.

KAUFHAN'S Grasco-Agyptische Koroplanik (1915) is a second edition of the cambigue of his very large collection of terra-cotta figurines etc. in the Frankfort Museum, the first having been issued in 1913 under the title Agyptische Terracottes. The specimens, classified on 74 plates, belong to the Gracco-Roman and Coptle periods and come chiefly from the Fayyam. The new edition is very considerably enlarged and at the same time more compactly arranged.

Curt Sacra Althypptische Mentinstruments (in the series Der alte Orient 21 Jahrgang) provides a very interesting but brief account of the principal varieties of musical instruments in use in Ancient Egypt with well-elected illustrations. A large work by the same author is announced.

Prof. BAKKE of Heidelberg (who is engaged on a new edition of Engas's degapten) throws new light on the obscure but very ancient and corious 'snake game,' which seems to have fallen into discuss in the Middle Kingdom. He figures the board and pieces, ands and discusses its name who and quotes references to it and its allies from the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dand. Due altographicale Schlongenspiel (Heidelberg Acad. Sitzungsberichte 1920).

In various journals the following articles on archaeological subjects occur;

downed of Egyptian Archaeology. Wintoux States of the steward Roy singing the pade to Ric, in New York, Dyn. XVIII, with a second example and a relief of a similar subject, the stella before the singer only added as a means of recording the words of the hymn (vi I): Davies in adobustic sistems dedicated by King Teta, in the Cararren collection, dedicated to Hathor, surmounted by hawk and urasus, with

full discussion of its interesting form (vt 69); Reinner Note on the statuate of a blind harper in the Cairo Museum from a temb of about Dyn. XI (Gamdine adding a photograph of a female harper not blind) (vi 117); Newmenry A glass chalice of Tuthmons III, at Munich; enumerates examples of datable early glass from Egypt including the messac glass pendant of Dyn XII from Dahshür which is here for the treat time figured in colour; the earliest known factories date from the reign of Amenophis III, but the N.W. Delta may have been the earliest home of glass making (vi 155); Beackman A pointed pottery model of a grangey from the Colman collection (vi 206); Another states of a man sumed Roy as worshipper of the San-god by the Editor, from the Hobers and Rider Haddard collections, the hards in adoration rendered in an increase mature (vi 212).

Ascient Egypt. Somers Clarke Nile Boun and other matters, after tracing some changes in the types of Nile boats in recent centuries and especially the disappearance of the square sall, deals with the persistence of a very ancient type of boat-construction in the modern actor, and describes the amount methods as revealed in pictured scenes as well as in two original boats of Dyn. XII discovered by de Mordan at Dichabur, the building of a notar under Mr Clarke's constant observation by an Egyptian boat-builder using traditional methods, references to the figures of ships at Beni Hasan and Doir el-Bahari, and the account of the Nile boat in Herodotus II 96 (1920 2, 40). Petrue As early portrait, note on portrait of Smerkhuptah etc. from New York Hist. Soc. Qn. Bull. (1920 18); A Mentahetep status, head of a remarkable chord figure from Deir el-Bahari (1920 33); review of Macu and Wikkook The tond of Secobtics at Lishi (1920 56). Wikkook Notes on the jessels from Labus very important, reconstruction of a cowris girdle, the hanging of a pectoral pendant, and a lian-head girdle (1920 74).

Journal Manchester Eg. and Or. Soc. Summary of lecture by Pernin on Search with designs, which he concluded were wern by the living as anniets (1917-18 11); Miss Cacarros A stamp seel from Egypt,

Hmestone seal from Aswan with rude designs of a man and animals (1917-18 59).

Bull. N.Y. Metropolitan Museum. WINLOCK The Statue of Iny and Remnet fine group of New Kingdom with inscriptions, from Asynt (xxv 32); Romyson Bust of Hecodotus, Roman period, said to be from Benha (NIV 171): LATIBLE Status of the golden Soldmet, seven from the Amberst collection, traced back to Atlantasi at Thebes in 1817 stc. (supplementary Part II of Bulletin Oct. 1919); Lythnoz The Treasure of Lahna, very interesting account founded on Perair's report in Ansical Egypt with new Illustrations and minutely careful restorations (applementary Part II of Bulletia Dec. 1919); aumouncement of opening of room of Egyptian jewellery (including that from el-Lahim) in which also are exhibited searabs, nocklaces etc. in various materials (xv 111). The June and July mumbers (xv p. 121 etc.) are shiefly occupied with matters connected with the fiftigth anniversary of that marvellous and admirably worked institution, which makes so wide an appeal to the public. A special above of loan objects was organized for the occasion along with these recently acquired. Amongst other recent arrivals from Egypt, either found in the excavations or purchased, there are agured a Romano-Egyptian panel portrait The Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition (p. 121), a group of king Sahure' with the divinity of the nome of Coptes (p. 128), a splandid disrite sphinx of Sessatris III (p. 129), statue of a priest Harbes bolding on image of Osiris (p. 130) and a scalptor's model of the ram-head of a deity (p. 131). In July (xv p. 151) A. C. M[ACE] The Coalsts of Princess Sat-Hathor-Innut describes the exceful restoration of two coakers of ivory and chony with inlays of gold, silver, carnelian and glaze, from the Lahan find of jewellery.

N.Y. Historical Soc. Quarterly Bull, April 1919. Mrs C. R. Williams A bronce figure of Horus in its original mold, Abbott Coll., an interesting waster.

In the Amiliake Broichte, a fine plaster mask of about Dyn. VI from Abuste is figured by Roremanor and compared with others of Dyn. V. Mannenmarker and Gips and den letter Zoiten des Altes Reiches in Argypton (XXXVII 267): Sendren on a lion's head in alabaster of the Old Kingdom, and a wooden head of Amilia of Dyn. XVIII made in two pieces Zosa Tierkopfs (XXXVIII 144): Bonchandr publishes fragments of a papyrus from a cartonnage of the 2nd cent. Bet with designs for a sphinx viewed from the front, from above and from the side Sphinx sichning since approaches Biddhauses (XXXIX 105). Millians on coloured pattery, in region in the prehistoric period and again in Dyn. XVIII under the influence of falence, Bemalia Tongefines (XXXIX 217). The palace ballony or window (represented on a Berlin ostrocon), which showed only the upper haif of the king's person, was apparently introduced by Amenophia IV and thereafter was adopted also in the shrines of divinities, Schären Der König im Fauter, sin Beitrag sum Nachleben der Kunst von Tell el-Amaran (XI. 41), a most valuable article.

Orientalistische Liberaturzsitung. Gennep und Juquien Le Tisage aux cartons reviewed by Wheskinski (xx 240): Bernen Mamienskyr der Neuen Reiches (Leyden) reviewed by Ranke (xx 232): Hall Cotalogue

of Egyptian Secreta ste. in the British Museum reviewed by Wiedenann (xxi 91): Bonner Dis agyptische Trucht his zum Einle des Neues Roches reviewed by Wiedenann (xxi 134): note of paper on amient ships read by Bosney before the Schiffbautenhuisches Gesellschaft (xxii 138): Volnacu Dis Christonomis im Altes Agypten suggests that representations of singers and dancers indicate a system of musical symbolism or notation in the movement of the hands (xxiii 1, 129).

Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Late sandstrue group of two nude children with serpents, one male with Egyptian symbol of sun, the other female with moon, uniting Egyptian ideas with Greek: Danessy (xviii 189).

Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologis Orientale. J'aquien Quelques objets appartenent au rituel faméraire sons le Moyen Empère, rare representations en ceffin of Si-Wazyt from Rikkeh—pair of mooring pegs, pair of obelisks, hoe (all occurring in tomb-scenes of visitations of shrines by the funeral cortisce), baye or foveller 3, swan (xv. 153): J'aquien Quens de Toureau insigns des Rois d'Egypte the tail worn on the royal girdle, not of lion or comme animal, but of buil (xv. 165).

## PERSONAL

Losses by death during the past two years have been less severe than in 1918. From W. Max McLinni, a man of great talents but hampered by circumstance, who died in July 1919 of heart failure (Or. Liz. Zeit. xxii 286) at Philadelphia, more years of good work might have been expected; but Joseph Orronn died at a rips ago, and Leo Reinisch, the celebrated Africanish of Vienna, reached the age of 87 before his death on Dec. 24, 1919 (ib. xxiii 37).

Obstuary notices of Professor L. W. KING have appeared by H. R. HALL Journal vi. 66, and by R. Campbell Thourson J. Roy. As. Soc. 1919 625.

Dr Granville sketches the life of Henry Salz (1780—1827) who was British Consul-General in Egypt from 1816 to 1827 and made great collections of antiquities, his name is very prominent in the early annals of Egyptological research. He was buried in the new disased English cometery at Alexandria. Bulletin d'Alexandria N.S. iv 119.

Of Orio Bares (1883-1919) a short account is prefixed to the second volume of Harcard African Studies. An enthusiastic student, first of Libyan archaeology and then of African humanity in general, in 1914 he was appointed Curator of African Archaeology and Ethnology in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. It can only be hoped that his loss as an energetic explorer of a neglected field will be repaired by the effect of the example which he set to others.

Mrs Grant Williams tells us of the Anglo-American enthusiast Granton, and his once popular Chapters on Early Egyptica History, Archaeology etc. published in 1843. A surprising soled Record in Bulletin of N.Y. Metrop, Mus. xv 88.

A sympathetic tribute is paid by M. Lacau to the lumented Georges Labran (1895—1917), and his devotion to Karnak. Form in Paris, educated in the primary schools, trained as an artist and gradually drawn to the study of Egyptian archaeology, Legrans began his coreer in Egypt in 1892, particularly as draughtsman and copyist, and in 1895 was appointed by de Moegan to the colossal task of exploration and conservation of Karnak, where his energy respect so great a harcest of discovery. The Director-General expresses much regret that although annual reports were issued there has been no systematic publication of the completed portions of Legrans's work, and it is evident that he will take stops to remedy this state of things so far as it is possible after the death of the responsible exercator. Ann. In Service aix 105. Munica adds a bibliography of Legrans's writings extending from 1887 to the year of his death of 118. A note on Georges Legrans by Somers Charles is printed in Associat Egypt 1920-18.

An article on the founder of the Revue Egyptologique, who did brilliant work in Coptic and demotic in the 'seventies and early 'eighties of the last century, is contributed by H. Sorras to that journal, Nouvelle Série 1 101 (Eugène Revillout et le démotique).

Biographical sketches of Gaston Masrezo are comributed by Jaquies to Sphinz (xxi 1), and by Chassinar, the new editor of the Recivil de Tronoux, to his journal (xxxviii 211) with a portrait of the veteran editor with whom its history is so closely bound up. The Recuri de Tronoux was founded by Rouge in 1860 but, partly in consequence of the Franco-Prussian war, the first volume was not completed till 1880 under Masrezo.

# NOTES AND NEWS

In the account of last season's excavations given in the July number of the Journal, no reference was made to an exceedingly interesting discovery made by M. Lefebvre of the Service des Antiquités at Tûneh, south of Eshmûnên. In this place, it would appear, there was found the mortuary chapel of a certain Petosiris, high-priest of Thoth at Hermopolis, A short Greek graffito, which Professor Grenfell, as well as Messrs Edgar and Lefebvre assign to the third century B.C., is to be found on one of the columns of the façade, and enumerates the names of a number of tourists who came to visit "the tomb of Petosiris." On the other hand, M. Golénischeff, to whom we are indebted for the present information, inclines, on the strength of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, to date the monument itself to the beginning of the Roman period. The anthropoid sarcophagus of Petosiris was of dark wood finely inlaid with incrustations of multicoloured glass; this is now in the Cairo Museum.

Mr N. de G. Davies asks us to call the attention of Curators of Local Museums and owners of private collections to the Corpus of Funerary Cones upon which he is engaged. Mr Davies would be grateful for any copies or rubbings of inscriptions occurring on this curious class of objects. Letters to Mr Davies on this topic should be addressed to the office of our Society.

Professor Peet is engaged upon the publication of the important Mayer Papyri preserved in the Liverpool Free Public Museum. These two papyri contain depositions of the robbers who forced their way into the Royal Tombs at Thebes towards the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. The tomb-robberies at this period gave rise to a series of causes célèbres of which the records are now scattered over the various museums of Europe. The famous Abbott papyrus of the British Museum is the best known example of the series, and has been often translated; but there are three other closely related documents in the British Museum of which nothing has been made known as yet except a few scraps that are to be found in Prof. Spiegelberg's essay on the juristic system of the Pharaonic times published nearly thirty years ago. Professor Peet's work will contain a very careful handfacsimile of the longer of the two Liverpool papyri, which is of great palaeographic importance. The present condition of the document makes it impossible to photograph satisfactorily, but the hand-copy was made upon photographic prints and elaborately controlled with the original both by Professor Peet himself and by the writer of this note. Pap. Mayer B, a short and incomplete document of less interest, will be reproduced in colletype\_

Captain Engelbach, who was an assistant to Professor Petrie in his pre-war excavations, has been appointed Inspector-General of the Service of Antiquities for Upper Egypt.

# COMMUNICATIONS

1

# MENES AND NARAM-SIN

DISCUSSION BY DE W. F. ALBRIGHT, PROF. STEPHEN LANGDON, REV. PROF. A. H. SAYCE, AND THE EDITOR

READERS of the last number of the Journal but one may have derived a certain malicious amusement from the fact that, at the same time as Prof. Peet was criticizing Dr Rocchardt's attempt to date Mones between 4510 and 4170 g.c., Dr Albright of the Johns Hopkins University was seeking, on the strength of a Babylonian synchronism, to fix the date of Mones at 2950 g.c. This divergence of views shows to what extent the chronology of the carlier Egyptian dynastics must still be considered sub fields; and the Editor has felt in his duty (without compromising his own spinious in any way) to lay the columns of the Journal open to further discussion on the subject.

In a letter written from Cairo on December 26, 1919, Dr Albright states; "While in New York, I had the opportunity to examine very carefully one of the alabaster vases carried from Magan by Naram-Sia, and inscribed with a statement in cuneiform to this affect. The past week I have devoted mainly to the wonderful Egyptian museum here. There is one vase, and one only, which is almost an exact replica of the Naram-Sin vase, and it belongs to the Thinite period! The vase in question is Mahasna, no. 18,711, and is now in Case A, Room B in the first storey. The material, shape and size are all the same. The alabaster vase Abydes, no. 14,448, from the First Dynasty, in an adjoining case (Mas. no. 3054) is very similar in shape, but much larger. This is an additional confirmation of great archaeological weight.

"In my paper (into which, as I was mable to correct the proof, errors may have crept), I was in doubt as to the provenance of the same of Melulija, as malachite is found in the Sinsitic peninsula, and was also brought from Punt. But as the mountains between Upper Egypt and the Red Sea, as well as those further south, contain a great deal of copper and malachite, it seems evident that Melulija refers to the western shore of the Red Sea, south of Qoycer, the part of Magan = Egypt."

Professor Stephen Langdon has had the kindness to send us a few comments on Dr Albright's letter, "The vase-inscription of Narium-Sin which mentions Magan is edited in Thurrau-Danors, Alimenticals and Alimbishe Königrisschriften, p. 164, vase B. The vase from which this inscription was taken was lost in the Euphratos, and I did not know that the Metropolitan Museum in New York passesses a vase with identical inscription. When Dr Albright wrote his article on Menes he was not aware that Alfred Boisseer had already published a new inscription of Naram-Sin which mentions a long list of foreign kings, among them Ma-nu-um, king of Magan. A land called Manium (xx) is known from a tablet in Jerusalem, end of 25th century, where a certain Baiam is called a man of the land Mowiam, and it is certain that this means the land whose capital was a city Manium, named after the ancient Manium, king of Magan. The man who is here called a citizen of the land Magan has apparently a Somitic name. I am inclined to believe that Magan is a province in the region of the Red Sea coast. Naram-Sin can hardly be put earlier than 2850. If you can get Menes down to that date it might be possible to equate him with Manium of Magan. Certainly the latter was a very important king in the minds of the Sumerian and Akkadian hastorians."

Last but not least Prof. Sayes has sent us a short article with reference to Dr Albright's theory.

# MENES AND NARAM-SIN

By the REV. PROPESSOR A. H. SAYCE

Dr Albright's proposal to identify Manium, "lord of Magan," with Manes is not new. The identification naturally suggested itself immediately after the publication of the inscription discovered by M. de Morgan at Susa, and it was discussed by Sir Gaston Maspero and myself. But I seen diamined the sice; in fact, the Babylonian Chronicle subsequently published by Dr King made it untenable.

As for Magan we are expressly told (W. A. I. H. 51. 17) that "the mountain of Magan" was "the mountain of copper." The Egyptians like the rest of the ancient oriental world obtained their copper from Sinai, Cyprus, and the Taurus mountains, not from Kush. And as for "the reed (apparent) of Magan," years ago I already suggested that it was the papyrus, comparing supportun with the Hebrew stiph, both of which may have been borrowed from the same source, and reminding my readers that the Gulf of Akaba was called your Sapa "the papyrus asa" by the Hebrews. It is also years see that I identified the shokan stone of Gen ii. 12 with the Assyrian should stone, with the further suggestion that it might possibly signify "malachite"—a suggestion, however, which I should now retract. In any case the Egyptians derived their malachite from the Sinaitic Paniusula and not from Kush.

Prof. Hemmel's identification of Magan with Ma'an is attractive, but we should have expected the Sumerian form to be Makhan rather then Magan (at all events in the later age of the Sumerian language); a more obvious identification is with the classical Makha, the modern Makha, at the head of the Gulf of Akaba. I see no reason for describing from Prof. Delitssch's conclusions in respect of Metukhkha, Havilah, from which the shaham-stone came, being Khallah "the descrip" of which Melukhkha

" the salt-region" would be the equivalent.

Dr Albright's rendering of the passage in the Babylonian Chronicle relating to the conquest of Manium is contrary both to the usage of the Assyrian language and to common sense. If the Babylonian scribe had wished to write "Mannu the mighty" he would have said rabil danna, anala danna, or the like, and neither an oriental conqueror nor his historiographers would ever have described his vanquished enemy as "the mighty one." Qdin iksad, it may be added, means "his hand captured"; the general sense of "conquering" comes later when the mention of the hand is dropped. This latter point, however, is of little consequence; as Dr Albright very justly points out, Egyptian tradition believed that the reign of Menes ended in his being saized and slain by the onemy.

Or Albright is very much astroy in the position that he essigns to the city of Yarimuta, which is compled in the early texts with Mari, Ibla and Ursu. We now know that Mari was Tell 'Asha; 3 kilometres from Der ex-Zer on the Euphrates, while Jensen's identification of Ursu with the classical Arsus on the Gulf of Antioch has now been confirmed by the Boghaz Keui lablets (Keilschröftexte aus Boghazhōi, I, 11. Obe. 19, Res. 22). Some time ago I pointed out that Yarimuta is the Armuthia of classical geography, and that in the geographical list of Thothmes III the countries of (298) Arsha; (209) Mari, (300) [b] and [301] Qarmatia follow one another, and that as Qarmatia is followed by the cames of Umquaid Aleppo we must see in it the representative of Armuthia. The Tyarawattas of the Boghas Keui tablets seems to be the same place.

The chromological question I must leave to others. Before the commencement of the Third Dynasty of Ur about 2500 a.c. Rabylonian chromology is wholly uncertain, though there are reasons (which, however, are the reverse of convincing) which make me inclined to put the date of Sargon of Akkad at about 3200 a.c. Egyptian chromology I leave to Professor Petrie.

P.S. In the inscription of Naram-Sin referred to by Prof. Langdon the list of foreign countries conquered by the Eabylenian monarch places Magan between Mari (now Tell 'Asha near Der ex-Zôr), Markhasi (new Mer'ash) and Mardaman (Syria) on the one hand and Erech, Unima (now Nokha) and Nippur on the other. Presumably, therefore, it occupied some part of the country between Syria and Babylonia.

H

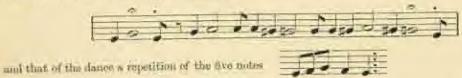
# HATHOR DANCES

# NOTE BY MR A. C. MACE

In Davies Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenorabit (p. 98), Dr Cardiner discusses the representation of Hather dances in temb scenes, and draws the following conclusion :

a ... after these things the priestesses of Karnak doubtless paraded the town stopping at one home after another in order to bestow upon their owners the blessings of Hather, as symbolized in song and dance. From the eastern bank of the Nile they may have passed over to the Necropolis in the western bills, there to accomplish for the dead that which had been accomplished already on behalf of the living."

At He, where our camp was close to a large modern cometery, I have frequently seen what I think must surely be a survival of this Hathor ceremony. At some interval after a famoral—I am not sure whether it coincided with the rabina or not—a band of singing woman used to make procession to the cometery with tambourines and red handkerchiefe. At frequent intervals on the path they would stop, form themselves into a circle, and dance, jumping up and down and besting the tambourines. The time of the chant they sang was as follows:



A close parallel to this modern ceremony is shown in Rosentini, Monomenti. Vol. 11 (Mon. Civili), Pl. XCIX (-Wilkinson, Monomer and Castonis, 1, p. 443), where the women carry pains branches in addition to the tembourines.

# NOTICE OF RECENT PUBLICATION

The Tomb of Anteforer, Visier of Sessateis I, and of his wife Senet (No. 60). By N. BE Garis Daviss, M.A., with a chapter by Alax H. Gardinen, D.Lut. Illustrated by six plates in colour by Nina in Garis Davies, and by forty-two plates in line and collectype. Theban Tombs Series: Second Memoir. London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1920; published under the anapices of the Egypt Exploration Society. Pp. 40.

Published Egyptological records receive a most valuable accession in this new volume of the Theban Tombs Series, inaugurated in 1915 with a monograph on the sepulcire of the accountant Americanist. The subject of this second memoir is in a sense unique, being the only Middle Kurgdom tomb known at Thebes which retains its wall paintings complete. These latter are moreover in a very fair state of proservation; the fire which at some time has been deliberately ignited in the tomb, parhaps to purify it for new occupants, has done little damage to the decomions beyond modifying the colours. The high sciul position of the original owner, Senet, wife of the Vizier, as well as the huidatory remarks left on the salls by many Eighteenth Dynasty visitors (among them the very Amenombet! whose tomb, perhaps imitated from this one to some particulars, formed the subject of the pressling memoir) show that we have here a milts representative rock-tomb of one of the Middle Kingdom espitals; that it does not display any striking superiority to those of the contemporary provincial numerche is but a further testimony to the power and magnificence of these latter. The quality of the paintings is however shown by Mrs Davies' coloured plates to be of the finest, and the remains of this great statue and of the other sculptured stonework are very beautiful. To praise the inerits of Mr and Mrs Davies' reproductams would at this time of day be almost an importinence. The extent to which Mr Davies, with his great knowledge of Egyptian taphology, avails himself of the comparative method to coordinating the paintings he describes with these of other tembs will fill all readers with admiration.

The confusion as to the original ownership of the tomb is not without interest. It seems that although it was originally made for Senet, Autofolier was not only shown as associated with his spense in the chief funerary rites, but was also depicted alone in the customary scenes of hunting, killing wild fowl and spearing tish. At some subsequent time, however, most of the representations of him were carefully deleted by his own wife, Mr Davies thinks. Nevertheless, not one of the Eighteenth Dynasty graphs ascribe the tomb to Senet. Most of them mention it as "this tomb of Antefolier," one speaks of "this tomb of the time of Kheperkers" (Sescettis I)," and two others attribute it to, or to the time of, Queen Sebeknofra, Whence comes the association of the temb with the queen who terminated the XII Dynasty, some six reigns later than Sessettis II The reasons suggested by Mr Davies (p. 8) and Dr Gardiner (p. 27) hardly seem sufficient. Very little is known about Sebeknofra, or Sebeknofrants, as she is also called; if some dynastic four reged round her as round the later queen Hatshepsut, resulting in the defacement of his representations and those of her manuters after her burder reign, the deletion of Antefoker's figure and that of the king may have led New Kingdom wiseacres to assign the tomb to this queen's reign. This, however, is but a random conjecture. Further difficulty is imported by the question whether Anteroker's wholeved wrife, Sitabschek, "depleted on the north wall, is to be identified with Sener or is another wife."

1 The absence of any titles but that of "scribe" seems to show that he last this availto when young, as indeed be would be more likely to do than when ladged round with public dignities.

" I.e., the delicition of Anisfoker, leaving Senst predominant, the majestic statue of the latter, the representation of a king (named, however, as Sessitis I) and the occurrence of a name Situlation. The confusion of Khmemholpe's tumb at Beni-Hasan with the "Temple of Choops" is hardly a close parallel; for Cheops' corresponds occurs four times in the long interpreton.

A The clumdians of this name, "Daughter of the Son of Sobk," is not necessarily a reason for reading it "Daughter of Shabek" (p. 18). I believe it can be matched in the Middle Kingdom, and it may in any case be compared with such late theophorous manuss as Sengermonthia ("Daughter of the Son of Month"), Pseus-upetilos, etc.

\* The demon of confusion is not easily exercised from this tomb, it would seem; I find it hard to understand why the volume is suitiful "The Tomb of Anteleker..... and of his wife Sever," since the editor definitely states throughout (cf. pp. 1, 6, 7, 21), that Sevet alone was baried there.

The most interesting feature of the temb is doubtless the texts, which are abundant. The speeches put into the months of the various figures are of a delightful racmess and natural; the songs of the two harpers offer many points of interest; finally there is the large group of groups, thirty-six in all, dating chiefly from the first half of the XVIII Dynasty. On this valuable body of pullological naterial, together with the translations given in the text, I have the following suggestions and comments to make,

# A. THE FORMAL INSCRIPTIONS AND THE SPEECHES.

It might perhaps have been well to translate these a trifle more literally here and there, in the interests of readers who are in the sarlier stages of hieroglyphic study and who will wish to further their knowledge by comparing the English and Egyptian. It is doubtful if anything is gained by rendering passive constructions with active ones, e.g., mit agt hr.....in rpti-f(t) pl. XIV, Englished on p. 17 as "the count.....looking at the New Year's featival gifts"; so also on pp. 11-12 and twice on p. 21.

P. 4-PL XXXVIII. The photograph shows remains of it and it is the of. PL XVIII) at the tops of the first two lines.

P. 12 = PL V. | | 2 | perhaps "striking" birds with the throwing-stick rather than "netting."
P. 13. The text reproduced here seems to read: "Come and put (it) down (with a) under this ( | K) olive-tree (!); a cool place,....good well." W74 similarly used Uzk., IV, 114475.

P. 15 = Pl. XI. "I am saraing a 'Heaven bless you." The facsimile reads we't = I = relit duction will at-"I shall cause them (itt., one) to bless me."-"Good luck would have befallen tus" (hpr be ufr m. cl). Hor m " seems always to mean "to happen through the agency of " someone, and not "to befall," which is Apr a. Better, perhapa, "I could do sonie good."

P. 16 - Pl. X. "Which Sokar molted down with his fingers." No is "to model" rather than "melt down." (If that als Pth "glassid-ware which Ptah models," No. 64 long?7 (can the obscure word after held be that!) The rare word sir, which occurs also, in connection with cults, Sift, 1/173, 232, must here be in relative bloom f parallal with angles, met a, abs. It were necessary to render this passage: "For thy Las! the oil of incense which Ptah has distilled and which the Lady of Punt! has sont; and what the (personified) Necropolis has advened (f) and what Sokar has modelled with his fingers, namely silver, gold, lapis, turquoise," etc.

P. 17 = Pl. XIV, "The New Year's festival gifts from his estate (pr/[ml] def)" an interesting illustration of "New Year's day, when the house is given to its nuster," Nidt, 1,278, 268; of also Bulen, Text, p. 71.

P. 20-IL XVIII, "Giving worship to Osiris, doing homage to the great god, Lord of the West, on the occasion of the solemn pilgrimage of Senet." The passage certainly means: "Blessing Using, doing homage to the Great God, Lord of the West, at the Great Forthgoing, by ..... Senet. The "Great Forthgoing" (prt 'ff) of Deme was the principal Abydeme festival".

PH XVIII, XXII. It is surious that the not uncommun pricetly title | Wistaff (f) of the People" 

P. 20-Pl. XVIII. It seems necessary, despite the direction of the signs, to read the passage over the right-hand load at the bottom from left to right: "Putting-to-land for the numbering of the Gree of the stryt! For as parts of a boat of Lucau, Tietes Religious, 27/31. The person in the panther-skin is possibly the 'An-mutef,' for this officient is associated with the weyl. Nebrun, 1371/5. The man on shore seems to be saying: "Don't sink! Make for us?"

P. 21 = Pil. XXII, XXI. 1 read the horizontal line: "To the West, to the West, to the place wherein is desire of thee! [Thou art drawn upon the portable shiring (matpi) by vigorous oxen, etc .......[O Senst.] thou art not gone away dead, thou art gone away alive! Take thy seat upon the throne of Osiris, the

<sup>&</sup>quot; Hardly "when the boass gives," 1 "Pont" moma quite cortain bere,

<sup>\*</sup> See supportally Schures. Die Mysterien des Deiris in Abydos, pp. 24-5.

Bestoring (litter & be wijtept in klu wider; at, Gamerica, Notes on Simile, p. co.

ceptre in thy hand, that thou mayest give commands to the living!" By a slip West, in the middle of his passage and on Pl. X1X, is rendered "On" (pp. 20, 21), instead of Hermonolia-

P. 25 = Pl. XXVI, bottom. The speech of the left-hand man seems to be iride ufe ap 24 [m] imit

pt wade: "I shall do very well; see, this wade-ox has been sent."

# B. THE HARPERS' SONGS (pp. 24-5=PH XXIX, XXVII).

Khnyt's song, p. 24 × Pl. XXIX. I would suggest the following rendering: "Hall to thee, Gold! Thou hast shown favour as long as thou hast been? If I am moderate? in praying to thee I shall find......se the poor man finds (b power (B). Then knownat, Gold (rd-nt, Nb), thy time of......, thy hour of giving audience?; then will respond to what I say to these—but the Vizier be freed for my take! Thy nature is fair, thy form is seemly?; justice? Is within thy members. Do than make to presper (B)........"

- 4 of it an error for of ; see the old version of this passage Pyr., 134 b.

- " Cf. Late Ego. haf "to answer" a latter (references Grannen, Ego. Hier. Texts, Series I, Part L. p. St. note I).

  Taking per as a writing of test. Thealing is Qr] is 1. Tp-hile seems sometimes so have this meaning.
- The sign can hardly have been anything size. (3. the summary form of \( \) on Pt. XXIX; \( \) is made quite differently.

11. In the Pyramids, \_\_ | A risewhere, \_\_ A \_\_ A S in the name of Ehndsych, and OO A as a personal name!

On the bases of these remarks the song may be rendered somewhat thus :-

(Title) "The 'Child' has life for my sake."
"Heaven grows big with Nightfall, Heaven brings forth Nightfall; Nightfall belongs to her mother.
"Child has health for my sake; he of whom I speak (1)" has health, the Vinier Antefolor, whom

Klmyt's song, p. 25 = Pl XXVII I suggest the following rendering:-

But some pretend "Maneres" is not the name of a person..... 11 "

## C. THE GRAFFITE

Nos. 2, 3. Game f is mi pt m dan il. Translated "he found it like heaven in its interior." The antecedent of for is is "tamb" but that of il can be only pt "heaven." The presence of the dependent pronounille instead of the simple suffix seems to be a new grammatical datase; it is perhaps used for the avoid-

1 See Caterrin, Rylande Pappyr, p. 220, note 14.

- In spite of the inversion (for in int (or Coh) = X) this must be the meaning; of such names us Ni-Inhahust. Sakhimet is a possessor of life. "Ni-mir-RN, etc.
  - Reading In this wind. Did "to speak of " or " name" a person as occasionally alsowhere.

· Obserne idiom,

" Cr. thigh as Seed " the hands are chapped (") for thee," Pyr., 743.

- Of the first two lines the tollowing seems legible: It's last, last his at sont if did, it, built, out foods to.
- Must be here). "swallow," is apparently to be distinguished from worst "door," "piguon" (so Eleman, dg. Glover). For the in the form of a swallow of Principles, De Is at Go., § xvr.

\* There is a play here on west "swallow," and uset "suffering" or "(female) sufferer." For ladm mot, "to relieve suffering," at. No. 117/3, Ant. 147, 1/15, 111/8, Henrit Mak, 7/14, " Im.f.

10 Of, what day on which Hours fought with Sith, when he there Seth) dealt a wound (as add fifth) in Horas' face," Crk., V, 32/7, 15. For ad after "to deal a wound," of, also Urk., V, 67/17; and when "to make a bruise (7)," Ebers, 70/1. I know no support for the frequent producing "dirt" for M/m, which is common enough in the meaning "wound," "tunise" (of Ebers, 70/6, 15, 10, 71/4, 5, 13, 16, 30).

II Or "which sees" (i.e., the Eye of Horus 7] or "which one sees."

- in Reading It. if Bits, if De Is. et Oi., \$ xvit, trans. King; cf. Harodotne, it. § 79.
- 48 So, apparently, in both graffitt. One of them is probably a copy of the other. If it is to be taken acromsly. It has probably nothing to do with the Late Egyptian possessives 1-w, sor discussed Gampiana, Zeitschrift, 50, pp. 114 foll.

ance of ambiguity: "he found it like beaven in the latter's interior," in, as beautiful as the very inside of beaven (7).

No. 33, last line. Hiptf, though here written as though "his offerings" was meant, often occurs in this context as metabotic form of tphtf "this cavern"."

No. 38. I read "May Rec and Osiris give thee a thousand......"

Two points in connection with hieroglyples may be mentioned. (a) The vine on its supports, PL XV, is an excellent interpretation of the sign [60], determinative of "grapes" and "wine." (b) Mr Daries' remarks, p. 10, on the bird perching on the top of a ship's most as a good enter prompt me to suggest that the sign [25], MA\*, may perhaps represent a bird perched on a mast, the oblique lines being repeated that the bird one the upper spar of the sail.

BATTINCOMBE GUNN.

P.S. Kitt "nightfall," discussed on p. 300 above, occurs also in the following passages in the Pyramids: "She (Ilput) has been K. to the yellow(t)-faced, the lord of nightfalls," 515 (Attim is probably here meant; of. "Attim, the father of K. in the darkness," 605); "K. is libbil, lord of nightfall," 516; Not has become pregnant with K. at mightfall," 568, 569.

With he's foots "I will describe "O her arrival," p. 301, may perhaps be compared Pyr., 754 b, where less seems to have the meaning "they say."

<sup>5</sup> Ct. I'vk., IV, 51/4 and locanote,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Of the old forms of the sign, Pyr., 287, 1618a, 1059, 1060, 1065, 1877; the form 1909c anguestes perch placed at the top of the mast (if must it is). Other old forms, e.g., Pyr., 1618b, 1158, layour this interpretation less.

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